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THE

WORLD IN THE MIDDLE AGES:

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY,

WITH

ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT, THE INSTITUTIONS AND LITERATURE, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NATIONS IN EUROPE, WESTERN ASIA, AND NORTHERN AFRICA, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

By ADOLPHUS LOUIS KŒPPEN,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND GERMAN LITERATURE IN FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA.

ACCOMPANIED BY COMPLETE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEXES, AND SIX COLORED MAPS FROM THE HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CHARLES SPRUNER, LL. D., CAPTAIN OF ENGINEERS IN THE KINGDOM OF BAVARIA.

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TO

GEORGE TICKNOR,

THE AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE,"

THE NOBLEST TRIBUTE EVER PAID BY A NEW LITERATURE TO AN OLD,

AND A WORK THAT DOES AS MUCH HONOR TO THE LITERATURE IT ENRICHES AS TO THAT WHOSE

TIME-TRIED TRIUMPHS IT WORTHILY RECORDS,

This Volume

IS, BY PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

IN introducing a new Work to the Public, it is expected that some account should be given of its inception, design, scope, and prosecution.

Whilst delivering a course of lectures two years since in Providence, on Mediæval History, I found no geographical work in English Literature, illustrating that period to which I could refer. This want suggested the present work.

The Geography of the *Ancient* World presents no such deficiency, having been elucidated since the seventeenth century by the master-minds of Cellarius, Cluverius, Danville, and still more recently by Rennel, Mannert, Heeren, Uckert, and others. Much light has also been thrown on the remote ages of civilization by the late philological discoveries in Egypt and Persia, and the excavations of Nineveh.

Yet the no less important period of the Middle Ages, though so thoroughly investigated by the modern Historian, has still remained comparatively neglected by the Geographer.

Mediæval Atlases have been published by C. Kruse (translated into French by Felix Ansart) and by Charles Spruner; but these being defective in letter-press, containing only scanty notes, and mere dry, historical tables, leave the student to depend on his own resources in the explanation of the maps.

Thus no general comprehensive Geography, embracing the mediæval times down to the close of the fifteenth century, has yet appeared to supply the want which must be felt by every student of Gibbon, Hallam, Sismondi, Guizot, and the other numerous writers treating of that era.

It occurred to me, therefore, that my collectanea, made during my long residence in Italy and Greece, together with my notes of travel in the East—partly embodied in my Providence Lectures—might furnish me with ample materials for the composition of a work which would supply, at least in part, the wants of the student of Mediæval History.

Having met with encouragement from my publishers, the idea has been carried out, and I now offer to the public the "*World in the Middle Ages.*"

I have attempted to present an accurate geographical description of the world during the different periods of time from the ultimate division of the Roman Empire at the death of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395, down to the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in the East, and the discovery of America in the West.

That the dry details of Geography might not become tedious, I have occasionally introduced personal sketches, and notices of mediæval institutions, with side-glances at the religions, languages, and literatures of the different nations.

I have endeavored likewise to give that prominence to the Scandinavians, the Sclavonians, Tartars, and other Eastern tribes which their important influence on history demands; but which hitherto has been denied them.

In the Geography of Ecclesiastical History, I have followed Rev. John E. Wiltsch. I have entered into more than usual detail on the Byzantine Empire, Greece, and the Eastern States, both with the hope of illustrating the brilliant pages of Gibbon and the Chroniclers of the Crusades; and in view of the important part which these Countries are about to act in the present crisis that seems to threaten the entire political system of Europe.

I am indebted for the selection of my maps, to Professor George W. Greene's translation of Dr. Spruner's great Historical Atlas.

For my authorities, I refer the reader to the foot-notes, and the list of authors on the closing page of the Work. I have also carefully compiled Historical and Geographical Indices, referring to the number of the paragraph in every instance where the name occurs.

I would ask the kind forbearance of the Public with regard to some occasional foreign expressions or turns of thought, which possibly may betray the author as a Dane.

If this, my first attempt in the field of Historical Geography, should be favorably received by the Public, I might perhaps find myself emboldened to undertake the still more arduous task of preparing an Historical Geography of the *Modern World*, uniform with the present.

This would embrace, not only the geographical changes and political revolutions of modern Europe during the last three centuries, but likewise the highly important Colonial Geography of Asia, Africa, and America. Especial attention would then be devoted to the rise, progress, emancipation, and gigantic development of the Republic of the United States.

The materials for such an undertaking are in part collected, the plan laid down, the maps selected, and I only await the encouragement of the Literary Republic to carry my ideas into execution.

THE AUTHOR.

Franklin and Marshall College,
LANCASTER, PA., *April 11th*, 1854.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS ON MEDIEVAL GEOGRAPHY; THE GREAT HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF THAT PERIOD.

1. General Remarks.—The Middle Age is the period during which nearly all the states, at the present day figuring on the world's stage, had their origin and development. The study of the political geography of those times, is therefore of the highest importance to the student of universal history, in order that he may fully understand and bring before his mind's eye, as it were, the feudal institutions and divisions, the relations of the nations to one another, and the successive changes by revolutions and conquests which took place in every part of the old world. But the details of such an historical geography, in which we should attempt to follow up every temporary change, extension or diminution of territory, in the single states and nations, would not only be immense and difficult to combine, but we would often be in want of the necessary materials. From the chroniclers of those remote times, we obtain but scanty and very imperfect information; they were themselves deficient in the most simple geographical knowledge; the few data, which they furnish here and there, are often erroneous or uncertain, mostly full of wonders and superstitions from the hearsay repetitions of credulous travellers, pilgrims or crusaders. Sometimes their reports disagree with the physical geography of the countries, or are contradicted by the relations of other writers of the same time.

We shall therefore limit our manual of medieval geography, to a general description of the political position of Europe, and the adjacent parts of western Asia and northern Africa, during eight of the most important periods of universal history, between the fourth and the sixteenth centuries, which are illustrated by the annexed six general historical maps.

2. General Division of Medieval Geography.

Period I.—The political geography of the *Roman Empire*, after its final division into eastern and western Rome, between the emperors Arcadius and Honorius in A. D. 395. It exhibits, likewise, the geographical and ethnographical position of all the different *Barbarian* nations of the north and east, towards the close of the fourth century, immediately before the beginning of the great migration, the successive development of which forms, as it were, the separate periods of medieval geography.

Period II.—The political geography of Europe and the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa at the beginning of the sixth century, *before the accession of Justinian I. in* A. D. 527. It presents the results of the first period of the great migration of the northern nations, and their settlements in the provinces of the then no longer existing western Roman empire.

Period III.—The political geography of Europe towards the close of the sixth century, after *the conquest of* central Europe by *the Avars*, and of Italy by *the Lombards*, forming the termination of the second period of the great migrations from the north and the east.

Period IV.—The political geography of Europe, western and central Asia, and northern Africa, at the beginning of the ninth century during the *reign of Charlemagne*, and the highest development of the *Saracenic Empire* under the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and the Ommiyad Emirs of Cordova.

Period V.—The political geography of all the states in Europe, western Asia and northern Africa, *at the death of the Emperor Otho the Great*, about A. D. 973, at the time of the final constitution and consolidation of nearly all the great European states, which later take a prominent part in the political events of Europe.

Period VI.—The political geography of the old world, during *the times of the Crusades*, from the close of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Period VII.—The political geography of Europe and Asia towards the close of the fourteenth century, at the time of the feudal wars between the *English* and *French Crowns*, the progress of the *Ottoman Turks*, and the widest extent of the Mongol empire of *Tamerlane*.

Period VIII.—The political geography of Europe and western Asia towards the close of the fifteenth century, after the destruction of *the Byzantine Empire* in A. D. 1453, the reorganization of the *German Empire* by *Maximilian*, the extinction of the *Moorish Kingdom of Granada* and the discovery of *America* in A. D. 1492.

These eight general periods are delineated in the accompanying Atlas of six historical maps. The 1st and 2d Pe-

riods are each represented in their proper maps. The 3d Period embraces the second and the third maps. The 4th, 5th, and 6th Periods have each their own maps, while for the last two Periods, the 7th and 8th, one general map, illustrating the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was thought sufficient.

In order to facilitate the general survey, and the comparison of one map with another, we have carefully given the *same color* to all the leading nations in the different succeeding periods. Thus, for instance, the student will find *crimson* throughout all the maps for the Greek or Byzantine empire; *yellow* for all the Germanic and Scandinavian nations; *violet* as a general color for the Slavic or Sclavonian tribes; *dark green* for the Chudish or Finnish races; *blue* for the Saracens or Arabs; *sea green* for the Huns; *orange* for the Chazars, and *minium red* for their Tartar brothers, the Turks. Similar modifications of color go through all the maps to indicate the subdivisions of Britons, Scots, Picts, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and others. In the single maps will be found only those divisions, cities, battle-fields, &c., which belong to the period reviewed; a few names have unhappily been left out, either by the inattention of the draughtsman, or the want of space, but they will be mentioned, and their position fixed in the text of our manual. Only the most important mountain chains, dividing the countries, have been given, because the complete detail of physical geography would have rendered the names less distinct on maps of so small a scale, and the student is therefore requested to compare our historical maps with some accurate maps of the common modern geography. Finally, we have been particularly careful to give the ancient Greek, Roman, Arabic or Barbaric names of countries, cities, mountains, rivers, exactly as they were used at the time, with their modern name, affixed, and to follow up the progressing changes faithfully, during every period of the middle ages, in order to accustom the attentive student to the gradual formation of so many names, the etymology of which, would otherwise be difficult to understand. For the same reason we have attempted to enliven our geographical survey by some few characteristic sketches of the different nationalities, Scandinavian, Sclavonian, and others, and we have paid the most careful attention to the chronological accuracy of the dates given, that our essay on political geography might serve at the same time, the purposes of *an historical Guide* through the maze of the middle ages.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY UNDER ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.

THE WORLD OF THE BARBARIANS.

ITS GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS BEFORE THE GREAT INVASION, A. D. 376.

§ I. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

3. Limits.—We present in this map the extent of the Roman empire in the course of the fourth century. At the death of Theodosius, in the year 395 of our era, it still had nearly the same frontiers as under Augustus, about 14 B. C. The conquests of Trajan, between A. D. 103–116, extended the empire beyond the Danube by the subjugation of *Dacia* (the present Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia). In the east the Romans had taken possession of the northern part of *Media*, *Armenia*, all *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Arabia Petræa*, and they had commercial establishments and garrisons along the Red Sea, as far as *Muza* (Mocha), and *Athana* (Aden), on the Arabian coast. Yet these brilliant acquisitions were already given up by the peaceable Hadrian; and the Syrian desert, the Euphrates, the upper Tigris, Mount Taurus, and Mount Caucasus remained henceforth the farthest eastern frontier of the empire, against the Parthians and New Persians. Thus the events of the time had proved the wisdom of Theodosius, who gave the prudent advice to his successors never to exceed those limits, which it seemed that nature herself had assigned for the Roman sway:—on the north they were Mount Caucasus, the *Pontus Euxinus* or Black Sea, the Danube, the Rhine, the North Sea, and, in the island of Britain, the *wall of Hadrian* —the Picts' wall—extending from the Tyne across to the bay of Solway, near Carlisle. The waves of the Atlantic secured the west, and the burning sands of the great Libyan desert, the southern borders of the empire. But these immense frontier-lines had already been invaded by the Barbarians in the north; a great part of Gaul lay in ruins, and we shall, in another place, indicate the settlements which the warlike tribes had obtained within the bosom of the empire itself.

4. Division.—At an earlier period the Roman state had been divided into *Senatorial* and *Imperial* provinces. With Diocletian, in A. D. 285, begins the time of divisions: first, into tetrarchies, then, under Constantine, into dioceses with different modifications, until, at the decease of Theodosius, the final separation into an *Eastern* and *Western* empire becomes definitive, and continues until the overthrow of western Rome in A. D. 476.

5. Subdivisions.—Each of the two empires was divided into *Præfectures*, governed by prætorial præfects nominated by the emperor. Every one of these præfectures was again subdivided into dioceses—*diœceses*—under vicars—*vicarii*—or vice-præfects, who received their orders from the præfects. The dioceses had again their provinces—*provinciæ*—and their regions —*regiones*—all according to their importance or position, and were ruled by proconsuls, consulars, presidents or correctors. Constantinople and Rome were the capitals; but they enjoyed the privilege of being excluded from the provincial division, and had their own peculiar administration and governor, who, under the name of city-præfect—*præfectus urbis*—enjoyed a power similar, at least, to that of the prætorial præfects. In all the frontier provinces and garrisoned towns, there were, besides, military commanders, called counts—*comites*—and dukes—*duces*—at the head of the troops.

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

6. Limits.—It was separated from the western empire in Europe, by the rivers *Drinus* (now the black Drin), a tributary of the Save in Mœsia and by the *Barbana* (now Bojana) which discharges itself into the lake *Labeatis* (now of Scutari or Scodra); in Africa, by the great Syrtis and the deserts, extending southward into the interior. On the north side of the Pontus Euxinus, the southern coast of the *Chersonesus Taurica* (now the Crimea), with the towns of *Cherson* (now Sevastopol) and *Theodosia* (now Caffa), belonged likewise to the eastern empire.

7. Capital.—Constantinople, founded by Constantine in 330, on the site of Byzantium, in antiquity, a rich and flourishing town, which, however, during the civil wars between Severus and Gallienus, in A. D. 196, had suffered a great desolation. The particular advantage and beauty of its situation, on a projecting triangle, formed by the Bosphorus, the Propon-

tis, and the magnificent gulf or harbor of the Golden Horn, were so great, the communication by water with Asia, Africa, and Europe, so easy, its strong central position so defensible, the environs so fertile, and the climate so mild and healthy (41° 1′ 10″ northern latitude), that Constantine could not have made a better choice for his new *Christian* capital, and might well consider it as a divine inspiration. Constantinople was built entirely after the model of Rome, and called New Rome in the beginning. Its circumference was sixteen miles, but the walls were afterwards extended on the west,[1] embracing, like Rome, seven hills and fourteen regions, of which the thirteenth, that of *Sykena* (Pera and Galata), lay beyond the Golden Horn—τὸ Κέρας, Χρυσοκέρας. The harbor was shut by a chain, behind which lay a line of battle-ships for defence. The strong walls, the towers, and the castles on the three angles of the city, ἡ Ἀκρόπολις, τὸ Κυκλώβιον or Ἑπταπύργιον, and αἱ Βλαχέρναι were considered impregnable. A broad avenue—ἡ μέση—ran through the city from east to west; several squares and market-places — *Augustæum*, *Chrysomilium*,[2] *Fora Constantini*, *Theodosii*, *Arcadii*, *Artopolium*, *Strategïon*, and others—splendid aqueducts, fountains, Νυμψαῖα, baths, Λουτρά; cisterns, Κιστέρναι; served for ornament and comfort. Among the magnificent public buildings, we mention the circus, ὁ Ἱπποδρόμος; the two theatres, the great palace, τὸ Ανάκτορον, with the court *Triclinium* (ἡ Χαλκή), the *Chrysotriclinium*, the *Porphyra*, the *Daphne*, the *Trullus* (so called from its cupola), the Tzycanisterium, or place for military exercises, many other imperial palaces, τῆς Μαγνούρας, τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, τοῦ Βουκολέοντος, Λαυριάκου; the tribunals or palaces for the Senate and State officers, for the Patriarchs and Prelates; the arsenals, *Armamentaria* (τὰ Μάγγανα); the immense storehouses; among the numerous and gaudy churches, those of *Santa Sophia*,[3] the *Pantokrator*, the *Pammakaristos*, the Holy Apostles, and *Sancta Irene;* many convents, monasteries and pious institutions; and finally, on the western city walls (τὰ χερσαῖα τείχη), the splendid, still preserved palace of Hebdomon (now *Tekïour-Seraï*). Outside of the city, along the banks of the Bosphorus, both in Europe and in Asia Minor, were situated numerous palaces, convents, country-seats and gardens. The canal from Pera to the Pontus with its shores, was called the *Strait*, τὸ Στενόν or τὸ Κατάστενον. Constantine, to adorn his new creation, plundered the other cities of Greece and Asia Minor of their artistical treasures, columns, monuments, and heathen statues, which, in part, were transformed into Christian Saints, while their citizens were ordered to inhabit Constantinople, and even the proud Romans were induced, by flattery and privileges, to follow the Imperial Court.[4]

8. Division.—The Eastern Empire was divided into two prætectures, that of the *Orient* and that of *Illyria;* these were again subdivided into seven dioceses, comprising sixty or sixty-one provinces, which we shall now describe from records of the time.[5]

Prætecture of the Orient.

9. Extent and Division.—It was much more extensive than that of Illyria, comprehending all the possessions of the Eastern Empire in Asia and Africa, and one-third of those situated in Europe; it was divided into five dioceses—*Orient*, *Egypt*, *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*—which were subdivided into fifty provinces.

10. Diocese of the Orient.—This diocese was governed by a Count—*Comes Orientis*—who, on account of the importance of his trust, enjoyed the first rank among the *vicarii* of the east, and it consisted of the ancient provinces—*Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, the northwestern part of *Mesopotamia*, the two *Ciliciæ*, *Isauria*, and the island of *Cyprus*. Of its fifteen provinces, the five first were governed by Consulars; the other ten less important by Presidents. Dukes with bodies of troops were placed in Palestine *Salutaris*, Phœnicia *Libanensis*, Syria *Euphratensis*, Osrhoëne and Arabia, for the defence of the frontiers of the empire. These fifteen provinces of the Oriental diocese were according to their rank: 1st, *Palæstina Prima;* 2d, *Phœnicia Maritima;* 3d, *Syria;* 4th, *Cilicia Prima;* 5th, *Cyprus;* 6th, *Palæstina Salutaris;* 7th, *Palæstina Secunda;* 8th, *Phœnicia Libanensis;* 9th, *Syria Euphratensis;* 10th, *Syria Salutaris;* 11th, *Osrhoëne;* 12th, *Mesopotamia;* 13th, *Cilicia Secunda;* 14th, *Arabia;* 15th, *Isauria.* In our description of these provinces we shall follow a more regular geographical order, beginning with the south and proceeding toward the north.

11. I. Palæstina Tertia or *Salutaris*,[6] comprised the regions east and south of the Dead Sea, formerly belonging to Arabia Petræa (Ammonitis, Moabitis, and Idumæa). It extended also across the valley of Arabah westward so as to take in Beersheba and Elusa. Petra, the ancient capital of the *Nabathæans*, in the deep romantic valley of Moses—Wady Musa—beneath Mount Horeb, was probably the metropolis.

II. Palæstina Prima, northwest of the former, extended along the coast of the Mediterranean and eastward across to the Dead Sea. Its metropolis was Cæsarea (now the ruins of Kaissarieh), which had changed its ancient name, *Turris Stratonis*, when Herod the Great built his magnificent city with its artificial harbor in honor of Cæsar Augustus.[7] Jerusalem, or *Aelia Capitolina*, the venerable capital of the ancient Jews, held now only a second rank in the province, and it was not until one century later, at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451–53, that it was erected into an independent Patriarchate, comprising the three Palestines.[8] After the first almost total destruction of the city by Titus in A. D. 70, Hadrian had begun to rebuild it as a Roman fortress, when the second terrible insurrection of the exasperated Jews under their mysterious leader, Barcochba, brought new disasters over the miserable population of Judæa. They were, in spite of their desperate valor, vanquished by the sword—A. D. 132–135—and sold by thousands as slaves, or else expelled to the coasts of Africa.

[1] The wall of Theodosius II. was constructed in the year 413. It embraced the Hebdomon or seventh hill, with the old palace of Constantine still standing in its ruins. The suburb of Blachernæ, on the northwestern angle, was taken into the city walls by Heraclius, in 620, and strongly fortified with towers and ditches by Leo, the Armenian, during the Bulgarian war, in 815.

[2] The *golden Mile-stone*, at the entrance of the Palace, from which started the principal high-roads of the Eastern Empire, like those of the Western from Rome.

[3] Founded by Constantine, but rebuilt by Justinian I. in A. D. 532.

[4] A thorough knowledge of the localities of Constantinople and its environs is necessary, in order to understand the Byzantine Historians. The best descriptions of Constantinople among the earlier writers, are those of Charles Dufresne (in the collection of Byzantine Historians) and Gyllius; among the moderns, the Κωνσταντινιάς, Venice, 1824, by a learned Greek prelate (in modern Greek), and *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, by von Hammer. Pesth, 1822, 2 Vols. A small but correct plan of medieval Constantinople is found in the excellent Historical Atlas of Doctor Charles von Spruner, under No. 59.

[5] See the Imperial Register from the time of Theodosius, entitled: *Notitia utraque dignitatum cum Orientis tum Occidentis.* Printed at the end of the Theodosian Code.

[6] This by-name, *Salutary*, was given to several provinces of both empires, on account of their thermal springs.

[7] Its name was *Cæsarea Palæstina*, to distinguish it from the Cappadocian Cæsarea and the Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas) in Trachonitis.

[8] The Patriarchate of Antioch continued to rule the two Phœniciæ and northern Arabia.

Hadrian then established a new Roman Colony on the ruins; a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus rose on Mount Moriah, and statues of Venus and other Roman idols, as if in mockery, crowned the Calvary and Golgotha; nay, the name of Jerusalem was anathematized, and the Roman settlement was named Aelia Capitolina. But with the spread of Christianity, the pilgrims began to flock to Jerusalem; the idols and heathen temples were destroyed; Constantine and his mother, the pious Helena, erected splendid churches and hospitals for the reception of the pilgrims at Jerusalem and Bethlehem in 326. Saint Hilarion brought his hermits with him from the Thebaïs in Egypt, and then the wilderness of Judah, the shores of the Dead Sea, and the valley of Jordan, became inhabited by thousands of recluses; these austere anchorites lived in the natural grottoes and caverns on the dreary mountains, and united for worship in their common sanctuaries or *lauræ*, which afterwards, by Pachymius, were placed under a severer monastic discipline as κοινόβια or *monasteries*. At the time we speak of (395) Santa Paula, the noble Roman lady, and her pious daughter Eustochium, were building nunneries in Bethlehem;[9] St. Eusebius had just been buried in the sepulchral vault of the grotto of the Nativity, and his disciple St. Jerome, was then occupied in his rock-chamber with his Latin translation of the Sacred Scriptures, while the Goths were devastating Rome and Italy. A century later St. Sabas founded his celebrated monastery in the valley of the Kidron.[10]

III. Palæstina Secunda, east of the former, comprehended Samaria, Galilee, and part of the Decapolis beyond Jordan. Its metropolis was Scythopolis, the ancient *Bethshean* (now Tell Beisan), situated in the valley of Jezreel, near the Jordan, with an Episcopal see and a celebrated monastery.

IV. Arabia, east of the Jordan, consisted of the ancient Ituræa, Trachonitis, Auranitis and Batanæa, bordering upon the great desert, with the metropolis Bostra (now Basra). The governor united the titles of Duke and President, and commanded the troops on the frontier.

V. Phœnicia Maritima extended along Mount Lebanon and the sea. Its earlier metropolis was the old Phœnician Tyr—*Tyrus*—(now Sour), on its peninsula; later, however, under the younger Theodosius, Berytus (now Beïrut), the seat of the celebrated Roman law-school, obtained that dignity.

VI. Phœnicia Libani or *Libanesia* (*Libanensis*), on the east of Mount Lebanon, consisted of the ancient Cœle-Syria and Palmyrene. Its capital was the magnificent and populous city of Damascus in its fertile plain, at the base of the Anti-Lebanon, and already at that period celebrated for its manufactures of arms. Northward on the Orontes lay Emesa (now Hems), which had risen on the downfall of Palmyra in the war between Queen Zenobia and Aurelian, A. D. 275. The latter city, in the desert toward the Euphrates, had lost its wealth and splendor, though it still remained the great resting-place for the caravans from the east.

12. VII. Syria Secunda or *Salutaris*, the ancient Apamene, lay north of the former, with its metropolis Apamea (now Famieh), in a strong position on a lake formed by the river Orontes.

VIII. Syria Prima or *Consularis*, on the northern slope of Mount Lebanon, possessed the largest and most populous city of the diocese, splendid Antioch (now Andakieh), on the Orontes, surrounded by gardens, vineyards and olive groves, the seat of all the delights and glitter of the East. It was the metropolis of the province, and the residence of the count; and here were the arsenals and military dépôts of the empire.

IX. Syria Euphratensis was situated west of the Euphrates, and contained the ancient Cyrrhestice and Commagene, with the metropolis Hierapolis, syr. *Bambyce* (now Mambesch), at a short distance from the Euphrates (now Frat).

13. X. Osrhoene, east of the former, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and the outskirts of the Empire, was then the contested battle-field with the Persians. It had formed part of the ancient Mesopotamia, and was defended toward the Tigris by the two celebrated fortresses of Nisibis and Dara, which, however, alternately were conquered by the Persians, or retaken by the Romans. Edessa, called *Callirrhoë*, from her pleasant springs (now Orfah), the metropolis, was likewise strongly fortified, and contained celebrated shield and armor factories, and the arsenals and dépôts for the armies on the Persian frontier. On the southeast of Edessa lay *Theodosiopolis*, the ancient Resain, rebuilt by the emperor whose name it took, in a rich and well watered region.

XI. Mesopotamia, on the northeastern frontier, was formed of that small strip of the ancient province of Mesopotamia called *Sophene*, between the upper Euphrates and Tigris with the metropolis Amida (now Diabekir).

14. XII. Cilicia Secunda, the eastern part of the ancient *Cilicia campestris*, the fertile and beautiful plain between the high mountain ranges of *Amanus* and *Taurus*, with the metropolis Anazarbus (now Ak-Saraï), on the river *Pyramus*.

XIII. Cilicia Prima formed the rest, or the western part of the ancient *Cilicia campestris*, with the rich and commercial metropolis Tarsus on the *Cydnus*.

XIV. Isauria, west of Cilicia Prima, comprised both the ancient *Isauria* and *Cilicia Trachæa*. The mountaineers of this rugged and barren country still retained their old roving habits, wherefore a Count at the head of two legions united here the military and civil command. The metropolis was Seleucia Trachæa (now Selefkieh), situated on the coast opposite to the island of Cyprus.

XV. The island of Cyprus, separated from the mainland of Asia Minor by the Cilician Straits—*Aulon Cilicius*—was still populous and highly cultivated; and its metropolis *Salamis*, on the eastern coast, had recently taken the name of one of the sons of Constantine, and was called Constantia (now Costanza).

15. Diocese of Egypt.—This diocese, the richest and most important of the empire, on account of its immense export of grains for the provision of Constantinople, was governed by a Præfect with the title of *Augustalis*, and a rank immediately following that of the *Comes Orientis;* but as he could only be chosen from the order of the Roman Knights—*Equites*—the six provinces under his diocese—Libya superior, Libya inferior, Thebaïs, Egypt Proper, Arcadia, and Augustamnica—were not governed by Consulars, but the five first by Presidents, and the last by a Corrector. A military Count, with two Dukes and bodies of troops, was stationed in Egypt proper, for the defence of the frontiers of Libya superior and Thebaïs.

16. I. Augustamnica or *Augustanice*, formed the northeastern part of Lower Egypt, between the mouth of the Nile and the frontiers of Palestine and Arabia, with Pelusium (now Tineh) for its metropolis.

[9] Santa Paula died in 404. We copied the beautiful inscription on her sepulchre in the grotto of the Nativity, during our visit to Bethlehem.

Adspicis angustum præcisa in rupe sepulcrum?
Hospitium Paulæ est, cœlestia regna tenentis.
Fratrem, cognatos, Romam patriamque relinquens
Divitias sobolem Bethlehemite conditur antro.
Hic præsepe tuum, Christe, atque hic mystica Magi
Munera portantes, hominique Deoque dedere.

[10] Interesting details on the condition of Jerusalem during the early Christian centuries are given in Prof. Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine. Vol. II., page 3–27.

II. Ægyptus Propria, on the west of the foregoing, consisted of that part of the Delta lying west of the Nile toward Lybia. Alexandria, the metropolis, and residence of the *Præfectus Augustalis* and the military Count, was still, by its splendor, wealth, science and commerce, one of the most important cities of the civilized world. The circumference of its walls was twelve Roman miles, within which lived a bustling population of three hundred thousand souls, gathered from every part of the Roman empire. Two magnificent avenues crossed in right angles through the length and breadth of the city, dividing the ancient *Bruchium* from the *Rhacotis*. The principal of these thoroughfares—the *Via Eleusinia*—was the Broadway of Alexandria; it ran from the eastern or Canopian gate westward, between rows of marble columns, for forty stadia or five miles, to the western gate, that of the *Necropolis*. Magnificent public buildings adorned it on both sides; the *Stadium*, the town-hall or *Decasterium*, the *Gymnasium*, the amphitheatre and the immense *Soma*, the mausoleum in which the body of Alexander the Great, the founder of the city, was deposited. At the *Heptapylon*, the second street struck the first, running from the *Porta Solis* on the lake of *Mareotis*, northward to the coast where at the Moon gate—*Porta Lunæ*—the *Heptastadium*, a magnificent dike or causeway, seven stadia in length, united the island of Pharus with the mainland. Here stood the celebrated beacon-tower—the Pharus—the wonder of ancient architecture, built by Sostratus of Cnidus; its height was 360 feet, and its blazing fires were distinguished at a distance of forty miles on the sea. It looked down upon the ports—*Portus Major* on the east, *the Eunostus* on the west—smaller ports for the imperial fleets, and for the public granaries, were strongly fortified, and guarded with troops. In the Bruchium stood the Museum, with the precious library, and the *Sebaste* or Temple of Cæsar, with two obelisks in front, which latter having during two thousand years seen the downfall of Egyptian superstition at Thebes, and then been removed to Alexandria in honor of Grecian polytheism, remained now to adorn a Christian church. In the same quarter stood—and stands to this day—the lofty column of Diocletian, with its equestrian statue on the top, raised to record the conquering Emperor's humanity, and the gratitude of the citizens of the world's emporium. On the outside of the western gate was the *Necropolis*, whose memorials of the dead, both Pagan and Christian, lined the roadside and the sea-coast for more than two miles, and harmonized most truly with the faded glories of the empire. Near the western gate also, but within the walls, stood the famed Temple of Serapis, second to no building in the world but the Roman Capitol, a glittering monument of the rise and fall of religions, once the very fortress of paganism, now the Patriarchal Cathedral of victorious Christendom.[11]

III. Arcadia, so called by Theodosius in honor of his younger son, Arcadius, was formed of central Egypt, the ancient *Heptanomis*, and extended from the point of the Delta to the border of the Thebaïs, in Upper Egypt. Its metropolis was Memphis (now Menf in its ruins), on the left bank of the Nile.

IV. Thebaïs, south of Arcadia, was subdivided into the first and second Thebaïs, and comprehended all Upper Egypt. It was protected by eight legions, stationed on the frontiers. Its metropolis, Antinoe, the ancient *Besa*, on the right bank of the river, had become a beautiful and flourishing city since the great repairs and embellishments which Hadrian undertook in commemoration of his favorite Antinoüs, who had perished in the Nile. *Thebes*, which gave name to the province, existed no longer as an inhabited place, but its immense temple ruins still covered both the banks of the Nile.

17. V. Libya Inferior, the ancient *Marmarica*, extended westward along the Mediterranean; its metropolis, Parætonium (now Al-Baretun), was situated on the coast opposite to Rhodes.

VI. Libya Superior, the celebrated ancient Greek colony of the five cities—the Pentapolis of *Cyrenaïca*, was the most western province of the eastern empire. The metropolis, Cyrene, a large and flourishing city, in a wonderfully fertile and beautiful country, was situated four miles from the coast, on which lay its harbor, *Sosuza*, formerly *Apollonia* (now Marza-Susa).

18. The Diocese of Asia.—*Diœcesis Asiana*—was formed of all the early conquests of the victorious Romans in Asia Minor. It was divided into two parts: the *Diocese of Asia Proper*, which was governed by a Vicar, and contained eight provinces, and of the *Proconsulate of Asia*, ruled by a Proconsul, who was directly subordinate to the Prætorial Præfect of the Orient. It consisted of the three provinces contiguous to the Egean. The eight provinces of the diocese were the following: 1st, *Pamphylia;* 2d, *Lydia;* 3d, *Caria;* 4th, *Lycia;* 5th, *Lycaonia;* 6th, *Pisidia;* 7th, *Phrygia Pacatiana;* 8th, *Phrygia Salutaris.* The two first provinces were governed by Consulars, and the eight latter by Presidents. The three maritime provinces depending on the Proconsulate of Asia were *Asia proper*, governed by the Proconsul himself; *Hellespont* having a Consular; and the *islands of the Egean* with a President.

19. The Provinces of the Diocese, after their geographical order, and proceeding from east to west, may be ranged in the following manner:

I. Pamphylia, west of Isauria, extended along the coast. Its metropolis was Perge (now Kara-Hissar—Black Castle) at a short distance on the Pamphylian gulf. Other cities were the beautiful *Attalia* (now Adaliah), deeper in the gulf, surrounded by its orange-gardens, but of such melancholy memory from the Crusades; and *Aspendus* (now Manavgat), on the *Eurymedon*, in the interior

II. Lycaonia, north of the Taurus, extending through immense and dreary plains, with the metropolis Iconium (now Konieh), near a lake, on the high-road from Constantinople to Syria.

III. Pisidia, the rugged stronghold of the ancient robber-hordes, so well known from Xenophon's Anabasis, southwest of Lycaonia, with the metropolis Antiochia Pisidiæ (now Ak-Sher).

20. IV. Phrygia Salutaris, northwest of Lycaonia. The metropolis was Synnada (now Sidi-Ghazi), at that period so celebrated on account of the splendid marbles which the Romans obtained from the neighboring mountains.

V. Phrygia Pacatiana, which owed its by-name to one of its governors. The metropolis was the large and flourishing Laodicea (now Eski-Hissar—Old Castle), on the river Lycus, which joins the Mæander.

VI. Lycia, with its high projecting mountain-chains forming a peninsula on the Mediterranean, had for its metropolis the ancient maritime town of Myra (now Makra).

21. VII. Caria, on the angle formed by the Karpathian Sea and the Egean, with Aphrodisias (now Gheira) for its capital. This city was situated on the mountains in the interior, and had received its name from the worship of Aphrodite

[11] Since the Arabian conquest, A. D. 640 (206), the population of Alexandria has diminished so much that the whole modern city now stands on the widened Heptastadium, the causeway that joins to the mainland what was once the island of Pharus. Only the towering column of Diocletian—commonly called the pillar of Pompey—and the obelisk of the Sebaste (the needle of Cleopatra), still remain in their place, and serve as guides for the antiquary.—See the attempt of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson to describe the localities of ancient Alexandria in his excellent work on Egypt.

(Venus); it is unknown when it took the start of the old Dorian *Halicarnassus* (now the ruinous Castle of Budrun) on the coast of the Ceramic gulf.

VIII. Lydia, north of Caria, embraced only the interior of the ancient province of that name, and had for its metropolis the celebrated Sardes (now the miserable hamlet Sart), at the base of mount *Tmolus*, in the fertile plain of the river *Hermus*. It had been the capital of the ancient Lydian Kings, and still possessed imperial manufactures of armor and offensive weapons.

22. The Provinces of the Proconsulate were—

I. Asia Propria, northwest of Lydia, comprised some portion of the ancient kingdom of Pergamus, and the earlier Greek maritime colonies of Ionia and Æolia, with the metropolis Ephesus (now Aïa Soluk), the largest and most important city in the western part of Asia Minor. Pergamus (now Bergamo), on the Caicus, rivalled in rank and riches with Ephesus, and surpassed it by its magnificent Macedonian monuments from the times of its kings.

II. Hellespontus, along the straits which gave it its name. Its metropolis was Cyzicus (now Zisik), on a small peninsula of the Propontis. Abydos (now Avido), on the narrowest part of the straits, near the present castles of the Dardanelles, was then one of the most flourishing towns of the province.

III. The Province of the Isles consisted of all the islands in the Egean, and those lying along the coast of Asia Minor, such as the *Cyclades* and *Sporades*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Patmos*, *Cos*, and *Rhodes*; the beautiful city of the latter was the metropolis and residence of the governor during winter, while it was his duty in summer to visit all the islands in their turn.[12]

23. Diocese of Pontus—*Diœcesis Pontica*—embraced not only the ancient kingdom of Mithridates, but all the northern coast-land of Asia Minor, from the Thracian Bosporus and the Propontis on the west, eastward to the frontiers of the empire on the mountains of Armenia. It was governed by a Vicar, and contained the following eleven provinces: 1st, *Galatia*; 2d, *Bithynia*; 3d, *Honorias*; 4th, *First Cappadocia*; 5th, *Second Cappadocia*; 6th, *Hellenopontus*; 7th, *Pontus Polemoniacus*; 8th, *First Armenia*; 9th, *Second Armenia*; 10th, *Galatia Salutaris*; 11th, *Paphlagonia*. The two first were governed by Consulars, the eight following by Presidents, and the last by a Corrector. Let us review them in their geographical order, beginning from the east.

I. Pontus Polemoniacus consisted of the eastern part of the ancient province of Pontus, and had formed a kingdom under the first Emperors, which took its name from its monarchs, the Polemons. The metropolis was either Neocæsarea (now Niksara), on the river *Lycus*, or perhaps Trapezus (now Tarabesan), the celebrated Peloponnesian colony on the shores of the Black Sea. Other cities, flourishing by fisheries and commerce, were *Polemonium* and *Cerasus*, with its forests of cherry-trees, and in the interior *Comana Pontica*.

II. Hellenopontus or *Pontus of Helena*, in honor of the mother of Constantine, consisted of the western part of ancient Pontus, with the metropolis of Amasia (now Amasiah), on the Iris, the old capital of the Pontian kings.

25. III. Armenia Prima, on the south, was composed of the northern part of the ancient Armenia Minor. Its metropolis was Sebaste (now Sivas), the ancient *Cabira*, on the river *Halys*.

IV. Armenia Secunda, south of the former; metropolis, Melitene (now Malethija), near the Euphrates, the ancient capital of the small province of that name which formed the northeastern corner of Cappadocia.

26. V. Cappadocia Prima, westward of the two former provinces, had formed the central part of the ancient kingdom of Cappadocia. The metropolis was Cæsarea ad Argeum (now Kaïsarieh), at the base of the snow-capped Mount Argeus. It had been the residence of the Cappadocian kings, then called *Mazaca*, and was still a thriving town—important by its excellent fabrication of cuirasses.

VI. Cappadocia Secunda had been separated from the former by the Emperor Valens. Tyana (now Nikdeh), the birthplace of the notorious cheat Apollonius, became then the metropolis, an event which caused so violent a contest between St. Basile, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, and the Bishop of Tyana, who, on account of this division, attempted to grasp at the metropolitan rights, that the Council of Cappadocia in 372, was obliged to augment the number of bishoprics, in order that the two warring prelates might each obtain their suffragan churches.

27. VII. Galatia Secunda or *Salutaris*, northwest of Cappadocia Secunda, had been formed by Theodosius from the southern part of the ancient Galatia. Metropolis, Pessinus (now Bosan), on the *Sangarius*.

VIII. Galatia Prima, north of the former, consisted of the northern part of the ancient Galatia. Metropolis, Ancyra (now Angora).

28. IX. Paphlagonia, between Galatia Prima and the Black Sea, contained the entire ancient province of that name. Metropolis was Gangra (now Kiangari), the residence of King Dejotarus, the friend of Cicero.

X. Honorias, west of Paphlagonia, on the coast, had formed the northeastern part of Bithynia, when Theodosius the Great formed a new province of it, in honor of his eldest son, Honorius. Metropolis, Claudiopolis (now Castomena), near the coast. Heraclea (Erakli), on the Pontus Euxinus, a thriving commercial place, was second in rank.

XI. Bithynia, west of Honorias, embraced a part of the Propontis, but contained, as we mentioned, only the southwestern part of the ancient kingdom of Bithynia. Valens had already divided it into *Bithynia Prima*, with Nicomedia (now Nikmid) for metropolis. This city, the splendid capital of Diocletian, was situated on the gulf of *Astacus*; it still preserved many interesting monuments of its better days, and lived from its important manufactures of armor and offensive weapons. Nicæa (now Isnik), on the beautiful lake, was the metropolis of Bithynia Secunda. It became celebrated from the first general council held there in A. D. 325, then again during the Crusades, and is still a fine oriental town. Prusa (now Brusa), on a fertile plain at the foot of Mount Olympus, was the ancient residence of the Bithynian kings, and had the second rank after Nicæa.

Diocese of Thrace.—It was governed by a Vicar, and was divided into six provinces: 1st, *Europa*; 2d, *Thrace Proper*; 3d, *Hæmimons*; 4th, *Rhodope*; 5th, *Mœsia Secunda*; 6th, *Scythia*. The two first were governed by Consulars, and the following four by Presidents; military Dukes with troops were moreover placed in Mœsia and Scythia, for the defence of the frontiers on the Danube.

30. I. Europa was situated on the Thracian Bosporus and the Propontis, and preserved thus its primitive name, which afterwards was applied to the whole continent. As Constantinople had its own administration, Heraclea (now Erekli), the ancient Perinthus, on the Propontis, was the metropolis of the province.

II. Rhodope, west of Europa, took its name from the mountain range which starts off westward from the central Scardus. Its metropolis was Trajanopolis (now Arachova),

[12] The rest—Tenedos, Lemnos, Imbrus, Somothrace, Thasos, Sciathus, Scyros, Scopelos, Cythera and Crete, belonged to the Diocese of Macedonia.

on the *Hebrus*, one of the cities which Trajan had built in the interior of Thrace. *Abdera* (now Djenidje), was a considerable commercial port on the Egean.

III. Hæmimons, or province of Mount Hæmus, north of Rhodope, owed its origin to Theodosius. Metropolis, Hadrianopolis (now Adrianople, Turkish *Edrené*), a large and strongly fortified city, on the left bank of the Hebrus, with imperial manufactures of arms and military engines, became important at the period we describe, by the siege which it so gallantly sustained against the Visigoths, and by the terrible defeat and death of Valens, while attempting its relief, in August, 378. The battle-field was on the north of the city, near the village of *Skutarion*, where the emperor was burnt in a cottage, on his flight.

IV. Thracia Propria, west of Hæmimons, consisted only of the western extremity of that region, with the metropolis, Philippopolis (now Filibe), on the upper Hebrus.

31. V. Mœsia Secunda or *Inferior*, north of Hæmimons, and of Thrace, beyond the ridge of Mount Hæmus, along the banks of the Danube. Metropolis, Marcianopolis (now Prawadi), where the Romans suffered the first defeat against the Visigoths, in 377, after the admission of the latter into the Roman provinces, the preceding year, 376, to the number of more than a million of souls.

VI. Scythia Parva, northeast of Mœsia Secunda, formed a narrow peninsula between the course of the lower Danube and the Black Sea. Metropolis, Tomi (now Baba Dagh), on the Pontus, well known from the exile of the poet Ovidius. *Salices*, or the village of the willows, of sorrowful memory, from another defeat which the Romans suffered there, during the Gothic war in 377.

Præfecture of Illyria.

32. Extent and Divisions. — This præfecture was often called *Illyria Orientalis*, in order to distinguish it from another diocese of the Western Empire, which likewise had the name of *Illyricum* (45). It embraced most of the European possessions of the eastern Empire, and was divided into two dioceses; that of *Dacia* on the north, and of *Macedonia*, which contained all ancient Hellas, on the south. The two dioceses consisted of eleven provinces. It was in this important præfecture that Alaric, the first king of the Visigoths, by force of arms and intrigue, obtained, in 398, the dignity of Master General of eastern Illyria, which he employed to the subjugation of the western Empire.

33. Diocese of Dacia.—The ancient province of Dacia lay on the north of the Danube, and extended on the northeast toward Sarmatia, from which it was separated by the river *Tyras* or *Danaster* (now Dniester). North, it reached the Carpathian Mountains, and west, to the river *Tibiscus* (now Theiss). The low, swampy plain between that river and the upper Danube, afterwards the residence of Attila and the Huns at Buda, and the conquest of the Avars and Magyars (Hungarians) in the 6th and 9th centuries—was never occupied by the Romans. Its inhabitants were the wild, nomading *Jazyges* of Sarmatian origin, whose descendants may still be distinguished among the many races of modern Hungary. Roman Dacia thus embraced the present Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and part of Hungary; its rivers were the Tibiscus and Mariscus (now Marosh). The ancient Daci had been vanquished by Trajan, during his campaigns in 103–6, when Dacia was reduced to a Roman province, and repeopled with numerous Roman colonies. The old Dacian town, *Zarmizegethusa* was then denominated *Ulpia Trajana*, and several ruins in the neighborhood of the modern convent of Sarnitza, south of Weissenburgh, still attest the great exertions of the Romans to obtain a firm footing beyond the Danube. Dacia became a flourishing province, and remained for 168 years (between A. D. 106, and 274), united to the Roman empire. But on the advance of the Goths toward the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and the invasion of the Alemanni on the Rhine, the Emperor Aurelian voluntarily evacuated Dacia in the year 274, and transported the Roman inhabitants back across the Danube to *Mœsia* (the present Bulgaria and Servia), where he established them in a new province, *Dacia Aureliani*, which he formed on the Danube, in the centre of Mœsia, between the rivers Utus (now Isker) on the east, and Margus (now Morava) on the west. Yet the greater part of the Roman population seems to have remained in ancient Dacia under the mild sway of the Visigoths, and even afterwards, during the invasions of the Avars and Hungarians; they have preserved their Latin language, though somewhat corrupted, down to the present day, and form now, under the name *Wlachs* or *Rumani*, one of the many heterogeneous races of Transylvania. The diocese of Dacia, in the times of Theodosius, was governed by a Vicar, and was divided into five provinces: 1st, *Dacia Interior* or *Mediterranea*; 2d, *Dacia Ripensis*; 3d, *Mœsia Prima*; 4th, *Dardania*; 5th, *Prævalitana*, with a part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The first province was governed by a Consular, and the four others by Presidents. In Dacia Ripensis and Mœsia Prima, both situated along the Danube, dukes and numerous garrisons were formerly stationed at the strong fortresses of *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, and *Ratiaria*, to prohibit the passage of the river. But since the year 376, the immense swarms of Visigoths, with their families and herds of cattle, had already been admitted, and temporarily settled in Mœsia Secunda and Scythia Minor, on the Pontus, whence they soon spread war and devastation into the very heart of the sinking empire. We shall now describe these important provinces after their geographical position from north to south.

34. I. Dacia Ripensis, along the Ister or Danube, opposite to the ancient Dacia, which was situated on the north beyond the river. Ratiaria (now Widdin), on the banks of the Danube, was the metropolis, and a fortified city, with manufactures of arms.

II. Dacia Mediterranea or *Interior*, south of the former, extended to the northern base of Mount *Hæmus*, and had for its metropolis, Sardica or *Triaditza* (still the present name), so celebrated by the Ecclesiastical Council held there in the time of Constantine, and by the devastations of the Barbarians, who crossed the passes of Mount Hæmus south of the city. Maximin, the opponent of Licinius, was born in the environs of Sardica, and Constantine the great at *Naissus* (now Nissa).

III. Mœsia Prima or *Superior*, west of Dacia Ripensis, after the dismemberment of the two Daciæ, contained only the western part of the ancient province, and formed the frontier of the eastern Empire on the *Savus* and *Drinus*, which separated it from western Rome. Its metropolis was the strong fortress Viminacium or *Biminacium* (now presenting only heaps of ruins in the neighborhood of the village Gradistie), on the Danube. Another bulwark of the Empire was *Singidunum* (now the thrice celebrated Belgrade), westward on the confluence of the Savus and the Danube, where so many bloody battles have been fought.

35. IV. Dardania, south of Mœsia Superior, preserved its name from one of the ancient provinces of the Macedonian kingdom, and it extended on both slopes of *Mount Scardus*. Its metropolis was Scupi, or *Skupoi* (now Uskup), southeast, on the upper Axius. Northeast of Scupi lay the small village *Tauresion* (now Giustendil), on the Strymon; the birthplace of Justinus and Justinian, which afterwards was enlarged and favored in honor of the Emperor under the pompous name of *Ulpiana* or *Justiniana Prima*.

V. Prævalitana, southwest of Dardania, was formed of a portion of ancient Illyria, and touched the Adriatic coast at the mouth of the river Barbana, which formed the western frontier of the Empire toward Dalmatia. It was afterwards called Prebalis and Aemathia in Upper Albania. Scodra (now Scutari), on the southern shore of the lake *Labeatis* (now lake of Scutari or Scodra), at a short distance from the Adriatic gulf, was the metropolis. It contained likewise the northern part of another province called *Macedonia Salutaris*, which seems, from reasons unknown, to have been divided between the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia.

36. Diocese of Macedonia. — It embraced the ancient kingdom of Macedonia, Epirus and Greece, and was divided into six provinces, the most important of which, that of *Achaia*, containing central and southern Greece, formed, on account of its importance and ancient glory, a proconsulate by itself, like that of Asia (18) independent of the Vicar, governing the diocese. The five other provinces, placed under his jurisdiction, were after their rank: 1st, *Macedonia Minor;* 2d, *Crete;* 3d, *Thessaly;* 4th, *Epirus;* 5th, *Epirus Nova*, with the southern part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The two first were ruled by Consulars, and the four others by Presidents. We will describe them in their geographical order descending from the north, south through Greece.

37. I. Macedonia Minor, on the southeast of the diocese, formed the ancient Macedonia proper, that is, Edonia, Chalcidice, Mygdonia, Eordæa, Emathia, Pieria and Elymiotis, and was separated from Thrace by the river Nestus. Thessalonica (now Saloniki on the Thermaic gulf) was the metropolis—*Edessa* and *Pella*, the ancient capitals of the kingdom, though woefully decayed since the times of Philip and Alexander, were still towns of some importance and movement.

38. II. Epirus Nova, on the west side of Mount Pindus, was formed by Theodosius into a separate province from the northern part of ancient Epirus; and Dyrrachium (now Durazzo), on a small bay of the Ionian Sea, was made its metropolis. The southwestern part of the dismembered province Macedonia Salutaris (35), was joined to New Epirus. It is supposed that Stobi or *Stoboi* (now Istib), situated in the depth of the Pelagonian Mountains, continued after the dismemberment to remain the seat of a governor with the title of President.

III. Epirus Vetus, or *antiqua*, south of Epirus Nova, consisted of the southern parts of ancient Epirus as its name indicates, the modern Albania. Metropolis was Nicopolis (now lying in ruins near Prevesa) on the Ambracian gulf, where it had been built 31 B. C. by Octavian Augustus, in commemoration of his naval victory at Actium over Antonius and Cleopatra.

39. IV. Thessalia, on the east of Epirus, embraced the whole ancient province of that name. Metropolis Larissa, on the Peneus, at the foot of Mount Olympus.

V. Creta (now Candia), south of the Egean, the greatest island of Greece. Metropolis Gortyna on the fertile plain at the base of Mount Ida near the southern coast of the island. The ruins of Gortyna are situated near the village of Kainurion, where some travellers have taken the deep quarries in the neighbouring hills for the celebrated labyrinth of king Minos, though it was situated on the north of the island near *Cnossus*. This beautiful and fertile island had lost part of its population by dearth and pestilence, when Helena the mother of Constantine, on her return from Palestine in 326, landed on Crete, and ordered new settlers from Egypt and Syria, Cilicia and the neighboring islands to repair the loss.

40. The Proconsulate of Achaia had already, in the times of the Roman Republic, been declared a proconsular province by the Clodian law. It had since always preserved that dignity, and was thus by the rank of its governor exempted from the jurisdiction of the vicar of the Macedonian diocese, and appealed directly to the prætorial præfect of Illyria. Corinthus, with its strong fortress *Acro-Corinthus*, on the Isthmus, connecting the Peloponnesus with the mainland of northern Greece, was still a thriving city and the metropolis of the proconsulate. Yet a few years later, at the time of the invasion of Alaric and his Visigoths in A. D. 396, both Corinth, *Argos* and *Sparta* were plundered, and the inhabitants slaughtered or led off in captivity. *Eleusis*, with its proud priesthood and splendid temples, had already suffered the same fate. Athens, *Athenæ*, alone escaped; Alaric visited the city, feasted with the jovial Athenians and departed without committing any depredations, nor did the magnificent monuments on the Acropolis suffer any wanton destruction from the wild Barbarians, or from the still fiercer swarms of Arian monks who followed their camp.

II. WESTERN EMPIRE.

41. Boundaries.—The western empire extended from the rivers Drinus and Barbana, in Illyria, and from the great Syrtis, in Africa, to the Atlantic Ocean. The island of Britain, as far north as the walls of Antonine, formed likewise a part of it.

42. Capitals.—Rome had neither lost its splendor nor its immense population, and it was still considered as the first capital of the Roman empire; but even before Constantine it had ceased to be the only residence of the emperors. By the building of Constantinople it lost entirely that old privilege, nor did it get it back on the separation of the two states. Mediolanum, *Milan*, situated in the vast and fertile plain of Cisalpine Gaul, seemed the most convenient residence for the succeeding emperors, who, being there in the midst of their armaments and military resources, were better enabled to watch the movements of the warlike Germanic nations beyond the Danube. Constantine had already, in A. D. 313, made his residence in Milan memorable by the proclamation of his celebrated edict in favor of the Christians. Afterwards, when the invasion of the Visigoths under Alaric, 403, had forced the timid Honorius to flee from that city, he found a refuge at Ravenna, amidst the swamps of the Adriatic Sea. Thus this unhealthy and sequestered spot, surrounded by low meadows, morasses, and canals, like modern Venice, became now the capital and the asylum of the emperors. She enjoyed for a long time the privilege of being an imperial residence, and was the last seat of Roman power in Italy.

43. Divisions.—The western empire was, like the eastern, divided into two præfectures, that of *Italy* on the east, and that of the *Gauls* on the west. These præfectures were again subdivided into seven dioceses, and fifty-eight provinces, which we shall now describe in their order.

Præfecture of Italy.

44. Extent and Division.—It embraced besides the vast Hesperian Peninsula, all the possessions of the western empire in Europe between the ridge of the Alps and the Danube, and east of the Adriatic, and moreover that part of Africa running along the coast of the Mediterranean, from the *Great Syrtis* to the river *Malva*, which formed the western boundary toward the Cæsarean Mauritania. This præfecture was subdivided into four dioceses, *Rome*, *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, which contained together thirty provinces. We shall describe them in their geographical order.

45. Diocese of Illyricum.—This diocese of Illyricum is distinguished from the præfecture of *Illyria*, belonging to the eastern empire by the special designation, *Illyricum Occi-*

dentale. It embraced all the eastern part of the præfecture of Italy, viz.: the regions east of the Adriatic, of the Julian Alps, and of the river Œnus (now Inn), which falls into the Danube. Thus it comprehended Illyricum Proper, together with Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and was divided into six provinces: 1st, *Pannonia Secunda;* 2d, *Savia;* 3d, *Pannonia Prima;* 4th, *Noricum Mediterraneum;* 5th *Noricum Ripense;* 6th, *Dalmatia*. The first was governed by a Consular, the second by a Corrector,[13] and the four others by Presidents. All these provinces, except upper Noricum and Dalmatia, were defended by military dukes and their divisions of troops, who were stationed along the Danube. It seems that the provinces of Savia and Pannonia had their military quarters in a particular region called Valeria, which extended from the hill country near *Acincum* (Buda) all along the Danube to its junction with the Drave, near Mursa (Essek), something similar, perhaps, to the present Austrian military frontiers of Croatia, where the troops (frontier regiments) live in permanent camps. The Romans had likewise fortified the hilly country between the Danube and the Theiss, called *the Bacs*, by an embankment with military stations, against the incursions of the roving Jazygian tribes of the plain. We shall now describe the provinces of the diocese of Illyricum, after their geographical order, from southeast to northwest.

46. I. Dalmatia, on the coast of the Adriatic, retained its ancient name; but it contained, besides, that northern part of ancient Illyria, known by the name of *Liburnia*, which does not seem to have formed a separate province. Its metropolis was Salona, in a beautiful plain near the coast. It was the birthplace of the Emperor Diocletian, who, after his abdication, A. D. 304, retired to the splendid palace which he had built near Salona, where he spent the remainder of his active life in rural occupations. The village of *Aspalathus*, and long afterwards the provincial town of *Spalatro*, have grown out of the ruins of the imperial asylum, which still, in spite of its architectural grandeur, exhibits the decline of arts in the third century.

47. II. Savia, north of Dalmatia, took its name from the river *Savus* (Save), which passed through it, and consisted of the southeastern part of the ancient Pannonia. Metropolis, Siscia (now Sisseck), on an island in the river *Colapis* (now Kulpa), near its junction with the Save. It was here that Theodosius defeated Maximus in 388. *Sirmium* (now Sirmich), southeast in the province, on the Save, was one of the most considerable cities of the empire. It was the birthplace of several emperors: important councils were held there, until it was burnt down and destroyed by the Huns in the fifth century. *Cibalis* (now Svilei), northwest, was the battlefield where Constantine vanquished Licinius, in 314; and at *Mursa*, further northwest, on the banks of the Drave, Constantius defeated Magnentius, A. D. 351, in a tremendous battle, which deprived the empire of 54,000 of its bravest warriors. *Acincum* or *Aquineum*, so called from its hot springs (now OldOfen, near Buda), on the Danube, was the principal city of the military district Valeria (45), and contained arsenals and manufactures of arms, like Sirmium.

III. Pannonia Secunda, or *Inferior*, west of Valeria, consisted only of the western part of the ancient Pannonia Inferior, the southern district of which had been dismembered, in order to form the province of Savia. It extended westward, to the great lake of *Pelissa* or *Balaton* (now Platten See).

Bregetio (now Szony, near Comorn), on the Danube, where Valentinian I. died in 375, is supposed to have been the metropolis of the province.

[13] In the western empire, the rank of the corrector (or co-rector) was superior to that of the president; the contrary was the case in the eastern empire.

IV. Pannonia Prima, or *Superior*, west of the former, consisted mostly of the ancient province of that name. The metropolis was probably Sabaria (now lying in ruins near Sarvar, on the Raab). *Pœtovium* (now Pettau), southwest on the Drave, near the border of Noricum, is celebrated by the second great victory which Theodosius gained over the fleeing troops of Maximus, three days after their first defeat at Siscia, in 388.

Vindobona or *Vindomina* (now imperial Vienna), and *Carnuntum* (now Presburg), both on the Danube, are often mentioned in the military history of the emperors.

48. V. Noricum Ripense, west of Pannonia Prima, from which it was separated by Mount *Cetius* (now Kalemberg, near Vienna), extended, as its name indicates, along the banks of the Danube. Metropolis Laureacum (now Lorch), on the river. A Roman squadron of galleys and armed barks were stationed here to observe the movements of the Barbarians on the northern bank, and oppose their passage. This city had manufactures of bucklers. *Boiodurum* or *Boitro* (now Innstadt, opposite to Passau), on the border of Rhætia, was likewise a town important on account of its military position.

VI. Noricum Mediterraneum, south of the former, comprised the southern part of the ancient province of Noricum. Its metropolis is supposed to have been Virunum (now in ruins near Klagenfurth), on the Drave.

49. Diocese of Italy.—This diocese, situated north of the country whose name it bore, did not extend much farther south than the limits of the ancient Cisalpine Gaul; but it embraced besides, all the ancient Rhætia and Vindelicia, between the Alps and the Danube. It was governed by a Vicar, and divided into seven provinces: 1st, *Venetia*, with *Istria;* 2d, *Emilia;* 3d, *Liguria;* 4th, *Flaminia*, with *Picenum Annonarium;* 5th, *Alpes Cottiæ;* 6th, *Rhætia Prima;* and 7th, *Rhætia Secunda*. The four first were governed by Consulars, and the five latter by Presidents. A military Duke was charged with the defence of the two Rhætiæ; only Rhætia Secunda touched the frontier line on the Rhine. We follow their geographical order from the north, southward.

50. I. Rhætia Secunda, on the north of the diocese, was formed of the ancient Vindelicia, whose metropolis, Augusta Vindelicorum (now Augsburg) on the *Licus* (Lech), still preserved its pre-eminence in the new province.

II. Rhætia Prima, on the south of the former, consisted of the ancient Rhætia Propria, which was separated from Italy by the Rhætian Alps—*Alpes Rhætiæ*—metropolis Curia (now Chur in the Grisons), at the base of Mount Splügen.

51. III. The Cottian Alps, *Alpes Cottiæ*, southwest of Rhætia, in the midst of the most towering pinnacles of the Alps, partly lying in Italy, partly in Gaul, preserved its name from the time of Augustus, who had graciously permitted the petty king Cottius to rule in this small country. When Nero afterwards reduced it to a Roman province, it retained the name of its last king. Metropolis, Segusio (now Suza), at the base of Mount Cenis, one of the most important defiles, from Gaul into Italy. Charlemagne crossed Mount Cenis, and defeated the Lombards at Suza in 774. Hannibal had crossed over *Mons Matrona*, farther southwest, and descended toward the springs of the Padus.

IV. Liguria, on the east of the Cottian Alps, was an extensive, fertile, and beautiful province, which did not only consist of the narrow, rugged, coast land of ancient Liguria, hemmed in between the Alps and the sea, but it extended over the central part of Cisalpine Gaul (the present Lombardy and Piedmont). Mediolanum (now Milan), was then both the metropolis of the province, and the capital of the western

Empire, (42), and its archiepiscopal see was independent of the Patriarch of Rome. *Asta* (now Asti), on the Tanarus, a strongly fortified town, to which Honorius fled for safety when Alaric and his Visigoths invaded Italy, in 403. At a short distance west of Asta, on the Tanarus, lay *Pollentia* (now Pollenza), where the Vandal Stilicho, then Roman general, hurrying to the succor of the besieged Emperor, defeated Alaric in a great battle, and drove him back over the Alps.

52. V. Venetia, on the east of Liguria, and separated from the diocese of Illyricum by the Julian Alps, *Alpes Juliæ*, by which the Goths penetrated into Italy, had preserved its ancient name, and comprised, besides, the beautiful peninsula of *Istria*. Its metropolis was Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic gulf, near the mouth of the *Sontius* (Isonzo). Being situated at the point where all the roads to Italy unite from east and northeast, this city obtained the highest importance, and was considered as the bulwark of Italy. Therefore were so many bloody battles fought beneath its walls. It was here that Constantine II. fell, in the war against his brother Constance, in 340; Theodosius defeated here Maximus for the third time, in 388, and afterwards he gained here another victory over Eugenius, in 394. Aquileia passed unscathed through all these storms, but at the invasion of Attila and his Huns in 452, it was taken by assault, after the most desperate defence, and levelled to the ground, never to rise again; its ruins are still seen, near Grado.—*Verona*, on the southwest of the province, in a strong position on the *Athesis* (now Adige), beheld the second defeat and flight of Alaric and his myriads, by Stilicho, in 403, but on the irruption of the Huns it was ruthlessly destroyed, together with all the neighboring cities, *Patavium* (now Padua), *Vicetia* (now Vicenza), *Altinum*, *Concordia*, and others, but soon rebuilt. The fleeing inhabitants sought refuge in the midst of the lagunes of the Adriatic coast, where they laid the foundation of the proud Republic of Venice, in 452.

53. VI. Æmilia, southwest of Venetia, contained the greater part of the ancient *Cispadane Gaul*, and received its name from the *Via Æmilia*, the great military road, which passed through its territory, and led from *Ariminium* to Placentia (now Piacenza), its metropolis, situated on the right bank of the river Padus (Po).

VIII. Flaminia, southeast of Æmilia, extended along the coast of the Adriatic, and contained the southeastern part of Gallia Cispadana, toward the mouth of the Po, the greater part of the ancient Umbria, and the coast land of the ancient *Picenum*, which at this period, on account of its exuberant fertility and high cultivation, was called *Picenum Annonarium*. The province itself received its new name from the Flaminian high road, *Via Flaminia*, which, from the northern gate of Rome, ran across Mount Apennine to *Ariminium*, one of its larger cities. The metropolis was the celebrated Ravenna (42).

54. Diocese of Rome.—This diocese embraced all central and southern Italy, and all the islands, great and small, that lie off the Italian coast. Though it bore the name of the capital of the empire, and was, no doubt, the ordinary residence of the vicar who governed it, yet its administration was nevertheless almost entirely independent of the Præfect of the City of Rome—*præfectus urbis*; the few exceptions we mention below (55). The diocese had ten provinces, which, according to their rank, followed thus: 1st, *Campania*; 2d, *Tuscia*; 3d, *Umbria*; 4th, *Sicilia*; 5th, *Apulia* with *Calabria*; 6th, *Bruttium* with *Lucania*; 7th, *Samnium*; 8th, *Sardinia*; 9th, *Corsica*; 10th, *Valeria*. The four first were governed by Consulars, the fifth and sixth by Correctors, and the four last by Presidents. We describe them in the order from north to south.

55. I. Tuscia (Tuscany), on the northwest of the diocese, held its ancient name and territory. It was divided into *Annonary* and *Suburbicary*; but the limits of the two jurisdictions are unknown. *Tuscia Suburbicaria*, like Picenum of the same name, were considered as dependences of the city of Rome, and were subjected to her præfect, whose jurisdiction seems to have extended for one hundred miles (*ad centesimum lapidem*) around the old mistress of the world. Florentia (Florence), on the *Arnus* (Arno), was the metropolis. *Fæsulæ* (Fiesole), on Mount Apennine, near Florence, where, in the valley of *Mucro* (now Mugrone), Stilicho surrounded and annihilated the immense army of Radagaisus, in 406. It was at the border of this province, between the *Saxa Rubra* (Red Rocks) and the bridge *Milvius*, now the well known Ponte Molle, over the Tiber, at 6 miles distance from Rome, where Maxentius was defeated and perished in battle against Constantine, in 312.

II. Umbria, or *Picenum Suburbicarium*, between Tuscia on the west, and Picenum Annonarium on the east, was formed of that part of ancient Umbria which extended on the western slope of Mount Apennine, and bordered on the ancient Sabini, in the neighborhood of Rome; it formed afterwards, during the Middle Ages, the duchy of Spoletium, and was called *Suburbicarium* because it depended on the præfect of the city. Spoletum or *Spoletium* (now Spoleto), in a strong position on the Apennines, and commanding the fertile valley of the *Tinia*, seems to have been the metropolis.

56. III. Valeria, south of Picenum Suburbicarium, consisted of the ancient Sabini and part of Latium, and received its name from the Valerian military road, *Via Valeria*, which passed by *Tibur* and *Alba Fucentia*, to *Corfinium*, through the Sabini to the Peligni, and northward along the coast of Picenum. This Valeria must not be confounded with the other already mentioned as the military frontier of the diocese of Illyricum (45 and 47). Metropolis, Amiternum (now Amiterno, near Aquila), southeast of Spoletium, in the highest range of the Apennines. The ancient Latium—*Latium Vetus*—the cradle of Roman power, lay southwest of Valeria, and was not numbered among the provinces, being administered by the præfect of the city.

IV. Samnium, east of Valeria, had preserved its ancient name, and extended to the coast of the Adriatic. Corfinium (now S. Pelino), near the *Aternus*, is supposed to have been its metropolis.

57. V. Campania, south of Samnium, had likewise retained its ancient name, and its high reputation for fertility and enjoyment, though it suffered terribly from the Gothic war in 410, and became then the grave of the Visigoths as it formerly had been of the Carthaginians under Hannibal.[14] Neapolis (Naples), on its splendid bay at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, was the most important city of the province, and, no doubt, its metropolis. *Beneventum*, on the southeast of Naples, had preserved both its rank and population. Since Vesuvius had become a burning volcano, Campania seemed to be more fertile than before; the exuberant soil of Capua, Nola, and Neapolis, afforded some consolation for the loss of the cities that lay buried under ashes and lava; the inhabitants were wealthy; the commerce flourishing, and the islands on the coast were adorned with palaces and pleasure houses.

VI. Apulia, northeast of Campania, formed one province together with Calabria, southeast, along the shores of the

[14] "The prostrate south to her destroyer yields
Her boasted titles and her golden fields;
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and skies of azure hue,
Scent the new fragranee of the opening rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows."

Adriatic. Luceria (now Lucera), in the great Apulian plain, seems to have been the metropolis. *Tarentum*, on the gulf of the same name, was the most flourishing city in Calabria.

VII. Bruttium occupied the western peninsula of southern Italy, opposite to Sicily, and formed one province together with Lucania, on the north, between Bruttium and Campania. Consentia (now Cosenza), in Bruttium, may have been the metropolis; it was here that Alaric, after the pillage of Rome, died in the midst of his victories, and was buried, with his splendid spoils, in the bed of the small river *Busentinus*, whose waters the Barbarians had led off, and afterwards restored to their natural channel, A. D. 410. Pæstum (now a swamp, with magnificent temple ruins, near the village of Capaccio), on the Posidonian gulf, was the principal town of Lucania.

58. VIII. Sicilia (Sicily), the most fertile and beautiful of the islands of Italy, formed a province which comprehended likewise the smaller islands situated on its coast. Syracusæ (Syracuse), on the eastern coast, though much reduced from its former splendor and circumscribed to the small island of Ortygia, was still the metropolis of the island. Lilybæum (now Marsala), on the western promontory of that name (now Cape Boco), was early occupied by the Vandals from Africa.

IX. Sardinia, on the northwest of Sicily, though almost of the same extent and fertility as that island, was yet a province of little importance; its metropolis was Cabalis (now Cagliari), on a gulf of the southern coast; its maritime towns were flourishing, but the interior not cultivated.

Corsica, north of Sardinia, was, after Valeria, the smallest province of the diocese. Aleria, a small town with a port, on the eastern coast, seems to have been the metropolis. The island was celebrated for honey and oysters.

59. Diocese of Africa.—This diocese, whose extent we have mentioned above (44), contained, like those of Asia and Macedonia (18 and 36), a proconsulate, consisting of Africa proper or Carthage, and, besides, five provinces: 1st, *Byzacena;* 2d, *Numidia;* 3d, *Tripolitana;* 4th, *Mauritania Sitifensis;* 5th, *Mauritania Cæsariensis.* The two first were governed by Consulars, and the three following by Presidents. The military Count of Africa had two Dukes under his command, one in Tripolitana, and the other in Mauritania Cæsariensis, to keep in check the roving mountaineers on Mount Atlas. We shall now describe the African provinces in their geographical order from east to west, beginning with the African Proconsulate.

60. Proconsulate of Africa Propria consisted of Carthage and the ancient Zeugitana; it was then the granary of Rome, as Egypt was that of Constantinople. It was governed by a proconsul, who did not stand under the jurisdiction of the vicar of Africa, but immediately under the prætorial præfect of Italy. Carthage, the metropolis, had risen from her ruins, and, though she might yield to the imperial prerogative of Constantinople, to the trade of Alexandria or to the splendor of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the west, as the Rome of the African world. She contained the manufactures, arms and treasures of six provinces and schools and gymnasia of high repute; her ports, public buildings and institutions were magnificent; but the reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless character. Their luxury and licentious manners had corrupted their morals and extinguished their courage; and in 439 that immense city yielded to the daring and headlong bravery of Genseric and his Vandals, who soon founded a Barbaric kingdom on the ruins of the richest provinces of the western empire.

Utica (now in ruins near Porto Farina), on the northern coast; *Hadrumetum* (now Hamamet), on the eastern coast.

61. I. Tripolitana, the most eastern of the African dioceses, on the south and east of the great Syrtis, received its name from its three principal cities all situated on the coast. Leptis Magna (now Lebida), its metropolis; *Œa* (now Tripolis), east of Leptis; *Sabrata* (now Sabart or old Tripolis), west of Œa.

II. Byzacena, west of the lesser Syrtis, with the metropolis Byzacium, formerly *Tacape* (now Kabes), situated on the coast opposite to the large island of Meninx (now Gerbe).

62. III. Numidia, west of Africa proper, had retained its ancient name, but only the eastern part of the old province. Constantina, formerly *Cirta*, the ancient capital of the Numidian kings, obtained her modern name from Constantine, and was the metropolis of the province. *Hippone* or *Hippo Regius* (now Bona), a strongly fortified city on the coast, was the archiepiscopal seat of St. Augustine, who died there during the siege of the city by the Vandals in 430.

IV. Mauritania Sitifensis, west of Numidia, consisted of the western part of that ancient province and of a small part of Mauritania. Its metropolis was Sifeti (now Setif), in the interior of the country.

V. Mauritania Cæsariensis, west of the former, comprehended the greater part of the ancient province of Mauritania Orientalis, and took the name of its metropolis Cæsarea (now Vacur), on the coast of the Mediterranean opposite to the Balearic islands.

Præfecture of the Gauls.

63. Extent and Divisions.—The præfecture of the Gauls comprehended besides the Transalpine Gaul, 1st, *Old Spain*, with the *Balearic* islands, and *Mauritania Tingitana* in the northwest of Africa; 2d, the southern portion of the island of *Britain* as far north as the Antoninian Wall. These three large countries formed three dioceses—Spain, the Gauls, and Bretain, which were subdivided in twenty-nine provinces, and even thirty, as we shall see below (69).

64. Diocese of Hispania.—It was governed by a Vicar, and contained seven provinces; 1st, *Bætica;* 2d, *Lusitania;* 3d, *Gallicia;* 4th, *Tarraconensis;* 5th, *Carthaginiensis;* 6th, *Tingitana;* 7th, *Baleares Insulæ.* The three first were governed by Consulars, and the four others by Presidents. We will describe them from south to north.

65. I. Tingitana or *Mauritania Tingitana*, separated on the east by the river Malva, from the Cæsarean Mauritania of the Italian præfecture, extended westward to the Atlantic Ocean, and owed its name to its metropolis Tingis (Tangier), on the western entrance of the Straits of Gades (now Gibraltar), which separated it from Spain.

II. Bætica (afterwards in Arabic: *Vandalos*, *Andalos*, now Andalusia), consisting of the southernmost part of Spain, received its name from the river Bætis (by the Arabs afterwards called Wady-al-Kebir, or Guadalquiver), which flowed through that fertile and beautiful province. Hispilis (now Seville), on the left bank of the river, was the metropolis. *Corduba* (now Cordova) was the next city in rank.

III. Lusitania, northwest of Bœtica, along the coast of the Atlantic, had for metropolis Emerita Augusta (now Merida), on the river *Anas* (by the Arabs called Wady-Ana, now Guadiana).

66. IV. Carthaginiensis, northeast of Bœtica, along the coast of the Mediterranean, obtained its name from Carthago Nova (now Carthagena).

V. Tarraconensis, north of the former, with the metropolis Tarraco (now Tarragona). This was the most important city in Spain during the dominion of the Romans, and no

doubt the residence of the Vicar and the military Count of the diocese.

VI. Gallæcia (now Galicia), on the northwest of the Peninsula, received its name from the warlike people, the Gallæci or Gallaïci, who so long had defended their independence against the Romans. Metropolis, Bracara Augusta (now Braga), north of the *Durius* (Duero).

VII. Insulæ Baleares, situated opposite the eastern coast of Spain. Palma or *Balearis Major* (now Mayorca), was perhaps the metropolis. Portus Magonis (now Port-Mahon) was the principal town in *Balearis Minor* (now Minorca). Spain was the most flourishing province of the empire in the fourth century. Many profound philosophers and poets of bold and lofty genius were natives of Spain; and the mechanical arts flourished without degrading the high spirit of the nation. It furnished the empire with brave and hardy warriors, with brass, iron, gold, silver and noble steeds; of wine and oil there was abundance; in the less fertile parts of the country flax and spartum were cultivated.[15]

67. Diocese of the Gauls.—This diocese was governed by a Vicar, and embraced all Transalpine Gaul between the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps, the Rhine, the British Ocean and the Atlantic; it was divided into seventeen provinces after the *notitia imperii;* but the first of these provinces (69) was already subdivided into two others at the period of our map. These provinces were according to their importance: 1st, *Viennensis*, towards the close of the fourth century divided into *prima* and *secunda;* 2d, *Lugdunensis Prima;* 3d, *Germania Prima;* 4th, *Germania Secunda;* 5th, *Belgica Prima;* 6th, *Belgica Secunda;* 7th, *Alpes Maritimæ;* 8th, *Alpes Penninæ* and *Grajæ;* 9th, *Maxima Sequanorum;* 10th, *Aquitania Prima;* 11th, *Aquitania Secunda;* 12th, *Novempopulana;* 13th, *Narbonensis Prima;* 14th, *Narbonensis Secunda;* 15th, *Lugdunensis Secunda;* 16th, *Lugdunensis Tertia;* 17th, *Lugdunensis Quarta* or *Senonia.*

Germania Prima, Belgica Secunda, and Maxima Sequanorum, were occupied by Dukes with their troops for the defence of the frontiers; another Duke had the inspection of the northwestern sea-coast against the pirates. The entire coast, from the *Scaldis* on the east, to *Gobæum Promontorium*—the western cape—were divided into two naval districts: *Armoricanus et Nericanus Tractus.* We shall now shortly describe these seventeen provinces in their order from southwest to northeast.

68. I. Novempopulana, later *Vasconia* (now Gascogne), was situated at the base of the Pyrenees, and on the southwest of Gaul and Aquitania, whose third province it formed; and owed its name to the nine Gallic tribes that occupied it. Metropolis, Elusa, in the centre of the province; a title which it surrendered in the ninth century to the town *Ausci* (now Auch), on the southeast.

II. Aquitania Secunda, north of the former, along the coast of the ocean, extended to the Liger (now Loire), with Burdigala (now Bordeaux), on the Garumna (Garonne) for its metropolis.

III. Aquitania Prima, east of Secunda, with the metropolis Bituriges or *Avaricum* (Bourges), in the north of the province.

69. IV. Narbonensis Prima, south of Aquitania Prima, ran along the Gallic gulf from the Pyrenees to the *Rhodanus* (Rhone). Narbonensis had formerly been a vast province, and given its name to the four following provinces. Its metropolis was Narbo Martius (Narbonne), on the coast.

V. Viennensis or *Narbonensis Tertia*, east of the former, extended along the left bank of the Rhone from its mouth till its exit from Lake *Leman.* It became divided into two provinces toward the close of the fourth century, as we have mentioned above (67). Viennensis Prima on the north, with the metropolis Vienna on the Rhone, and Viennensis Secunda in the south, with the metropolis Arelas or *Arelate* (Arles), a beautiful and populous city, the residence of the Prætorial Præfect for the Gauls. The poet Ausonius calls it the Gallic Rome—*Gallula Roma Arelas.*

VI. Narbonensis Secunda, east of Viennensis, with the metropolis, Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence), which took its name from its celebrated hot springs. *Massilia* (now Marseilles) the ancient Greek colony, and flourishing commercial town. *Forum Iulii* (now Frejus), on the southeast, served as a naval station for the imperial fleets.

VII. Alpes Maritimæ, east of the former, along the ridge of the Alpine chain. Metropolis Eburodunum (now Embrun), near the source of the *Druentia* (Durance).

VIII. Alpes Penninæ et Grajæ, northeast of the former, were, together with the Alpes Maritimæ, considered as one of the provinces of the Narbonensis. Metropolis Darantasia, (now Moûtier in the valley of the Tarantaise), on the upper Isara, in the midst of the highest Alps.

70. IX. Lugdunensis Prima, north of Viennensis, so called from its metropolis Lugdunum (now Lyons), on the junction of the *Arar* (Saone) and the Rhone, one of the largest and most important cities in Gaul. *Matisco* (now Macon), on the *Arar*, and *Augustodunum* (now Autun), more northwest, had imperial manufactures of armor and arrows. The whole of central Gaul had in the olden time been called *Celtica*, afterwards Lugdunensis was substituted, and comprehended besides the Prima, the following three provinces:

X. Lugdunensis Quarta, northwest of the Prima, more frequently called Senonia, from its metropolis Senones (now Sens), on the *Icauna* (now Yonne). Parisii, earlier *Lutetia Parisiorum* (now Paris) on the *Sequana* (Seine), began already to have great importance from the time of the residence of the Emperor Julian, the Apostate, in A. D. 355. Of the numerous Roman ruins of ancient Paris, only the relics of the palace of Julian and the catacombs are left.

XI. Lugdunensis Tertia, west of the former, embraced all the peninsula of Armorica, whose warlike inhabitants during the distress of the empire threw off the yoke, and recovered their independence—Metropolis Cæsarodunum or *Turones* (now Tours), on the Loire.

XII. Lugdunensis Secunda, northeast of the former. Metropolis Rotomagus (now Rouen), on the Seine.

71. XIII. Belgica Secunda, all along the *Fretum Gallicum* or the Channel. Metropolis Duro-Cortorum or *Remi* (now Rheims), with military depôts and manufactures of arms. —*Suessiones* (Soissons), and *Ambianum* (Amiens), on the Somme, had likewise celebrated manufactures of defensive armor and military engines.

XIV. Belgica Prima, east of the former. Metropolis Treveri (now Trèves), with manufactures of arms and military engines, had been one of the richest and most considerable cities in Gaul, and the residence of the Prætorial Præfect of the dioeese, before it had been transferred to Arles during the war with the Franks.

XV. Maxima Sequanorum, southeast of Belgica Prima. Metropolis Vesontio (Besançon), on the *Dubis* (Dubs).

XVI. Germania Prima or *Superior*, east of Belgica Prima, along the banks of the Rhine. Magontiacum (Mayence), on the left bank of that river, was the metropolis. It was protected by the long line of fortifications which Hadrian had drawn from the *Mœnus* (Mayn) across the present Franconia to Regium (Ratisbon), on the Danube. *Argentoratum* (now Strasburgh), more south, likewise on the river, was the residence of a military count, with depots and arsenals. Near the city

[15] A kind of broom for making cables, &c.

a great battle took place with the united kings of the Alemanni in 357, in which Julian defeated them gallantly and drove them across the river.

XVII. Germania Secunda or *Inferior*, northwest of the former, extended along the left bank of the Rhine until its discharge in the German Sea. Metropolis Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), on the left bank of the river.—*Asciburgium* (now Asburgh), *Bonna* (now Bonn).—*Confluentes* (now Coblentz), on the junction of the Moselle with the Rhine.—*Borbetomagus* or *Vormacia* (now Worms). All these cities on the Rhine, and those on the upper Danube, such as Ratisbon, *Batava-Castra* (Passau), and Vienna, had in their origin been Roman camps—*castra-stativa*—of the sixteen legions, that, for centuries, were stationed on the borders of Germany. The neighboring Gallic and German inhabitants had successively settled around these bulwarks, for their protection and commerce. Foreign merchants from distant countries had there opened their markets and fairs, and thus those wealthy and powerful cities arose, which later during the Middle Ages as free imperial towns—*Freie Reichsstädte*—were to form their armed confederacies and bear down on the spear-point the despotism of the proud nobility of the Germanic empire. During the civil wars between the wrangling sons of Constantine (340–355), the Roman garrisons had been recalled from the Rhine, and the flourishing provinces of Gaul were thus exposed to the incursions of the German barbarians beyond the river. Swarms of Franks and Alemanni (77) now crossed and spread devastation as far as the Loire. Forty-five populous cities, Tongres, Cologne, Trèves, Worms, Spire, and Strasburgh, besides a far greater number of open towns and villages were pillaged and for the most part reduced to ashes. The Alemanni already began to establish themselves on the left bank of the Rhine, and the Franks occupied *the island of the Batavians* (now Holland) and Toxandria (Brabant), when Julian, the young emperor, appeared with his legions, and in the brilliant campaigns of 356–358, defeated the Alemanni at Strasburgh, driving them headlong across the Rhine, and making a treaty with the powerful Franks, permitted them to settle down in the depopulated province of Germania Secunda (now Belgium), where they remained faithful allies of the Romans in the later wars with Attila and the Huns (451), until they, under Clovis, burst forth in 486 to share the spoils of the perishing Empire of the West.

72. Diocese of Britain.—Roman Britain, which embraced the whole of modern England, and the Lowlands of Scotland, as far as the wall of Agricola, between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde, formed a diocese governed by a Vicar, and was subdivided into five provinces, about whose position, borders, and cities, we have very imperfect information. These provinces were, 1st, *Maxima Cæsariensis;* 2d, *Valentia;* 3d, *Britannia Prima;* 4th, *Britannia Secunda;* 5th, *Flavia Cæsariensis.* The two first were governed by Consulars, and the three others by Presidents. Two military consuls and a duke were stationed in this far-off diocese, for its defence against the warlike Caledonians in the unsubdued Highlands on the north of the island. We begin our description with the south.

73. I. Flavia Cæsariensis,[16] which received its imperial name from Flavius Constantius Chlorus, the father of the great Constantine, contained the eastern part of the island, the Mercia and East Anglia of the Anglo-Saxons in the 7th century. The *Abus* (Tyne), divided it from Maxima Cæsariensis on the north, the *Sabrina* (Severn), from Britannia Secunda on the west, and the *Tamesis* (Thames), from Britannia Prima on the south. The metropolis must have been either Londinium (London), on the Tamesis, or Verulamium (St. Albans, in Hertfordshire), one of the earliest and most important colonies of the Romans.

II. Britannia Prima embraced the south of the island, from the mouth of the Tamesis westward to the *Sabrianum Æstuarium* (the Bristol Channel). Metropolis Durovernum (now Canterbury), on the southeast of the province. *Venta Belgarum* (now Winchester) was a thriving colony of Belgians, settled in the island. *Dubræ* (Dover), on the cliffs of the *Fretum Gallicum* (British Channel), opposite to the Gallic harbor *Itius* (now Calais), the nearest passage across.

Britannia Secunda formed the western mountainous portion of the island, between the Severn and the Irish Channel, the modern Wales. Metropolis may have been Isca Silurum (now Caerleon), on the mouth of the Severn, the ancient capital of the *Silures.*

IV. Maxima Cæsariensis lay on the north of the Humber (Northumbria), as far as the wall of Hadrian on the Tyne. Metropolis Eboracum (now York), in the centre of the province, the seat of the vicar of Britain. It was a large, well fortified, and flourishing city, the centre of all the Roman military forces and arsenals in the island. Both Septimus Severus, and Constantius Chlorus, made a long sojourn in York, and both died there.

V. Valentia was the northernmost part of the British diocese, and comprehended the whole district inclosed between the southern wall of Hadrian, and the earlier outer wall of Agricola on the Forth, between Edinburgh and Glasgow; thus it comprised the later county of Northumberland, and the Scottish Border and Lowlands. It was only a military line, without any regular Roman settlement.[17] The great Julius Agricola, after his brilliant victories against the Caledonians, at the base of the Grampians (the highlands of Perth), built the first fortification across the narrow interval of forty miles, which he secured by a line of military stations. Yet it proved but an insecure protection, and Hadrian, therefore, in his enthusiasm for architecture, built in 132, the beautiful double wall, now in its ruins, called the *Picts' Wall*, running for eighty Roman miles, from the mouth of the Eden river and the Frith of Solway, near Carlisle, north of the Tyne, to Newcastle. It was a magnificent work, with eighty-one strong castles, between which were located numerous smaller towers. Four gates can still be traced. Between the two ranges of walls ran a Roman military road of immense flag-stones, lined with extensive barracks, quarters for cavalry, and fortified storehouses and arsenals. Interesting inscriptions of the old legions have been found, for instance: *Ala Prima Astorum*, and *Ala Saviniana*, *Ala Petriana* (all three cavalry), *Cohors Prima Batavorum*, *Cohors Prima Tungrorum*, *Cohors Quarta Gallorum*, *Cohors Secunda Dalmatorum*, *Cohors Prima Ælia Dacorum*, which show how many different nationalities were gathered beneath the Roman eagles, and joined company together. During the happy reign of Antoninus Pius, the Romans advanced once more into Caledonia, and the earlier embankment of Agricola was now restored, by a turf rampart, erected on solid foundations of stone. It was considered as the *limes imperii*, and called *Vallum Antonini.* The district was, however, soon invaded by the barbarians from the

[16] Great doubt exists with regard to the position of Flavia Cæsariensis, and Britannia Prima. We follow here Spruner, in the latest edition of his Mediæval Atlas, and in his Atlas Antiquus. Professor Ansart, in his translation of the Historical Atlas of Kruse (1834), and Dr. Wiltsch, in his excellent Ecclesiastical Atlas (1844), have both placed Flavia Cæsariensis in the south, so that the two Britanniæ lie east and west together.

[17] The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe, turned with contempt from the gloomy hills, assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by troops of naked barbarians.—*Gibbon, chapter* 1.

sea-shore, and though Count Theodosius reconquered it, and gave it its name Valentia, in honor of the Emperor Valentinian, yet it was definitively lost for the empire in 395, when the legionaries could hardly defend themselves behind the still stronger walls of Hadrian; and the daring Picts and Scots carried their depredations among the peaceful and disarmed Britons on the Humber.

Such was the state of the Roman Empire, in A. D. 395.

§ II. THE WORLD OF THE BARBARIANS,

AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

74. General Division.—The Barbarian or extra-Roman World, during the fourth century, immediately before, or during the great migration of the northern tribes across the Danube and the Rhine, between A. D. 376 and 410, can, with regard to the relations of those nations to the Roman Empire, be divided into three great parts. 1st. The countries situated in the centre and north of Europe and the northwest of Asia, which were inhabited by *Celts*, *Germans*, *Scandinavians*, *Slavi*, *Finns*, and *Huns*. 2d. The countries in Asia, south of Mount Caucasus, on the eastern frontiers of the empire, occupied by *Chazars*, *Tartars*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, and *Sarazens*. 3d. The regions of northern Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic, and extending south of the empire, toward the great Libyan desert, with their wild Moorish tribes of *Amazirghi*, *Kabyles*, *Berbers*, and other mixed *Æthiopian* races.

I. Northern Countries.

75. Regions and Principal Nations.—On the north and northeast of the Roman frontiers beyond the Rhine, the Danube, the Black Sea, and the chain of Mount Caucasus, vast plains extend to the shores of the ocean and its many gulfs, which embrace the European Continent on the north. These plains are, on the east, bordered by the high range of Mount Oural, which only by a swelling hill country, forming the water-shed of numerous rivers, is connected on the southwest with the Carpathian and Bohemian Mountains of Central Europe. In the north and northwest these plains were then covered with dense and sombre forests. On the southeast, toward the Pontus and the Caspian, they formed open steppes, with fertile pasture grounds along the banks of the rivers, where from times immemorial, Scythian and Sarmatian nations roamed as nomades with their herds and flocks. All these countries were but little known to the ancients. The Greeks and Romans were ignorant of their limits; and they designated them confusedly under the vague denominations of *Germania*, *Sarmatia Europæa*, *Sarmatia Asiatica*, and *Scythia*. During the first two centuries of our era, while the empire still subsisted in its full force, the Romans cared little about the revolutions of those distant regions, except only those of the Germans, who were continually attacking the Roman garrisons on the frontier lines of the Rhine and the Danube.

The conquest of Germany, and the extension of the Roman frontiers to the Baltic—*Sinus Codanus* or *Mare Suevicum*—had been a favorite idea in the times of Augustus. But the terrible defeat of the Roman legions, under Varus, on the banks of the *Luppia* (Lippe), near Paderborn, in the year 9 A. C., and the little advantage of the later avenging expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus, made the emperors give up those fond hopes, and henceforth they circumscribed themselves to the defence of the *river lines* and the Hadrian walls, between the Mayn and Danube beyond them. But the Germanic nations, who separately had been vanquished and repelled by Roman discipline, began, during the third century, to form large confederacies of kindred tribes: the Franks on the lower, and the Alemanni (all men) on the upper Rhine; the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Boioarii (Bavarians) on the Danube; the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Gepidæ on the Pontus. Like the waves of the tempestuous ocean, against the opposing dikes, they continued their attacks against the weakened and demoralized empire with various success, until, in the year 376, the Huns, from the Volga, subdued all the eastern Germanic and Sclavonic nations, and uniting with them, fell upon the more western tribes, and forced them, by a mighty, simultaneous effort, to cross the rivers, and to seek new settlements in the civilized provinces of the South. Thus the sudden appearance of the Huns in A. D. 375 is the signal for the general irruption of the Germans, and the dismemberment of the Roman Empire.

We shall now attempt to describe the nations of independent Germany in their seats, immediately before that great event which changed the whole political position of Europe, and the empire of the Huns, under Balomir and Attila (376—451), at that time embracing the greater part of ancient Scythia and Sarmatia, from Mount Oural to the Danube, and to the very heart of Germany.

A.—GERMANIA.

76. Its Extent.—Ancient Germany extended from the coasts of the Germanic Ocean and the Baltic, on the north, to the banks of the Danube on the south. On the west it bordered on the Rhine—though some Germanic tribes were early seated on the left bank of that river, and there mixed up with the Belgians. On the east, the Vistula and the Carpathians separated it nominally from Sarmatia. We say nominally, because so early as the third century the Gothic tribes from Scandinavia had already begun their migrations toward the Black Sea, and had, after the conquest of Sarmatia, formed those powerful *Germanic Empires* of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ, which extended the German tongue from the Rhine to the *Thanais* (Don).[18] The Romans being almost entirely unacquainted with the countries north of the Baltic, counted the large peninsula of Jutland—*Chersonesus Cimbrica*—the Danish Archipelago, and *Scandinavia* (Sweden and Norway), as part of Germany. Scandinavia they believed to be a dreary island, situated in the Northern Ocean—*Oceanus Septentrionalis*—and their poets frequently descant upon the horrors of the *Ultima Thule*.

77. Early Migrations.—Through the dim traditions of early ages we discover that different nations, descending from the table lands of Mount Caucasus, and the distant Himalaya, took a western direction toward Europe. They all concur to prove that that continent was originally peopled by four great streams of population from central Asia, which followed each other at intervals so distant and so distinct as to possess languages clearly separable from one another, though the common root of all is found in the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. All these nations have, therefore, by modern Philologians, been called the *Indo-Germanic Race*. The earliest of these nations, the *Pelasgi*, we meet already in the eighteenth century, B. C., occupying the Hesperian and Illyrian Peninsulas, that is, Italy and Greece, and the islands of the Egean. From the many Pelasgian tribes sprang the Greek, Illyrian, and Italian nationalities, and their languages. Greek and Latin stand as sisters in relation to the ancient Pelasgian mother tongue. The second migration, that of the *Celts*, and their kindred the *Cimmerians* (Cimbri), took a more northern direction, and settled in early times both in Spain, France

[18] This is the reason why some writers from the fourth century say that Germany comprised the whole country westward of the Thanais

and in the British Islands, where the Welsh still preserve the name of Kymri; other Cimbri seem to have taken possession of Jutland, whence they later migrated to Italy, and were destroyed by Marius (B. C. 101). The third race, the *Germanic tribes*, finding the south and west occupied by Pelasgians and Celts, settled in the centre and continued their conquests north against the Finns or Chudes, already from remote times inhabiting Scandinavia. In the east the Germans were, in several regions, mixed up with the *Sarmatian* or *Sclavonic* tribes, who form the fourth race, whose progress westward occurs in much later times, *i. c.*, the fourth and fifth centuries, and continues until the 11th and 12th, because the Sclavonians followed slowly in the track of the Germans, being themselves pushed on from the east by the Huns, and later by the Chazars and other fierce Turcoman tribes from beyond the Caspian. Numerous detached Sclavonic hordes settled in the abandoned lands between the Danube and the Baltic, and became the neighbors of the Germans on the Elbe and the Adriatic. It is from the branches of the German stem that, not only our immediate forefathers the Angles, Saxons and Danes, but also those of the other celebrated nations of modern Europe, unquestionably have descended. The German race was divided into two nationalities, the *Scandinavian* or *Norman*, and the *Dutch* (Deutch) or *Gothic*. To the first belong the Danes, Longobards (Lombards), Angles, Jutes, Swedes, Norwegians and Icelanders. To the main German stock the mighty people of the Goths, the Souabians, the Bojoars (Bavarians), the Markomanni in Bohemia, the Thuringians in central Germany, the Franks on the Rhine, the Vandals, Burgundians, Herules, Rugians—all on the Baltic, the Vistula and Oder, the Frisians on the German Sea, and the Saxons on the Elbe, the neighbors of the Angles, Jutes and Danes, and partaking of their dialect, religion and manners.

All these tribes of the Germanic race resembled each other in their general character, although each had its particular virtues or vices: thus to make a distinction, we say that the Goth was noble, honest, and sober; the Vandal and Herule fierce and bloodthirsty rovers; the Aleman and Bavarian swaggering and intemperate; the Frank lively, voluptuous and treacherous; the Saxon sincere, daring, and always rough and ready.[19]

78. Description of the Country.—The general aspect of Germany during this period, was very different from what it is at the present day. It was then almost entirely covered with impenetrable forests, interspersed with pathless morasses and swamps, which rendered the atmosphere damp and cold. The banks of the lower Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe were marshy, and the entire western coast of Holland, Hanover and Holstein—which now after the exertions of fifty consecutive generations, by immense dikes and bulwarks, secure the rich pasture lands (marsk) against the waves of the Germanic Ocean, were, at that remote time, exposed to the continual inundations of the stormy element. The most celebrated of all the forests of Germany, which inspired the Romans with shuddering and dismay, was the Hercynian forest, *Hercynius Saltus*, extending from the sources of the Danube northward, between the Rhine and Mayn—the present Odenwald and Spessart—and crossing this river eastward through the whole breadth of Germany, north of Bohemia, joining the Carpathian range, and then descending upon the plains of Dacia or Moldau. It embraced thus all the central mountain-ranges of Germany, the Ertz, Fichtel and Riesen-Gebirge, though it appears that the Romans had likewise particular names for different parts of it.* Cæsar describes it as an impenetrable and dreary region, through which the reindeer, the elk, and the wild urus ranged at liberty, or were chased by the still wilder Souabian. With the change in the climate the former of these useful animals have now retired northward to the pole, and constitute the principal food and wealth of the Laplanders; while the *urus* (our ox) is still met with in the woods of eastern Poland.

"Who would leave the softer climate of Italy, Asia or Africa," says the terrified Roman, "or fix his abode in that country where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and if we except the affection of a native for his mother soil, without a single allurement to make life supportable!" Yet in open villages, on the outskirts of those green forests, on the banks of those majestic rivers, lived a handsome, healthy, noble race, whom the pigmy Romans in their arrogance and envy called Barbarian Giants; and whom modern classical pedants most injudiciously have compared with the savage *Redskins* of the American forests. No! the German Barbarians were made of steel of another temper!—a race endowed with brilliant qualities of mind and body, which excited the dread and admiration of the all-conquering Romans themselves; nay, history records no people who possessed nobler capacities and qualifications, rule and order, a sublime patriotism, fidelity and chastity, in a greater proportion than the Germans. "There," says Tacitus, "no one smiles at vice, for in the Germans good morals effect *more*, than elsewhere good laws." This moral worth of the Germans, which beams through all their rudeness, their love of arms and strife, had its true basis in the sanctity of marriage and domestic happiness; for these two important features determined the morality of the ancient Germans, as they do now that of the modern Americans. The children of the Germans were to their parents the *dearest* pledges of love; nor was a trace to be found in Germany of the tyrannical power of the cruel Roman father over his children.

79. Institutions.—In the institutions of the Germans we find already the origin of the Feudal System, which was entirely unknown among the Greeks and Romans of antiquity. The German lord—ædling—lives on his estate with his family, occupied with riding, hunting, feasting or fighting; he despises all mechanical pursuits, and leaves the care of his farms to his *lides* or serfs, who are personally freemen and well treated, but furnish their lord with grain and cattle. They are only vassals, while prisoners of war or criminals become real slaves, attendant upon their masters like the *servi* of the Romans. All the German ædlings, with shield and lance, accompanied by their vassals, assembled on horseback at their national diet—*mallum*—where they chose their king (*könig*) from the most powerful family. The king wears long flowing hair as his particular distinction, but his power is very circumscribed; and if unskilful or unfortunate in war, the nobles had the right to select another leader or *herzog* to lead them to battle. From these herzogs sprang afterwards the celebrated mayors of the palace—*mayores domûs*—among the Franks. At these *malla*, the young nobles received their arms and steeds, the

[19] The language of the Germans formed two distinct dialects, the high German—*Hoch-deutch*—and the low German—*Plat-deutch*. Of the first we possess the celebrated Gothic translation of the Gospels by Bishop Ulphilas, A. D. 348—88, in the Mœso-Gothic mother tongue—the oldest monument of the German language, and two highly interesting collections of Heroic songs—the Book of the Heroes or *Heldenbuch*, and the song of the Niebelungen, both from an early period of the middle ages. In the low Saxon, we have the Epic poem of *Reineke Fox*, the Saxon Mirror (*Sachsenspiegel*) and other poems. In the 12th century the Saxon dialect began to yield to the more polished dialect of Souabia, and the chivalrous poetry of the *minnesängers* (troubadours) which then rose to become the written language, while the old Saxon dwindled down to a vulgar dialect spoken in Hanover and Holstein.

[20] f. c. *Marciana Silva* for the Black forest—the *Schwartz-wald*—between the upper Rhine, and the sources of the Danube.

early origin of the arming of the knight in later ages. Among the Germans the oldest son inherits the paternal estate, the younger brothers are provided only with shield, lance and war-horse, and then sent off to fight their fortune elsewhere. Here we have the origin of the armed retinue which surrounded the German nobles; for the young warriors would take military service at the estate or court of a neighboring chief, and thus become his sworn liegemen and follow his banner. The chiefs of highest note received the sword of justice, as Counts or *Grafen*, in the regions or *Gaue*, into which the valleys of Germany were divided, and they were later, after the conquest of the Roman provinces, rewarded with estates and territories which they held with military tenure, and thus the earliest form of feudality is established. The different German tribes were in continual hostility with one another, and their eternal feuds gave the greatest security to the Roman empire. Chieftains defeated at home, fled to the Romans and received aid to return sword in hand. Large bands of outlaws flocked together; the sword gave a support no less than the plough. Thus rose that celebrated class of warriors by the Germans called *Recken* or *Warägen* (Varœgs,) and by the Danes *Væringer* or armed refugees, who sought their fortune in foreign lands. All these homeless warriors formed the flower, the vanguard of those immense swarms of armed tribes of a hundred nations,—Germans, Scandinavians, and Sclavonians, whom we meet at the great migration in A. D. 376. The Germans fought with shield and lance, without heavy armor, in deep columns in the form of wedges. Their horse was formidable and much feared by the Romans on account of the select bodies of young archers, who were exercised to keep pace with the cavalry by laying hold of the manes of the horses while charging at full career. Cæsar owed his victory at Pharsalus to such a daring exploit of his auxiliary squadrons of German horse.

80. Nations of Germany.—The most celebrated tribes inhabiting that country immediately before their invasion of the Roman empire in the fifth century, were the following:

The Frisians—*Frisii*—Friesen—inhabited the northwestern coasts, from the Mosa to the Eider, and higher north, to Jutland. The Frisian tribes had, no doubt, been driven toward the sea by the Saxons; yet on the low, swampy coast and the adjacent islands (now Holland and Friesland), they found a refuge, and were left to themselves. The whole nature of that country has now changed by the irruption of the sea; the lake *Flevo* formerly received the northern branch of the Rhine, but became transformed into the open gulf of Zuider-Sea. The *North* or *Strand Frisians* inhabited the coast of Schleswig—the West-wold—with its rich pasture lands (the Marsk), and the celebrated island of Helgoland—*Heiligland*, or Sacred Isle—at the mouth of the Elbe. There those hardy pirates had their naval stations, the sanctuaries of their idols, and their hoarded wealth, which they for centuries defended at the lance's point, against Danes and Saxons.

The Franks—*Franci*—southeast of the Frisons (in the Prussian Rhine Provinces, Hassia, Nassau, and Belgium), from the *Scaldis* (Scheldt), and the Mosella to the *Visurgis* (Weser), formed a powerful confederation of the western German tribes, the Chamavi, Sicambri, Bructeri, Catti, and others mentioned by Tacitus, in the 1st century.[21] The Franks were divided into the *Ripuarii*, who remained on the banks of the Rhine, and westward as far as the *Mosa* (Meuse), and the *Salii* or Salian Franks, who had advanced and occupied the lands beyond the Scheldt between the *Samara* (Somme) and the Mosa, which Julian the Apostate ceded to them at the treaty of 358.

81. The Alemanni, in the southwestern angle of Germany, on the Upper Rhine (in Baden, Würtemberg and Switzerland), were the ancient people of the Suevi, or Sonabians, who, in the time of Caracalla (A. D. 211), had formed another confederacy with their neighbors the Turoni, Hermanduri, and other tribes, and, calling themselves *Alemanni* or All-men, invaded the territory behind the Hadrian Wall, where they afterwards obtained permanent seats. This was the most exposed part of the empire, between the upper Rhine and the springs of the Danube: it was called *Sinus Imperii;* and indeed Rome nourished the serpents in her bosom!

The Hermunduri, on the east, lived formerly on the upper Mayn, toward the Danube (in Franconia). They were a quiet people, who are more known from their brisk commerce with the Romans on the Danube, than by their military exploits. After the invasion of the Bojoars, or Bavarians, they melt away, or mix with the Alemanni.

The Burgundians—*Burgundi* or *Burgundiones*,—and the Vandals—*Vandali*—were at the time we speak of (395), the eastern neighbors of the Alemanni. They belong to the same race, and had formerly occupied the shores of the Baltic. The Burgundians have left their name in the small island, *Burgunderholm* (Bornholm), in the Baltic. The Vandals, and their fierce companions, the *Rugians*, from the island of Rügen, and the *Herules*, being driven west by the Goths, fell upon the Suevi and Hermunduri, and carved out with their swords new and more pleasant settlements on the Mayn, where we find them preparing for the great expedition beyond the Rhine, in A. D. 406. The Herules and Rugians, however, remained on the Danube, where the country north of Vienna, toward Hungary, afterwards was called Rugiland.

The Marcomans—*Marcomanni*—appear for the first time as the conquerors of the Bojoars—*Boii*—in their old seats in *Boiohenum* (Böheim or Bohemia). The vanquished people abandoned their native valley, and were by the Romans permitted to cross the Danube, and occupy parts of Rhætia Secunda, which later received the name of *Bojoaria*, now Bavaria. The Marcomans in Bohemia, and their allies, the Quadi, in Moravia, gave great trouble to the Romans on the Danube; they even crossed the Alps, and appeared before Aquileja; but Marcus Aurelius drove them back with so great a loss, that they afterwards disappear altogether, mingling up, no doubt, with Herules or Langobards.

The Quadi were divided into two tribes, *Ripuarii* inhabiting the left bank of the Danube, and *Transjugitani* beyond the mountains in Moravia and Silesia.

The Varini or Varni inhabited the shores of the Baltic, west of the Rugians, in the present Pomerania, where they bordered on the Saxons and Langobards.

82. The Saxons—*Saxones*—formed a powerful confederation of Low-German tribes between the Baltic and the Elbe (in the present Holstein and the territory of Hamburg). But when the Franks began to invade Gaul, and settle beyond the Rhine, the Saxons likewise crossed the Elbe and occupied the lands which they had left. The Saxons thus extended on the Weser, and as far as the lower Rhine, absorbing the smaller tribes, who yielded to their power; and they soon began, with their neighbors and cousins the Angles and Jutes, to prepare their fleets for their piratic expeditions on the coasts, which half a century later were to carry them across the German Ocean, to the shores of Britain.

The Langobards or Longobards.—*Longobardi*, East of the Saxons, in the present Lauenburg and Brandenburg, were originally a Scandinavian people from the north of Jutland,

[21] Prof. Henry Leo opposes the idea of a Frankic Confederacy. According to his views the Franks were the *masters*, and the vanquished tribes stood to them in the relation of subjects, Ledjonen (*ignavi*, or cowards), who had lost part of their personal liberty.—*History of the Middle Ages.* Halle, 1830, p. 85.

beyond the *Liimfiord* (the province called Vendila). That their language was Danish is sufficiently proved by their historian Paul Warnefrid and their laws afterwards in Lombardy. They received their name—"*Longbeards*"—according to tradition, from Odin, the All-father himself.[22] They abandoned their dreary home during an inundation of the ocean, and remained for a length of time on the Elbe. In a subsequent period, after the first great migration, we find them again in northern Pannonia (Hungary), where they form a powerful and warlike nation.

The Angles—*Angli*—north of the Saxons and Langobards, beyond the river Eider (in the present Duchy of Schleswig, where a district is still called Angeln), were of Scandinavian origin, like their neighbors the Jutes or Jotes—*Jutæ*—in the northern part of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica* (Jutland). "*Dan and Angul*" says the historian, Saxo the Grammarian, "*were brothers*," a figurative statement of the fact that the Danish and English people are originally descended from the same ancestry.[23] They soon joined the Saxons in their maritime expeditions, and migrated with them and some of the Jutes, to Britain toward the middle of the 5th century. The Jute and the Angle or Sleswiger have in the mass of the people the same general character and manners, except the greater elasticity which the Angle has acquired by his intercourse with the Germans. The Jutlanders are proud of their hardy and enterprising ancestors. Hengist and Horsa, who first settled in Britain, were Jutes. Rurie, who in 852 with his northern Vikings laid the foundation of the Russian empire, was likewise a Jute, and so was king Gorm the Old, who united all the small principalities of the Danish Islands, and formed the monarchy in A. D. 880. Yet the Jutes, sooner than their neighbors, settled down to the more quiet pursuits of agriculture and cattle breeding. They are still a brave but peaceful and slow-speaking people; they are considered as cunning and close; the proverb is, "sharp as a Jute." Though patient and enduring, they can be roused to the highest enthusiasm, and are strongly attached to their king and country. The Jutes are middle sized, short, fair haired, of a gentle and agreeable physiognomy; their women are lovely, with blue eyes, and rosy cheeks, but as clumsy as their helpmates, clattering along on wooden shoes. Different is the character and deportment of the Saxon or Holsteiner. He is tall and handsome, with auburn hair. He is industrious, active, dexterous, ambitious, and quarrelsome; he is arbitrary and imperious, witty, lively, but proud and overbearing towards his inferiors. He is full of talent and capacity, but boastful, grandiloquent, and selfish. North of the Elbe, the country of the Saxons was on account of the forests, called *Holz Sachsen* (Holsatia, Holstein), and was divided into three parts; on the west *Ditmarsk*, with its free farmers the Ditmarskers; on the south *Stormarn*, and east, on the Baltic *Wagria*, which afterwards, when the greater part of the Saxons had crossed over to Britain, was occupied by roving tribes of Sclavonians, the Obotrites and Vendes.

[22] Being sorely pressed by the surrounding Saxon and Sclavonian tribes, the Scandinavian emigrants addressed themselves to Frigga, the wife and sister of Odin, to intercede for them with All-father. The goddess then told them, says the Saga, to unite in prayers early in the morning, with their wives spreading their long, fair hair over face and bosom, in order to attract the attention of Odin. The Jutes followed the advice; and when Odin at dawn of day was looking down upon the world from Valhalla, and beheld the shaggy people below, he turned to Frigga, and said, "Who are those longbeards?" The goddess quickly answered: "Thou hast given thy people a name; give them now victory and lands!" And Odin smiled, and said: "I bless their swords, and grant them success."

[23] The heathen Angles, Saxons, and Danes, had the *same religion*. Their common deities, Tyr, Wodan (Odin), Thur (Tor), Frea (Freia), &c., still survive, and are daily suggested to our memory in the appellations of the *days of the week* common to both Danes and Anglo-Saxons. The same mystic beings: gud, god; alfar, ælfe, ylfe, elves; vœtter, wihte, wights; dverger, dveorgs, dwarfs; jotnar, jœtter, jotnas; tröll, trölde, trolles; hel, hell, &c., were worshipped or feared, by both nations, and occur not only in their ancient poetical remains, but also in the popular superstitions and ballads of their still flourishing posterity. Their gods and heroes have likewise the same names: Woden, Odin; Skiold, Scyld; Halfdan, Haelfdene; Ubbe, Uffo, Offa; Hrolfr, Rolf.

B.—SCANDINAVIA.

85. Scandinavia is formed by the Danish islands Sweden and Norway. Denmark has its name, not from Dan Mykilati (the magnificent), one of its earliest traditional kings, but from Daner or Dansker, a tribe of the great people of the Goths, who in early times occupied the Lowlands or open lands—Danne-Mark, south of the mountains of Gothland, and east of the islands of the Baltic. This open country on the mainland of Sweden was known as Scandia (Skaane) to the Romans. The Danish islands were called Eye-Gothland, and the Peninsula of Jutland Reit-Gothland, because the Danish Goths would pass through the whole length of it on horseback.[24]

"In the farthest north," says Jornandes, the Gothic historian, "a number of hostile tribes dwelt in the country of *Scanzia*, Scandinavia. This region extends itself to the boundary of the habitable globe, where in the winter a gloomy light covers the earth with darkness during forty days; and in the summer the sun remains above the horizon for an equal time. Nearest to the Goths dwell the *Suethones* (no doubt the Swedes), who with swift horses chase the wild animals that inhabit their woods, and transmit their valuable skins through a hundred different nations to Italy. In the same regions dwell the gentle race of Finns, and in the adjoining country, the Danes—a nation of huge stature. From this region came the Goths, who, landing on the Rugian coast, defeated the wandering hordes of Vandals, and five generations later occupied the countries contiguous to the Euxine Sea." The homestead of the Danes, therefore, was Zealand, Fyen, the circumjacent smaller islands, and the fertile plains of Skaane, the latter of which remained an integral part of Denmark even after the Middle Ages, until the disasters of the Thirty Years' War, in 1648, when it was ceded to Sweden. Sweden was called *Svea Land* or *Svea Rike*, the kingdom of the Svear or Svenskar, likewise a Gothic tribe, inhabiting the lands north of their brethren the Danes or Dansker. Norway does not signify "the way to the north pole," but *North realm*, *Nord-riige*, contracted Norge. The Norse call themselves *Nordmœnd* (Normans), and speak the same written language as the Danes, though their pronunciation is as rough as their mountains.

The early history of Scandinavia is mythical; through the dim traditions we can discover only the arrival of Odin and his *asars* or priests, from *Asa-gaard* (Asow), on the Black Sea, B. C. 70, and the great influence which his religious system and conquests exerted among the Northmen. His descendants, the *Skioldunger*, in Denmark, and the *Ynglingar*, in Sweden, continued to reign for centuries in different smaller dynasties, until later in the ninth century a new light is thrown on the North on the introduction of Christianity by missionaries from France. Three great events however rest on a historical basis, the migration of the Langobards from Jutland, that of the Goths from Gothland or northern Sweden, A. D. 200, and that of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, A. D.

[24] *Jute* is pronounced *yoot*, and it seems, therefore, a kindred word with *Goth*.

449, to Britain. Yet if history is silent, the sagas and songs in the *Icelandic eddas* are eloquent testimonials from the heroical days of the old Sea-kings and Vi-kings, and the gradual progress of civilization is plainly discernible through the ages of stone, of bronze and of iron, by the interesting discoveries made in the sepulchral monuments of these times. Another proof of the comparative early cultivation in the hoary north are the numerous Runic inscriptions found every where, which go back to the third, or even second century of our era.

86. The Finns—*Finnaith*—were the aboriginal inhabitants of the north; these "gentle Finns," the black-haired tribe, belonged to the race of the Chudes, occupying in those early times the greater part of Scandinavia, Quainland (now Lapmark in northeastern Sweden), Jotunheim (now Finnland), and Biarmeland (the whole northern Russia) on the White Sea, as far as Mount Oural. These poor Skrit-Finns, clad in skins, dwelling in fur tents, tending their reindeer, and chasing the wild urus, were subjugated or driven northward by the proud tribes of the Goths; and it is an interesting fact from the sagas, that the black-haired race, the Finns, remained "the thralls or serfs, tilling the ground of the fair-haired southern conquerors long centuries after their first conquest of Scandinavia."

EMPIRE OF THE HUNS.

SARMATIA AND SCYTHIA.

87. Sarmatia.—The Romans gave the name of *Sarmatia* to all the countries between the Vistula, on the west, and the *Rha* or Volga, on the east. It ran north toward the *Oceanus Septentrionalis*, the distance of which was unknown, though we have already seen the nations bordering upon the Finnish Gulf and the White Sea were not Sarmatians but Chudes; its limits on the south, were the Euxine Pontus and the Caucasian Ridge; it embraced likewise the fertile *Chersonesus Taurica* (now Crimea), where the Roman empire still possessed some towns situated on the coast. The southeastern part of Sarmatia between the *Thanais* (now Don) and Caucasus, was then called Asiatic Sarmatia, and was, before the arrival of the Huns, occupied by the Alani, renowned for their excellent cavalry.

88. Scythia.—Both Greeks and Romans embraced under the appellation Seythia all northern Asia, from the Volga to the eastern ocean, of which they knew no more than of the *frozen ocean* bordering that continent on the north. On the south it reached to the *Oxus*, and the high range of *Imaüs* (Emodus, now Himalaya), from which both the Indus and Ganges take their source. Another chain of mountains running north, which they likewise called *Imaüs*, the present Mustag, divided, according to their imperfect knowledge, all Seythia into two parts: *Scythia intra Imaum montem*, and *Scythia extra Imaum* (on this side, or on the west, and beyond, or on the east). More interesting is the question who the Seythians were, and what was the difference between them and the Sarmatians, that is, *Sauromatians*, or lizard (green)-eyed people? The Seythians, no doubt, were the ancient *Massagetæ*, between the Caspian sea and the lake of Aral; they were then Turcomans and Tartars, and so are the modern Cossacks; while the "green-eyed people," the *Sauromatæ*, are the more modern Slavi, Selavonians, Russians and Poles, nay, a century or two later the Byzantine historians knew nothing more about the Sauromatæ and Sarmatia; but they are constantly occupied with *Slavi*, *Slavini*, and *Slavia*,[25] which distinctly proves that the old Sarmatian races then got a more modern name from their own language.

89. Empire of the Huns.—The empire of the Huns, —*Hunni*—had not yet obtained, at the time we here describe, the immense extent which it acquired afterwards; but almost immediately on the appearance of the Hunnish monsters on the Volga, one nation sank before them after the other; they overran the greater part of Sarmatia and Scythia, and penetrated into the heart of Gaul. Some have held the Huns to be the Chinese tribe Hiongnu,[26] but this is erroneous. They were a mighty nomadic people of Mongol race, quite different from the inhabitants of southern Asia (Tartars), and Europe (Pelasgi). They were Chunni (*Hunni*), of Ugrian race, kindred to the Hungarians from Mount Oural. The Ugri are of Finnish or Chudish descent, and so are both the Huns and the Hungarians, with the difference, however, that the Huns have an admixture of the Mongol or Calmuc, while the Magyars have more Turkish blood in their veins. The Huns are described as the ugliest race of monsters the world ever saw; and the Goth Jornandes says that their horrible deformity and bestiality gained more battles for them than their arrows. At the time of their invasion they were divided into two numerous tribes—the White Huns or the *Hephthalites*, on the east of the Caspian, hovering on the frontiers of the Persian empire, where they made desolating incursions; and the Black Huns, the true Ugrians from Mount Oural. Starting from their dreary table-lands (Siberia) in 374, they suddenly appeared on the Volga, where they overthrew the Alani, and in a single battle on the banks of the Thanais, destroyed the mighty empire of the Ostrogoths. The Goths are subdued; the chiefs of the proud and princely race of Amali serve the Hunnish conqueror; all the lands east of the Theiss and the Danube are devastated. A general panic has taken possession of the many Sarmatic, Turkish, Chudish, and Germanic tribes on the plains of Sarmatia; many flee westward to the Rhine. Alani, Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians, form their immense camps on the upper Danube (81); the terrified Visigoths have already crossed that river and inhabit Mœsia; and thus the Huns in 380 roam victoriously over those immense regions, and live on the spoils of the Gepidæ, Seyri, Heruli, and other Germanic nations who follow their banner.[27] The borders of their empire under King Balamir seems to have been the river *Tibiscus* (Theiss) on the west; how far it reached north is not to be decided. On the south it was bounded by Mount Caucasus, the Black Sea, and the Danube; on the east it stretched away far in the interior of Siberia.

90. Nations who obeyed the Huns.—In our enumeration of the nations whom the Huns subjected to the yoke on their first invasion, we will follow the order in which their conquests took place. The Akatziri, Chazars, Khozars or *Guzzari*, one of the most important Tartaric nations during the middle ages, had with other Tartaric and Turcoman tribes their homestead on the steppes above the river Oxus and Iaxartes, east of the Caspian, and bordered, north and east, on the Ugri and Mongols. They then advanced on the Caspian, which from them took the name of *Khozaric Sea*, and they began from thence terrible inroads on the Persian empire. They were long residing on the northern shores of the Caspian between the rivers *Yaïk* (Oural), and the *Rha* or *Atel* (Volga), when, at the sudden irruption of the Huns, they were forced into submission, and carried along with their conquerors.

The Alans, *Alani*, a nation of Germanic origin, though mixed with Turkish blood, who with their herds of horses and

[25] *Slava* signifies ἔνδοξος, *gloriosus*, glorious, brave; *slowa*, in Selavonic, is *man*. The Selavonian prisoners during the middle ages brought in use our modern slave, sklav, eselave, sciavo, eslabo.

[26] Desguignes, in his Histoire des Huns, and Gibbon, chap. xxvi.

[27] Compare the small map illustrating the Conquests of the Huns on the lower Danube in 380.

cattle roamed on the sandy steppes, which extend north of Mount Caucasus. Defeated by the Huns, part of the Alani fled southward to the mountains, where their descendants, the Ossetes, a warlike Circassian tribe, still occupy the northern valleys of Mount Kasbeck and the banks of the Terek. Others hurried westward and joined the Vandals and Suevi, while the mass of the Alani enlisted among their victors, and moved off with them to new settlements.

The Goths, *Gothi.*—About this, the most celebrated of the Germanic nations, we have already spoken (85–89). They settled in very early times on the shores of the Baltic, where we find a Godoland and Godesconzia (Castle of the Goths), further, an island of the name of Gothland, and another Gothland in central Sweden, between their brethren the Danes and Suethones. But about the year A. D. 200, according to Jornandes, they turned their arms south again, and appear now for the first time on the scene of history divided in three great nations—the Ostrogoths or *Eastern Goths*, on the Borysthenes (Dnieper); the Visigoths or *Western Goths*, westward of that river in Dacia; and the Gepidæ or the *Loiterers*, who remained north of the Carpathian range, at the sources of the Vistula, where they still continued independent of the Huns at the close of the fourth century. The Goths were the most civilized of all the Germanic tribes, and they had adopted Christianity *en masse* much earlier than the Greco-Roman inhabitants of the empire. Their bishop, the learned Ulphilas, invented their alphabet, and translated the New Testament (77). The family of Amali ruled the Ostrogoths as kings (89); the Baltes (or the Bold) were the presidents or judges of the Visigoths; yet it seems that King Hermanrie, of the Ostrogoths, enjoyed a supremacy over the other tribes. All the Sarmatian nations of the eastern plains obeyed the sceptre of the generous Hermanrie, who has left a great name in history; yet the onslaught of the Huns was irresistible—the old king perished in battle, and his brave people was forced to follow the camp of their monstrous masters. The Visigoths had assembled their forces behind the *Danaster* (Dniester), but the Huns swam their horses through the river to attack the rear of the Goths, who suffered a second defeat on the *Hierasus* (Pruth). Their bravest warriors gathering round their chief judge, Athanaric, attempted a stand on the mountains of *Caucaland* (the Carpathians), but the mass of the nation, stricken with terror, hurried to the banks of the Danube, imploring the pity of the Emperor Valens, for an asylum in the territory of the Roman empire. They were permitted to cross the river, and more than a million of Visigoths were settled in the Aurelian Dacia (34), and the two Mœsiæ (31 and 34), whence they afterwards received the name of *Mœso-Goths.* Sword in hand they soon penetrated across Mount Hæmus into the heart of Thrace (50); and after the battle of Adrianople and the death of Valens, it was only by the greatest exertions of the prudent Theodosius that the capital could be saved from those dangerous guests.

Among the many nations then inhabiting Sarmatia, who passed from the yoke of the Goths, under that of the fierce Huns, we mention the following:

The Roxolans,—*Roxolani*—(the ancestors of the Russians, who inhabited the *Palus Mœotis* (gulf of Azof), between the lower Borysthenes and the Tanais. They became later a powerful people, under the sway of Rurie and his Danish Vikings.

The Heruli, driven from the banks of the *Palus Mœotis*, by the Huns, retreated thence toward the Danube, where we later find them, on the right bank of that river, between Vienna and Buda, forming a powerful kingdom, before their march to Italy, in 476.

The Peucini, Taifali and Scyres—*Scyri*, were mixed tribes of Germanic and Sclavonic descent, in Dacia, and along the outskirts of the Carpathian mountains.

The Vandali Astingi (80) had marched eastward, toward the Black Sea, but like the Therwingi, another Gothic tribe, they soon gave up their plans and retired, fleeing back toward the Theiss, to escape the fury of the Huns.

The Jazyges (33), a brave Sarmatic people, living on horseback, occupied still the open, swampy plain of the Marosh, with their immense herds of horses and cattle; they provided the markets of the Greek empire, but they too bowed to the Huns.

91. Among the Slavonic nations north of the Carpathians, who remained independent during this period, we mention in central and northern Sarmatia,

The Slawini, Anti and Veneti, in the later principality of Lithuania. The latter were likewise called Venedæ, or Vinidi, on the coast of the *Sinus Venedicus* (the Baltic), in which the Vistula discharges itself. After the downfall of the Gothic empire, the Veneti became, under the name of *Vendi*, the most powerful and celebrated nation in Sarmatia (Slavia), and extended their sway over all the southern coast of the Baltic, and into Holstein, where they soon came in hostile contact with the Danes.

The Borussci (Prussians), on the right bank of the Vistula, appear somewhat later, as one of the most savage and indomitable of the Sclavonian races; but they have now, after long suffering, become Germanized, as the peaceful inhabitants of East Prussia.

The Hestii, or Estyi, on the northeast of the Borussci, had quietly inhabited the coasts of their fertile province (now the beautiful, highly cultivated Estland, or Estonia), since the first century, when Tacitus mentions them as active merchants and fishermen, who were occupied in gathering the precious yellow amber on their coast, and thus kept up a continual traffic with distant Italy.

92. Gothi Tetraxitæ were a branch of the Gothic stock who occupied the southern part of the beautiful peninsula of *Taurica* (Crimea). Only the maritime towns, *Dandaca*, and *Chersonesos* on the east, and *Theodosia* (Caffa) on the Taurian Bosphorus, inhabited by Greeks, remained in connection with the empire.

The Zicks, Zickhi, a Caucasian people on the *Hypanis* (Kuban), in the present Abashia, on the coast of the Black Sea; the Lazi, in the ancient Colchis, on the south of the range; the Iberi, in the present Grusia, on the river *Cyrus* (Kura), and other nations on Mount Caucasus, all warlike, like their modern descendants, preserved their liberty.

93. Farther northeast, along the ridge of Mount Oural, appear already the vanguard of the Slavo-Turkish, and Turco-Tartaric Tribes in their advance upon the Black Sea and the Danube. These wild and barbarous nations, the *Bulgarians*, the *Avars*, the horrible *Petchenegi* and *Cumani*, are in a subsequent period to perform an important part in the history of the Middle Ages. The *Magyars*, the *Ugri* and *Hungari* or *Hungarians*, all Finno-Turkish Tribes, on the northwestern slope of Mount Oural, are still residing in their old home, Ugria, and there we shall leave them for the present.

II. Countries in Asia.

94. Their Names.—Among the regions of Asia which were known to the Romans, and by them accounted in the world of the Barbarians, we need hardly count the wild, roving tribes of the Sarrazeni, or Saracens; *Saraceni*, the Bedouins of the Arabian desert, who already began to appear on the outskirts of the great Syrian desert, where they lay in wait for the caravans from Damascus crossing by Palmyra, through

the desert, to Babylon on the Euphrates. But we must say a word about Armenia, on the northeast of the Roman frontiers, and of the Persian Empire on the southeast.

95. Armenia or Great Armenia, *Armenia Major*, by this name distinguished from Armenia Minor, which belonged to the Roman empire, formed south of Mount Caucasus an independent state, or rather a confederacy of states, sufficiently powerful, which the Romans themselves had assisted in throwing off the Persian yoke.

Artaxata (now Ardek) on the Araxes, was at that time the most important city.

96. The Empire of the Persians was re-established in A. D. 226, on the ruins of the Parthian power. The last Arsacide was dethroned and killed by Artaxerxes Babegan, with whom began the dynasty of the Sassanides. The new Persian Empire comprehended all the countries extending from the Indian Ocean, *Erythreum Mare*, in the south, to the river Jaxartes in the north, and from the Indus in the east to the Tigris and the Euphrates in the west. The Persian monarchs, ambitious and warlike, laid claims to the eastern Roman empire as part of ancient Persia, and thus the wars on the frontiers were almost continual. The empire was divided into four Satrapies. The capital was the city of Seleucia, west of the Tigris, and Ctesiphon, on the opposite bank, the residence of the Parthian Kings during their dominion in those regions. Al-Madain, or the Two Cities, was the name given to their ruins, with the materials of which the Arabs afterwards built the city of Bagdad. The New Persians, like the Parthians, were originally a brave, warlike people; laborious, faithful, devoted to their country, but servile and reserved. The kings were despots, vain of their proud oriental titles; their will or whim was the only law; Cosroes I. permitted, singularly enough, a national assembly to sanction his laws, but every remonstrance was punished with death. One revolution, fomented in the seraglio, followed another; unheard cruelties were committed, and even women succeeded to the throne. The fire-worship of Zoroaster had been restored, and the *Magi* (Mobeds) had a preponderating influence. A splendid cavalry was the strength of the Persian armies, and the steed continued still the favorite animal of the Persian. Against the Chazars on the Caspian, the Persians defended their frontiers by the celebrated walls, forty parasangs (150 miles) in length, the *Bab-al-Abuab* at Dervend, on the Caspian. The Nestorians found a hospitable reception in Persia, and they alone were tolerated among the Christian sects. The luxury among the great was promoted by early commerce with India. The city of Ormus at the entrance of the Persian gulf, became one of the most important emporiums of the East. Learning flourished at court; Greek philosophers were well received, but the people were kept in ignorance; the manners were savage, and women held in servitude and contempt. Agriculture was protected by the Persian kings as worthy servants of Ormuz, and Persia flourished by her manufactures of perfumes, splendid clothing and arms. Such was the state of that mighty Persian monarchy which was soon destined to threaten Constantinople and the Eastern Empire with destruction, but sank herself before the all-conquering fanaticism of the followers of Mohammed.

III. BARBARIAN COUNTRIES IN AFRICA.

97. Different Nations.—The African nations who had escaped the dominion of the Romans, lived on the outskirts of the Great Libyan desert, without any influence on the political movements of the world. Nor are we acquainted with their situation and condition at this period. The Moorish tribes, Berberi, Kabyles and Maurusians had been driven into the recesses of Mount Atlas, whence they later re-appear as the allies of the Vandals in their war against the Romans.

Thus we have finished our picture of the political, geographical, and ethnographical condition of the ancient world at the close of the fourth century. A glance at the second map from the beginning of the sixth will at once show the great events which have taken place since the fall of the Western Roman Empire, and the settlement of the Germanic nations in its devastated provinces.[28]

CHAPTER III.

EUROPE AND THE ADJACENT PARTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA.

THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AT THE ACCESSION OF JUSTINIAN I. A. D. 527.

98. General Division.—We have given a detailed description of the ancient world before the invasion of the Barbarians. To delineate the movement itself on the map, in such a manner as to combine clearness with accuracy,—to exhibit the march of so many nations crossing and recrossing one another in all directions, and almost at the same time, would be impossible. The earlier attempts of Kruse, Ansart, and others to indicate the wanderings of the migrating tribes by colored lines, have therefore been failures, because they only augmented the confusion instead of clearing it up. We have in consequence preferred to take our stand in the second map at a time when the migrations of the northern Germanic nations were at an end, with the only exception of that of the *Lombards*, who, at a subsequent period, some forty years later, entered Italy. With regard to the eastern Sclavonian and Turkish races, no certain period could be fixed, because their invasions from the Caspian continued throughout the course of the middle ages. By thus comparing the two first maps, the historical student will discover, 1st, that the dominion of the Germanic nations extends already from the northern tropics to the deserts of Africa, and from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean eastward, to the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in Illyricum; 2d, that the numerous Sclavonian nations, in their progress westward, have occupied the lands abandoned by the Germans, from the Elbe and the Baltic, to the Danube and the Adriatic; 3d, that the western Roman Empire has perished in the deluge of nations, and that eastern Rome or the Greek (Byzantine) Empire, though still surviving, is sorely pressed by the advancing Avars, Bulgarians, and the millions of Turco-Tartars already descending from Mount Oural. We find, therefore, at the time of the accession of Justinian I., fifteen more or less important states, founded and organized by the Barbarians who had taken part in the migration. The larger portion of these nations had already been converted to Christianity, and they deserve our particular attention, while we may pass more rapidly over other regions still, at that time, occupied by Barbarians, who were either subdued by the arms of Byzantium, or were suffered to enjoy their wild independence unmolested. Those fifteen states were distributed throughout Europe in the following manner: Six in northern Eu-

[28] Particular attention has been paid in this introductory map to fix the places which have become important, in the wars of the last Emperors against the Barbarians, and as far as the space of the map has permitted we have with accuracy designated every historical site mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, the six minor historians, the panegyrists, Jornandes, Paul Warnefried, and other northern chroniclers whose relations go back to those early times.

rope and western Asia: 1st, the *British Islands*, where we find four Saxon kingdoms and several independent regions: II. *Independent Germany;* III. *Slavia;* IV. the *States of Scandinavia;* and in the northeast V. the kingdom of the *Bulgarians* or *Wolochs*, which extended across Mount Oural beyond the frontiers of Europe; VI. the kingdom of the *Uturgurian Huns* on the Caspian. Five in central Europe: VII. the kingdoms of the *Franks;* VIII. that of the *Burgundians;* IX. that of the *Thuringians;* X. that of the *Lombards;* and XI. that of the *Gepidæ*. Four in southern Europe and northern Africa: XII. the kingdom of the *Visigoths;* and XIII. that of the *Suevians*, both in Spain; XIV. that of the *Ostrogoths* in Italy; XV. that of the *Vandals*, on some of the islands of the Mediterranean and the northern coast of Africa; and last of all, as the XVIth, the eastern *Roman* empire, to which during the reign of Justinian, the two preceding, those of the Ostrogoths and Vandals, were reunited by the victorious sword of Belisarius and Narses. These important conquests produced a signal modification in the political geography of Europe toward the middle of the sixth century. Before we consider their main results, we shall describe these fifteen Barbarian states as they existed on the accession of Justinian.

§ I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. BRITISH ISLANDS.

99. Division.—The British Islands, with which we begin our description of northern Europe, exhibit at the beginning of the sixth century, four countries which still remained independent, four Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and some other territories occupied by Saxon or Scandinavian pirates.

100. I. Hibernia—*Iraland*, *Erin*—Ireland, the most western of the two large British islands, was divided into several populous kingdoms. Christianity made a rapid progress. After the first doubtful attempts of Palladius, the disciple of that devoted missionary, the great Saint Patrick, a native of Scotland, arrived among the Irish in 432, and began the arduous missionary work with such wonderful success, that he was enabled in 472 to found the archbishopric of Ardmacha (Armagh), which has ever since remained the metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence it is that this enlightened and persevering missionary, though not the first who brought the light of the Gospel among that savage people, has yet been justly entitled the *Apostle of the Irish*, and the *Father of the Hibernian Church*, and is still generally acknowledged and revered in that honorable character. With Christianity, civilization began to dawn on those remote regions; churches and schools were built, and the religious order of the *Culdees*, instituted in the sixth century by Saint Columba, distinguished itself by its pure and apostolic principles; while many other monasteries arose in which the sciences were studied with enthusiasm and success. The art of writing was introduced, and the monks themselves invented new alphabets. The old Irish laws (Brehon laws) seem to have been written in a secret language, in order to remain intelligible only to the Brehons (the judges and lawyers). Ireland was badly cultivated; the chase, cattle-breeding, and fishing, were the principal resources of the poor and barbarous Erins; they fought with stones, spears, and ponderous battle-axes. They had two arts: music and poetry; for their bards sang to the harp the deeds of the heroes among the different tribes, who were continually fighting with one another. Among the larger states we find Connacia (*Conaght*, Connaught), in the northwest;—Ultonia (Ulster), north, with the ancient city of Ardmacha (Armagh), south of *Loch Etach* (Lake Neath), the great centre for the Irish missions;—Media (Meath), east, with the capital Tamora, *Teamor* (now Trim), on the river *Boandus* (Boyne), whose chief—*Ardriagh*—or king enjoyed a supremacy over the chiefs—*canfinnies*—of the other tribes, and often called them together in public assembly. Lagenia (*Lechlinia*, Leinster), southeast, with the town Eblana, *Dyflin* (or Dublin); and Momonia (Munster), on the southwest. Shortly after this period, in the seventh century, began the piratical incursions of the *Ostmannas*—the Eastmen or Danes, and their permanent settlement on the east coast of Erin, where they, in the ninth century, founded flourishing kingdoms.

101. II. The Kingdom of the Scots, in the northwestern extremity of the island of Britain, and the smaller adjacent isles. The Scots—*Scoti*—were the ancient Caledonians, who descending from their dreary mountains (the Highlands), had given the Romans so much trouble behind their fortified lines on the Forth. They were of *Celtic* origin, and called themselves *Gaelic*, and their mountain-home *Gaeldoch*. The Scots, like their kinsmen the Erins, were poor and savage; they had all the features of the Celtic race; their government was feudal, the people were divided into *Clans*, whose chiefs possessed the control of life and death over their liegemen (*Sgollags*). Their weapons were the heavy battle-axe (lochaber axe), the broad claymore, the dirk, and the bow; the chase and fishery formed their occupation. Christianity took early root in the Highlands. Saint Palladius had already, since the year 430, spread successfully the faith of Christ among the Scots, as Saint Patrick did among the Erins in Ireland, during the time when the Anglo-Saxons were establishing themselves in Britain. Among the southern Picts, Christianity is said to have maintained itself from the period of their early conversion by the Briton Nynias in 394. In the year 563, Saint Columba passed over from Ireland to the northern Picts and formed excellent disciples, through whom a pleasing image of pious zeal, deep learning, and varied acquirements attaches itself to the memory of the Scottish monks. Saint Columba received from the Pictish prince the island of *Hy*, now Iona or I-Colm-Kill (the Isle of the Church, or Cell of Columba), which his name has consecrated, and which in honor of him continued for ages to be the burial place of many northern heroes of Scotland, Ireland, Norway, and Northumbria.

The traditional king Fergus, from Ulster, is said to have united the Highland Clans about A. D. 500, and to have resided among the lakes of *Argathelia* (Argyle).

102. III. The Kingdom of the Picts, on the southeast of the former.[29] They dwelt on both sides of the Grampian Hills, from Inverness and Elgin to Dunbarton, or from the Frith of Murray to those of Forth and Clyde, and south toward the border of England. *The Picts* (the present Lowlanders) were a different race from the Scots or Gaelic; they were no doubt of Scandinavian origin. The connection of Scandinavia with Caledonia, was of a much older date than the conquest of England by the Anglo-Saxons. The Orkney Islands were, from time immemorial, occupied by the Northmen, whence they early obtained a firm footing on the coast of Caledonia. Beda the Venerable (A. D. 672–735) says, "that when the Britons, beginning at the south, made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the *Picts*, coming over the ocean from Scythia,[30] in long-ships, began to inhabit the northern part of that island, the south of which

[29] The name of *Picts* seems to have been given them by the Romans, from their habit of staining their bodies with colors when going to battle; they were therefore *picti*, painted.

[30] That is, Scandinavia. Jornandes, the Gothic historian, likewise calls Scandinavia, the homestead of his Goths, *Scythia*, and so do other writers in those early times.

was already possessed by the Britons (Celts)." Nennius (A. D. 688) likewise says, "that the Picts occupied the Orkney Islands, and took possession of the left or northern coast of Britain, where they remained." This interesting fact is proved by the heroical poems of the Scottish Highlanders, and by all the philological investigations of modern times. The most remarkable affinity, both of language, poetry, names, and traditions, prevails between the Danish and Scottish ballads, and every Danish youth reading the Lowland Scotch dialect in Walter Scott's masterly tales, will drop a tear, and hail the familiar tones as an "auld lang syne" of his own. In the south of Scotland, the rustic still points to many a memorial of the Picts, consisting of old walls, and fortifications which have a great resemblance to those in the Scandinavian north.[31] The residence of the king of the Picts, was situated at the mouth of the river Tay.

103. IV. The Kingdom of Cambria or Kymru, along the western coast of Britain, embracing Cambria or *North-Wealas* (the present Wales), and Damnonia or *West-Wealas* (now Cornwall), the kingdom of Arthur, the Celtic hero. The inhabitants were those brave *Cymri* (Cimbri), who accompanied the Celts on their early migration from the East (77). They received in their mountains the Britons fleeing before the victorious Anglo-Saxons, and thus the Welsh, headed by the celebrated King Arthur, of Damnonia, became the last bulwark of the Celtic race in Britain. The heroical deeds of King Arthur fall, most probably, about A. D. 520, when he perished in battle in Cornwall. Skeptical historians among the moderns have doubted the existence of the Celtic hero, but his ashes and tombstone were discovered at Glastonbury Abbey so early as 1189, and poems and traditions have carried his glorious name from the mountains of Wales to the distant Mediterranean; and from the Middle Ages, the tales of King Arthur, and his Knights of the Round Table, have been the delight of the fair at the fireside, and the emulation of the brave on the battle-field.

Cambria was then divided into several states: 1, Venedocia or *Gwynedh*, in the north, whose king was supreme over the other states; his residence was at *Aberfraw*, on the island of Anglesey; 2, Dimetica (Dyved), or *West Wales*, on the south; 3, Deheubarth or *South Wales*, the country of the warlike *Silures*, with the royal seat at *Caerleon* upon Usk; and, 4, Morganwg (Glamorganshire), on the northern bank of the Severn. *Caermardhyn* (Caermarthen), southwest, was one of the principal towns of the island. *Badon-hill*, near Bath, where King Arthur in battle defeated the Saxon invaders in A. D. 516. *Bangor* or Banchor, the celebrated monastery in the north of Wales, opposite to Anglesey, was already established in this early period. Saint Gildas, the oldest British historian (A. D. 516–570), lived here as a monk, and Nennius, who continued his *Eulogium Britanniæ*, was bishop of the monastery in A. D. 688. The chief tribes of the Britons (Cymry), were distinguished by various dialects of their common mother-tongue; it was polished by illustrious poets, whose works have been preserved to the present time. The Cymry extended their sway northward to the mouth of the Clyde, through the present lake district of Cumberland—the kingdom of *Cumbria*—as far as Dumfries, Annandale and Galloway—the kingdom of *Strathclyde*—where they continued their warfare with the Picts and Scots, as well as with the Anglo-Saxons, until they were expelled in the early part of the tenth century, when Cumberland became a Scottish principality under Anglo-Saxon sovereignty.

[31] Compare the interesting dissertation on the origin of the Scottish language in Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, Edinburgh, 1851.

104. Kingdoms of the Saxons.—The conquest of Britain by the Angles-Saxons and Jutes (84), under their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, A. D. 449–489, and the later expeditions of Cerdic and Kenric, are too well known to require mention here. We find, in the beginning of the sixth century, four Saxon kingdoms established in the most fertile parts of the island; they are the following:

I. The kingdom of Cantware, *Cantia* (now Kent), founded in 451, on the southeastern coast of the island, by Hengist after the great battle at Crawford, in which the Britons were routed and forced to abandon the country south of the Thames. Cantwaraburh (Canterbury) was the capital. *Eagles-ford* (Aylesford), west of the former, was the place where Hengist and his Jutes gave the first battle to the Britons. At Stonar, on the seashore, opposite France, they defeated them again. *Thanet* (Ruithina), the small isle on the eastern coast, at the mouth of the Stura, near Richborough, where the British chiefs solicited the assistance of the Jutish and Saxon rovers, and where Hengist fortified his naval station for the subsequent invasion of the island.

II. The kingdom of Suth-Seaxas or *Suthsaxonia* (Sussex), founded by Ella in 477–490, who, after many victories over the unskilful Britons, at last established his seat in Cissanceaster (Chichester), and secured his conquest by continual succors from new Saxon bands. The island of Wiht, *Vectis* (now Wight), remained, like Kent, a Jutish colony.

III. The kingdom of West-Seaxas or *Westsaxonia* (Wessex), was established in 516–19, by the proud Cerdic, the descendant of Odin, who extended his conquests westward to Damnonia, and north to the Severn. *Wintanceaster* (Winchester), was the capital. *Cerdicsforda*, on the Afene, where Cerdic, and his son Kenric, totally defeated the Britons, and secured the possession of their new empire.

IV. The kingdom of East-Seaxas, *Estsaxonia* (Essex), north of the Thames, founded in 526–27 by Æscewine, the son of Offa; while other bands of Angles from Schleswig, under king Ida, landed north, and laid the foundation of the states of East-Anglia and Northanhumbria (Northumberland). The petty kings of Essex resided in Lundenwyc (London). Thus the eastern and southern coasts of Britain were permanently occupied by the Anglo-Saxons (449–530), and thirty years later (560), we find one Jutish, three Saxon, and three Angle kingdoms established in Britain; Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East-Anglia, Bernicia, and Deira. The poor Britons, driven westward into the mountain fastnesses of Wales, had already long become Christians, while their savage conquerors still worshipped Odin, Thor and Freia. It was not until 596, that Saint Austin appeared with his Roman monks, and his assistant Mellitus built Saint Paul's Church in London in A. D. 604.

II. Independent Germany.

105. Principal Nations.—The whole northern portion of Germany was, in the beginning of the 6th century, occupied with nations who had not yet formed themselves into monarchies.

The Frisons (76), from the mouth of the Rhine along the coast, to the Elbe.

The Saxons (78), who, though so many bands had crossed over to Britain, had continued to extend themselves between the Weser, the Elbe, and the Rhine.

The Angles (78), on the north of the Saxons, had mostly departed beyond the sea, and their name was only preserved in the small district of *Angeln*, north of Schleswig.

The Warni (80) had crossed the Elbe, and settled on the lower Rhine. Their king, Radiger, had engaged an Anglo-Saxon princess, but married a sister of the Frankish king,

Theodebert. The Anglo-Saxons landed, to take revenge for this slight, defeated the Warni, captured their prince, and obliged him to fulfil his prior matrimonial engagement with the Anglo-Saxon lady, which is an interesting event, told us by the Greek historian, Procopius, then residing in Constantinople.

III. Scandinavia.

106. Denmark and Sweden.—The Jutes of the peninsula, and the Danes[32] of the islands, and of Skaane, Scandia (in Southern Sweden), lived still under a great number of petty kings, but they acknowledged the supremacy of the *Skioldunger* (the descendants of Odin), the kings of Sealand. Hledru, or *Leire*, was the ancient capital during this obscure period. The town lay on the Issefiord, near the present castle of *Lethraborg*. The valley of Hertha, in the neighborhood, where in the dismal and sombre forest, or *sacred grove*, stood the stone altars, on which the Danes every nine years celebrated their horrible sacrifices. During the month of January, they flocked together in crowds from the mainland and isles, and with many ceremonies offered up to their gods ninety-nine men, and as many horses and cocks, under the certain hope of appeasing them by their victims, and conciliating their favor for their maritime expeditions in the ensuing spring.

Sweden was yet a small country, extending north to the Dal-elv, and south to Skaane. It was divided according to the tribes in Suithoid, *Svealand*, and Gauthiod, Gotaland. The dynasty of the Ynglingar, the descendants of Odin, resided in Upsala (Old-Upsal), north of the modern city, where still is seen the celebrated *Mora-stone*, on which the ancient heathen kings were crowned, and received the homage of their Suethan and Gothic subjects. At *Sigtuna*, on the frith of *Mælarn*, stood the large wooden temple, built by Odin and the Asars, called *Odens-sala*, the revered sanctuary of all the heathen Northmen, down to the ninth century. The temple possessed immense wealth in silver and gold ornaments, as the sea-kings always consecrated to Odin and Thor part of the spoils from their piracies. The statue of Odin represented him standing with a drawn sword in his hand; Thor, with his hammer, stood next, and the fair image of Frigga expressed her mild empire, as the benign goddess of love and marriage. Thor was the favorite god of the Norse, while Odin, Frigga, and the benevolent Balder, were the peculiar deities of the Gothic Danes and Svears at Leire and Upsala.

Civil wars among the petty princes, still occupied the Danes and Swedes at home, while the Norwegians had already formed settlements on the *Orkney* islands.

IV. Slavia.

107. Principal Nations.—With the year 471, the name *Sarmatia* disappears entirely, and it is replaced in the Byzantine historians with that of Slavia—Sclavonia. The *Slavi* or *Sloveni*, have advanced westward, in the rear of the Germans. They extend already over the immense plains of modern Prussia, Poland, and Russia. They drive the last German tribes across the Elbe. They occupy the fertile valley of Bojenheim (Bohemia), and the Carpathian ridge separates them from the Longobards and Gepidæ on the Danube. They are divided into many kindred nationalities.

[32] The name *Danus*, Dane, appears for the first time in A. D. 580, in the Latin eulogy of the poet Venantius on the Frankish King Chilperic I., "*Quem Geta, Vasco, tremunt,* Danus, *Suitho, Saxo, Britannus.*" Eginhardt in his Life of Charlemagne says: "Dani, *Suecones quos Normannos vocamus.*" This was later corrupted into *Daci*, and in the Chronicles of the Crusades, we find always *Daci*, for Danes, and *Datia, Dacia*, for Denmark.

I. The Sorabian-Vendes have their seats on the shores of the Baltic, and extend along the Elbe to the Ertz-Gebirge, on the frontiers of Bohemia. The western Slavi, Sorabi, and Vendes were governed by kings—*krales*—who formed their council of the nobles—*knæses*—and their territory was divided into regions or *zupania;* they loved liberty with the highest enthusiasm, and could never be brought to permanent subjection. Their character was mild; their women modest; and they treated their prisoners of war with humanity. The religion of the Vendes consisted in numerous ceremonies. Their priesthood exercised a powerful influence; and the great temple of Swantewit, on the promontory of Arcona, in the island of *Rügen*, with its idols and wealth, was the great national sanctuary of all the western tribes. The Vendes were hunters, agriculturists, and pirates. Vineta (Wollin), on the Baltic, was their capital.

II. The Liæchs or *Polani* (Poles or Polaks),[33] the second branch of western Slavi, occupied the banks of the Vistula and the Oder, and touched on the south the Chrowats (Croats).

III. The Czekho-Slovaks in Bohemia and Moravia, were a powerful people under the mythical queen, the fair Libussa; they attained early a certain cultivation. Agriculture, cattle-breeding, and forays on their neighbors, were their occupations; they brought their horses, prisoners, and wax across the mountains to the Germans on the Elbe, where commerce was flourishing, until in the subsequent period the German Dukes began the military missionary work among them.

IV. Slavini or Slovini—*Sclavini*—on the east, in central Russia, and the Antes on the lower Dniester, where they bordered on the advancing Bulgarians. Large cities in the interior were already in the possession of an active commerce. Kiew on the Dnieper, is said to have been built as early as 450, during the dominion of the Huns. Smolensk farther north. Novogorod on the Lake of Ilmen, became, by the activity of its inhabitants and its wealth, a mighty republic, and the emporium of Indian commerce during the Middle Ages.

V. The Lithauanians, a *Slavo-Finnic* race, on the west of the Sloveni, touched the boundaries of the numerous Chudish or Finnic nations on the Baltic, extending through Finnland northward to the Icy Ocean.

V. Kingdom of the Bulgarians.

108. Position and Extent.—The *Bulgarians* appear for the first time in the second half of the fifth century on the west of Mount Oural. They were then divided into two hordes, the black Bulgars and the Wolochs or white Bulgars, both of Tartar origin; but later much mingled with Sclavonians, whose language they adopted. From the eastern frontiers of Europe, the black Bulgarians followed in the trace of the Huns, on their march toward the Danube. In the beginning of the sixth century they cross the Bulga (Volga), from which some historians suppose them to have taken their name, and they advance upon the Danube, whence they carry devastation and misery into the Justinian Empire.

VI. The Kingdom of the Huns or Uturguri.

109.[a] The Uturgurian Huns.—The downfall of the empire of the Huns had been even more sudden than its rise. The death of Attila on the Danube in 453, was the signal for all the enslaved nations to break their chains. The most frightful disorder spread through the camp at Buda, where the savage sons of so many various mothers, sword in hand,

[33] The termination *ak* is a diminutive; thus, Slave, Slavak; Serbe, Serbak; Morlan, Morlak; Russ, Russak.

disputed with one another the inheritance of the world's spoils; the Ostrogoths, Lombards, Gepidæ, and Herules united in alliance against the common oppressor. The tremendous battle between all these fierce barbarian nations took place on the river *Netad* (Neutra), in Pannonia. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila fell, after wonders of bravery, and with him 30,000 Huns. His brother, Dengish, gathered the relics of the still formidable nation, and maintained himself until 470 on the banks of the lower Danube; but the splendid camp of Attila at Buda, with the whole of Dacia and Pannonia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became divided among the victors—the Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards. Surrounded and oppressed by his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengish was at last confined to the circle of his wagons. He perished on the Danube, and Irnac, the youngest son of Attila, retired with the hordes to the Volga, where we find them in 526 encamped on the plain of the Kuban river, between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, divided into the two kingdoms of the Kuturgour and Uturgour Huns. From thence they conquered the whole Tauric Chersonese, with the exception of the important cities of Cherson and Theodosia, which were bravely defended by their Roman garrisons. But the other towns, Repoi and Phanagoris, situated near the Cimmerian Bosporus, were taken by the Barbarians, who, uniting with the Bulgarians, recrossed the Danube and appeared under Zaber-Chan, in 558, before trembling Constantinople herself. They passed the long wall of Anastasius without opposition; but were routed and discomfited by the well-known exploit of old Belisarius. On the return of Zaber-Chan beyond the Danube, the Avars fell upon the Huns, subdued them, or mixed up with them in such a manner that, from the year 572, no mention is ever made in history of the Huns as a separate nation, though it is both interesting and important to know that the Avars are called indifferently Huns, or Avars, by all the western chroniclers in the time of Charlemagne, which distinctly proves the union or amalgamation of those fierce Asiatic nations.

§ II. CENTRAL EUROPE.

VII. KINGDOMS OF THE FRANKS.

109[b] Extent of the Monarchy at the Death of Clovis.—Extraordinary changes have taken place in Gaul since our last visit in the year 395, at the death of Theodosius the Great. The invasion of the Vandals, Suevi, Alani, and Burgundians in 406–410, had been followed by the devastating campaign of Attila in 451, and after his defeat at Châlons-sur-Marne, the Franks under Clovis had crossed the Somme, and during the lethargic inactivity of the last emperors and the intestine troubles of the western empire, occupied in 486 the whole of northern Gaul as far as the Loire. The ambitious and treacherous Clovis then vanquished the Ripuarian Frankish chiefs on the Rhine with the dagger and the axe, and the powerful nations of the Burgundians, the Alemanni, and the Visigoths, with the edge of the sword. He extended the dominion of his warlike and perfidious people over the greater part of modern France and Germany, and left this immense inheritance to his sons, at his death in the year 511.[34] At that period the Frankish kingdom reached from the mouth of the Rhine, on the north, to the base of the Pyrenees on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean west across the Rhine, to the *Wirraha* (Werrah) and *Almona* (Altmühl) on the east.[35] This mighty empire embraced all modern France, with the exception of the ancient province of Narbonensis on the shores of the Mediterranean, which earlier had been occupied by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. The country between the upper Loire, the Rhone and the Alps, belonged to the Burgundians, who, though vanquished, still remained nominally independent of the Frankish despot. But Clovis had subdued the southwestern provinces of Germany, inhabited by the Alemanni, who after their defeat near Tolbiac in 496, had become subjects, or at least tributary allies of the Franks. We will now review the component parts of this first modern empire, in the order in which the different provinces were joined to the crown of Clovis.

Conquests of Clovis, a. d. 486–511.

110. Provinces and Principal Cities.—The continual incursions of the Franks had already long ago depopulated the formerly so flourishing Belgian and Germanic provinces of the expiring Roman empire. Most of the cities lay in ruins; the villages were burnt, and the fields neglected, nor could the indolent Franks even by means of their Roman prisoners, now serfs and subjects, remove the evil they had brought over the country. Colonia (Cologne, Köln), on the Rhine, was the capital of the Ripuarian Franks. Tolbiac (Zülpich), a few miles off, was the battle-field on which Clovis prostrated the Alemannic confederacy at a single blow, in 496. Suessiones (Soissons), the last city possessed by the Romans. The Roman Præfect, Syagrius, was here routed by Clovis, and his fleeing legions gave Clovis an easy victory, by seeking refuge behind the Loire. Remi (Rheims), the archiepiscopal see of Bishop Remigerus, beheld the ceremony of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks; it was there at the baptism of the Barbarian in the river, that the prelate pronounced the well-known words which have rung through centuries: "*Mitis depone collum, Sicamber, adora quod incendisti—incende quod adorasti.*" "Bow down thy head, oh Sicambrian! with humility—adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored." Parisii (Paris) became soon the capital of the Franks; Clovis resided there, and the ancient church of Saint Sulpice, where he was buried, is still standing.

111. Gallia Armorica recognized the supremacy of the Franks after the victory of Tolbiac. That province had then a wider extent than the ancient Roman *Armorica propria.* The latter consisted only of the Brittanic peninsula, while the Armorican confederacy for mutual defence, had been formed by all the Gallic cities and states between the Seine and the Loire, who, having found themselves without protection by the Romans, had armed and united for the salvation of all. These gallant people had beaten back the Vandals and Suevi, in 406, and having been reinforced by fleeing Britons from the Island, who sought refuge against the Anglo-Saxons, the Peninsula was called *Britannia Minor*, to distinguish it from the invaded *Britannia Major*, Great Britain. We cannot, with certainty, determine the extent of this confederacy, but it seems to have embraced all the towns between the Loire and the Seine; the following cities belonged to it: Rotomagus (Rouen), on the Seine; Bajoca (Bayeux); Abrinca (Avranches); Carnotis (Chartres); Redones (Rennes); and Andegavi (Anger)—all between and westward of those rivers. Aurelianum (Orléans), a populous and strongly fortified city on the Loire, had been most heroically defended against Attila by its bishop, Saint Aignan, who commanded the citizens on the

[34] Gens Francorum inclyta, fortis in armis, perfida, audax, velox, ferox et aspera!

[35] Henry Luden, in his excellent history of the German nation, says that Clovis did not pursue the Alemanni across the Rhine.—(Vol. 3, page 70.) Prof. Henry Leo supposes the river Neckar, in Alemannia, to have been the frontier; we have followed the map of Dr. Spruner.

walls. Turones (Tours), and Namnete (Nantes), on the same river, and Venedi Castrum (Vannes), on the coast of the ocean, were the most thriving cities in this part of Gaul, which hitherto had escaped the havoc of war.

112. Aquitania (Aquitaine), the last and most important of the conquests of Clovis in Gaul, comprised all the beautiful and fertile territory between the Loire and the Pyrences. It had, for one century, been the seat of the Visigoths, who had already arranged themselves quite comfortably in the country, with Toulouse for their capital, thus securing their possessions beyond the mountains in Spain. But the Visigoths, being Arian heretics, were hated by the clergy and the Roman population of Aquitania, and when their king, Alaric II., fell in the battle near Pictavis (Poitiers), 507, against Clovis, they lost the whole rich province, and remained only in the doubtful possession of Septimania, the narrow coastland between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. Bituricæ (Bourges) and Arvernos—*Clarus Mons*—(Clermont), on the *Elaver* (Allier); Burdigala (Bordeaux), and Tolosa (Toulouse), on the *Garumna* (Garonne); Elusa (Auch), in the south,—all these held the first rank among the Aquitanian cities.

Division of the Frank Empire among the Merovingian Princes.

113. The large empire which Clovis had founded was, at his death, in A. D. 511, divided between his four sons—Thierry, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlothaire—and it formed still four kingdoms in 527. Every one of the four kings possessed a portion of his land lying between the Loire and the Rhine, —the first conquest of the Franks—and another part in Aquitaine, the new acquisition from the Visigoths, where the Franks had not yet obtained firm footing, but which they loved particularly for its fertility, and the richness of its wines and other productions.

114. I. Kingdom of Suessiones (Soissons), on the northwest, extended from the capital in the south, northward to the sea, and eastward to the Mosa (Meuse) and the Rhine—with the cities Tornacum (Tournay), the residence of Childeric the father of Clovis; Taruenna (Thérouanne) and Camaracum (Cambray), the capitals of two Frankish petty kings whom Clovis had slaughtered; Ambiani (Amiens), and Laudunum (Laon).

In Aquitaine the king of Soissons possessed the central cities Limovicas (Limoges), and Petragorium (Périgueux).

115. II. The kingdom of Parisii (Paris), in the centre, extended from the river Somme westward beyond the Garonne, embracing the coast of Aquitaine. Parisii was the capital, Meldunum (Melun), Meldæ (Meaux), Rotomagus (Rouen), Ebroica (Evreux), Redones (Rennes), and Namnete (Nantes), the principal cities. In Aquitaine, the king held Pictavis (Poitiers), three leagues from which, on the banks of the *Clinnus* (Clain), was the celebrated field of Vouillé—*Campus Vocladensis*—where Clovis, by rapidity, skill, and bravery, defeated and destroyed the Visigothic army in 507—Santones (Saintes), and Burdigala (Bordeaux), were flourishing cities.

116. III. The kingdom of Aurelianum (Orléans), south and east of the former, of smaller extent, on both banks of the Loire from Autissiodorum (Auxerre), westward to Andegavi (Angers). Meduana (Le Mans), the former residence of a Frankish petty king, slaughtered by order of Clovis. In northern Aquitaine, Bituricæ (Bourges), on the Avarus (Evres), belonged to king Chlodomir.

117. IV. The kingdom of Mettis (Metz), the most extensive of the four, because it comprised all the eastern provinces of the Franks; from Colonia, on the Rhine, to Tolosa, lately the splendid capital of the Visigoths, on the Garonne. It contained besides, on the right bank of the Rhine, *Old France*, the homestead of the Franks and of the tributary Alemanni. Mettis was the capital; Treviris (Trèves), rebuilt from its ashes. Catalauni (Châlons sur Marne), south of which, on the Catalaunian plains, was fought that terrible battle between Attila with his Huns and allies, and the Roman general Aëtius, in which 150,000 warriors perished on the field, and the power of the Huns was broken for ever (A. D. 451). Other cities were Trecæ (Troyes), and Arvernos or Claramontis (Clermont). In Aquitania, Cadurcum (Cahors), Rutena (Rhodéz), and Albige (Alby).

118. Government and Constitution of the Franks.—Clovis was only a leader at the head of his Frankish leudes —*leute*—or followers in Gaul; he had no regular government; he depended on the good will of his fierce companions. But his continual victories consolidated his power; the Romish church gave him pomp and titles, and the Byzantine emperor purple and dignities — all combined raised him above all his rivals, who soon perished, one after the other, by his dagger. The conquered lands were distributed among the veteran soldiers; the army formed the *mallum* or public assembly, which was called together in spring on the *Champ de Mars*. The cities continued to be governed by the Roman law with their own municipalities. A royal count or *Graf*, held the executive power, collected the duties and presided over the courts of justice, where the Franks had settled down among the native Romans. In the rural districts the peasantry remained serfs as they had been before the conquest. The German division in *gauen* was introduced. Ten free estates, *allodia*, formed a *zehnt* or community governed by a *Zehntman*, or Bailiff. Ten communities again made a *mark* —Anglo-Saxon hundred—of which the governor was a centenarius, or *cent-graf*. An uncertain number of marks formed a gau or gheve (county), with a gau-graf as military and civil commander. The body of the Frankic warriors possessed the conquered lands, yet they left the vanquished Romans in the enjoyment of *usus fructus* as vassals. The Romans formed two classes: 1, Possessors or *lides* (vassals) having half the *wehr geld* (security money) with which the life of a freeborn Frank was secured; 2, Tributary Romans, with a wehr-geld similar to the serf. The Franks formed three classes: 1, Salian Franks, the conquerors or nobles; 2, German freemen, found in the country; 3, barbarian allies under the Salic law. The Salic lands were held by military tenure, and could not go to the females.[36] The possessor was the baron (wehr or warman); he held with battle-axe and buckler under the *bannum*. Entirely different was the *allodium*[37]—*sors*—or lot of land, given to those veterans who retired from the retinue or from the army; this was *real estate*, and could be alienated. The Mayor Domus (afterwards so important an official) held the military cash as the director of the royal *fiscus;* he was chosen by the warriors, and considered their patron against the king; thus the influence of this officer arose from his position at the head of the army. The king's

[36] *Salica*, not from *sala* (*domus*), but from *Terra Salica*, that is, *terra paterna*, the Salian Franks being the leading tribe that gave their name to the patrimony.

[37] *Od*, or *odel*, in the ancient Teutonic and Scandinavian languages, signified riches, property, or landed estate. *Al-od* is all property, the whole free estate, which the Franks rendered in Latin by *allodium*. The free peasants in Norway are still called *Odels-bönder*, freeholders or yeomen. *Feh* or *feo*—in Danish *fæ*—signified cattle, money, and every kind of movable property; it denoted, likewise, the pay of the warrior: thus, *feh-od* can literally be translated by paid wages, or acquired income—the reward for rendered service. In the Latin of the Middle Ages this was expressed by *feodum* and *feudum*, of which we form our *fief* and *feud*.

companions *in trust* were the Antrustiones, with particular privileges. The other warriors were the leudes, among whom the estates were distributed. Immense were the prerogatives of the Romish clergy. They flattered Clovis, and shut their eyes to all his enormous crimes. The Franks loved show and glitter, and soon took a certain polish, though the proud Romans still ridiculed their homely dress and unwieldy arms. Clovis planted the germ of lawful liberty, by the enfranchisement of the Church and by the bonds of the feudal system, which united the warring Germanic tribes and prepared the formation of large national states. Clovis marched from town to town at the head of his *leudes;* but his successors, the Merovingians, lived retired in their rural palaces, far away from the Roman cities. One hundred and sixty of those *villas* were scattered through the provinces of the four kingdoms; mostly simple, but profitable farms. The mansion of the *longhaired* King was surrounded by barns, courts, stables for horses and cattle, poultry-yards, and dove-cotes; the gardens were planted with useful vegetables; the various trades and labors of agriculture, even the arts of hunting and fishing were exercised by servile hands for the pleasure of the king. He lived among his vassals like a farmer, and the whole establishment was conducted on the principle of private economy. To the mallum, or national assembly, the king and queen used to drive in a clumsy cart, drawn by oxen. The Merovingians became the victims of their sloth and their crimes—that the Carlovingians might shine forth as their heroes and successors.

VIII. Kingdom of the Burgundians.

119. Extent, Division, and Principal Cities.—The Burgundians had in A. D. 410, stopped at the foot of the Alps, and occupied the valleys of Helvetia and the Rhone, while their fierce companions, the Vandals, pushed on to Spain. Clovis had attempted their subjection, but the Burgundian power did not sink until his sons repeated the blow in 534, when the Burgundian states were divided among the Frankish princes, and the Ostrogoths, under Theodoric, possessed themselves of the coast-lands of Provence. The cities in Burgundy were flourishing. Janua (Geneva) on Lake Leman.—Besontio (Besançon) on the Dubis (Doubs).—Cabilonum (Chalôns) on the Arar (Saône)—the capital and the finest city of Burgundy during the period of its independence.—Vienna (Vienne), on the left bank of the Rhone.—Avenio (Avignon), more south, celebrated for its brave resistance against the victorious Clovis, who was forced to raise the siege on the approach of the Ostrogoths. The Burgundians had concluded a compact with the native Romans, by which the latter agreed to surrender to the victors two-thirds of their estates, the half of their forests, gardens, and houses, and a third of the whole number of their slaves. During fifty years, every freeman obtained this *allodium* (lot) from his Burgundian lord. The estates were hereditary. Pasture and agriculture were the business of freemen, while all mechanical employments, including arts, belonged to the servile class. Thus the ancient Germanic manners of the Burgundians were long maintained in their primitive simplicity. Wives were purchased, and they might be dismissed in case of poisoning or witchcraft. The crimes of the Burgundian dynasty hastened the overthrow of the nation. The Franks, to revenge their queen Chlotilda, laid waste Burgundy with fire and sword. When Gondemar fell in 534, the kingdom became extinct, and the family of Clovis governed Burgundy by a duke, and the country on both slopes of Mount Jura by a patrician. The Burgundians were the most humane and civilized of the barbarian tribes that settled in the Roman provinces.

IX. Kingdom of the Thuringians.

120. Position, Extent, and Downfall.—In the centre of Germany, south of the Langobards and the Saxons, the Hermunduri and Turoni, with relics of other Germanic tribes, had formed the powerful kingdom of Thuringia, embracing the northern part of the present Franconia and the Saxon principalities north of the Thüringer Wald. This empire became so flourishing toward the middle of the fifth century, that the Thuringian king, Basinus, was strong enough to check the advance of the Sclavonian invaders beyond the Elbe, on the east, and to carry on bloody wars with the Franks on the Mayn and Rhine. Basinus was at last defeated by Clovis, and Thuringia remained subject to the Franks; but his sons restored its independence, until, during a civil war between king Hermanfried and his brothers in 530, the Frankish king Dietrich (Thierry), in alliance with the rapacious Saxons, succeeded in overthrowing the Thuringian dynasty. Hermanfried was defeated on the river Unstrut, captured and stabbed; the Saxons occupied all the lands on the Elbe and Weser north of the forests; and Dietrich united southern Thuringia with the Frankish empire, yet the vanquished nation was permitted to be governed by their native dukes. Schidingi (now Scheidungen, near Naumburg), on the Unstrut, was the capital. The Thuringians were celebrated for their agriculture and studs; their beautiful horses, sent as presents to King Theodoric, excited the admiration of the Goths in Italy.

X. Kingdom of the Longobards.

121. Position.—This Scandinavian nation, whom we left on the Elbe (82), had continued their march southward, and settled among the Carpathian mountains, where they shared the common fate with the other Germanic tribes who were vanquished by Attila and forced to follow his banner. Yet on the death of the mighty conqueror in 452, the Longobards, uniting with their brethren the Ostrogoths, the Gepidæ and Herules, broke their chains, and, driving the Huns back toward Mount Caucasus, they established themselves on the left bank of the Danube, from the Margus (March) near Vienna, eastward to the Theiss, where they remained until their victory over the Gepidæ, and their descent into Italy under Alboin in A. D. 568.

XI. Kingdom of the Gepidæ.

122. Position.—The Gepidæ (90) were kindred to the Goths, and a highly remarkable people. Their King Ardaric, uniting with Goths and Longobards, defeated Ellac the son of Attila, in the terrible battle on the banks of the river Netad (Neutra), in Pannonia, and expelled the Huns beyond the Carpathians. The Gepidæ then divided the rich spoils of their victory with their allies, and formed a great kingdom in ancient Pannonia and Dacia (Hungary and Transylvania), bordering south and west on the Danube, which separated them from the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. On the northwest they bordered on their allies the Longobards, with whom they soon entered into those hostile relations of rivalry and national hatred which a century later (in 567) terminated with the total destruction of the brave and high-minded Gepidian nation. The Carpathian mountains protected their northern and eastern frontier from the invasions of the Bulgarians, Avars, and other Tartaric tribes, who were already advancing from Mount Oural and the Caspian Sea. Etzelburg (Buda-Pesth), on the Danube, the splendid Oriental camp and capital of Attila, became the residence of the Gepi-

dian Kings, who, like their brethren the Goths and Vandals, soon yielded to the influence of the milder climate, and changed their austere northern manners for the luxury and indulgences of the South.

§ III. SOUTHERN EUROPE.

XII. KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS.

123. Extent and Division. — The most flourishing of the kingdoms founded by the Germanic nations on the ruins of the western Roman Empire, was that of the Visigoths in Spain. After the Vandals had abandoned (in 429) the provinces which they occupied, the Visigoths, under their king Euric, vanquished the Romans, subdued the Suevi in 585, and thus remained the only conquerors of the Peninsula. The greatest extension had their empire under the just mentioned king Euric, during the latter half of the fifth century, when they possessed besides Spain the entire southwestern part of Gaul as far as the Loire, with Aquitania and Narbonensis. The capital of their empire was the populous and beautiful Tolosa (Toulouse), still glittering with so many monuments of Roman magnificence. But when on the advance of Clovis with his Franks, the Roman population of Aquitania broke forth in rebellion, and the Visigoth King Alaric II. was defeated and killed in the battle near Poitiers in 507, all the Trans-Pyrenean possessions were lost to the invaders, with the exception of the coast-land of Septimania. The Ostrogoths from Italy then occupied Provence, which was afterwards incorporated with Burgundy and fell to the Franks. The Byzantine Romans still possessed the southeastern coast of Spain on the Mediterranean, where they strengthened their garrisons in the important commercial cities of that region, after the subjection of the Vandals in Africa by Belisarius in 534. They even extended the Roman rule in the interior as far as Corduba; but the Visigothic kings, Sisebut and Swinthila, expelled them at last (616–624) entirely from Spain; nay, the former of these kings even crossed the Straits and occupied the cities Septum and Tingis, in the ancient Roman province of Tingitana. The wild mountaineers in the Cantabrian mountains, the Arevaci, Ruccones, Berones, and Varduli, who had so long preserved their old political independence and their native dialects, were subdued by King Leuwigild in 574, and new fortresses were erected to check their forays into the lowlands. The Visigoths retained the ancient Roman division of Spain in *Tarracona, Carthaginiensis, Bætica, Emerita, Toletum, and Bracara.*

124. The Principal Cities were, in Septimania, the seven towns which had given the province its name, Narbona (Narbonne), for a time the new capital of the monarchy, after the loss of Tolosa, in 507. Carcassona (Carcassonne), where the victorious Clovis kept the son of Alaric II., Gesalic, besieged, after the battle of Poitiers and the death of his father. Elena (Elna), at the northern base of the Pyrenees. Biterræ, (Béziers), Magdalona (Maguelonne), Lodeva (Lodève), and Nemausus (Nimes). In Spain we find the most flourishing cities of the late Roman empire. Barcinona (Barcelona), on the northeastern coast of the Mediterranean, where Astolphus was assassinated, shortly after his arrival in Spain, and where Gesalic was defeated by Ubbas, the Ostrogoth general. Tarraco (Tarragona), Carthago Nova (Carthagena), long in the possession of the Byzantine Greeks; Augusta Emerita (Merida) on the river Anas; Corduba (Cordova), and Hispalis (Seville) on the Bætis, likewise long defended by the Greeks; and last of all Toletum (Toledo), on the Tagus, the splendid capital, and archiepiscopal seat of the later Visigoth empire, where many important councils were held during the 6th and 7th centuries.

125. Government and Constitution.—The constitution of the Visigothic empire received a very early development. The kings were elective; but the royal descendants had pretensions to the crown. The kings enjoyed a greater power than among other German tribes. King Leuwigild donned the royal purple, and circumscribed the arrogance of the nobles; but the clergy exercised a most dangerous influence, and intolerance against Arians and Jews already flashed forth in violence and cruelty. Toledo became the capital; the court was splendid; the ceremonials and costumes were imitations from Constantinople. The *Palatines* or court officials, and the *Gardingi* or body guards, formed the nobility; counts governed the provinces; the Gothic nobles, by the perfect security of Spain, gave themselves up to sport and rural pursuits, and neglected those military exercises by which they had subdued the Roman world. The Goths being the few, and the civilized Roman inhabitants the many, it is natural that the Goths soon attempted to speak the *lingua vulgare* of those times: from the curious mixture of Gothic and vulgar Latin, arose the noble and beautiful Castilian, perhaps the most sonorous, regular, and elegant of all the modern Romanic languages. The Visigothic laws were humane and just; they were nearly a copy of the Theodosian code, applied to the now mixed races of Goths, Romans, Suevi and Alani. The experiment succeeded, because within a century they all formed only one nationality. Spain, in its secluded position, enjoyed a great tranquillity during the Visigothic sway. Some ports on the eastern coast still belonged to the Eastern Roman empire; but the Greeks gave them up, and returned in 624. The Suevi in the northwest recognized the supremacy of the Visigothic king; yet never was any elective monarchy exposed to more terrible convulsions than those which shook the Visigothic throne. The passions of envy and revenge played their unhappy game on a greater scale than in any other realm, and at last caused the sudden overthrow of the Gothic sway in Spain.

XIII. Kingdom of the Suevi.

126. Extent and Cities.—The kingdom of the Suevi, or Alemanni, as they sometimes are called, was founded in A. D. 409, in the ancient Gallicia, which this people in the beginning divided with their companions, the Vandals, and some bands of Alani, who had escaped the Huns, and joined the large Germanic armies on the Rhine. The Suevi settled in Asturia, Leon, Gallicia, and a portion of the modern Portugal. Their frontier was the Durius and Tagus, while the Alani occupied some districts of Lusitania, south of the Tagus, where they disappear altogether. When the Vandals crossed over to Africa in 428, the Suevi remained in quiet possession of northwestern Spain, though they were not strong enough entirely to subdue the native population. On the appearance of the Visigoths the struggle was renewed, and the Suevian king Recchiaris was defeated and beheaded in 456, by King Theodoric of the Visigoths. The Suevi still made a stand, until at last Leuwigild, in 585, united both crowns, and thus secured the tranquillity of the peninsula.

XIV. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

127. Extension and Division.—At the moment when Justinian ascended the throne of Constantinople, the founder of the Ostrogoth monarchy, and its most illustrious sovereign, Theodoric, had just died, leaving his nephew a splendid empire, which embraced the coasts of the Adriatic and Tuscan seas, and extended from the banks of the Danube and the Alps on the north, to the southern promontories of Sicily on the

south, and from the banks of the Rhone on the west, to the union of the Save with the Danube on the east, where its limits touched those of the Byzantine empire. Theodoric had, in 489–93, made an easy conquest of Italy, after the defeat of Odoacer and his Herules in the battles near Verona, and the surrender of Ravenna; and by his prudence, moderation and benevolence, and the brilliant talents of his minister, Cassiodorus, he peaceably formed that mighty and well-organized kingdom, which was destined so soon to crumble into dust by the incapacity and frailty of his unhappy daughter, Amalasuntha.

128. Provinces and Cities.—This extensive monarchy was composed of provinces that had belonged to the Western Empire, and which Theodoric permitted to preserve their earlier names and limits. These provinces from northwest to southeast were the following:

129. I. Provincia Arelatensis, or *Province of Marseille*, at a subsequent period well known under the name of Provence. It consisted of the whole part of ancient Gaul contained between the Rhone, the Durance, the Maritime Alps, and the Mediterranean. Theodoric formed of it, in 511, a new *Præfecture of the Gauls*, the metropolis of which was Arelate or Arles. Near that city he had surprised and defeated the Franks in 507; and the citizens hailed with joy the Gothic rule, which seemed to secure them the important privileges and immunities they had formerly enjoyed under the Roman empire. This acquisition was extended, in 523, by the cession which the king of Burgundy made to Theodoric of the Provincia Septentrionalis, north of the Durance, with the rich and flourishing towns of Carpentoracte (Carpentras), Arausio (Orange), Dinia (Digne), and Valentia (Valence).

II. Rhætia Meridionalis, likewise denominated *Rhætia Ostrogothica*, to distinguish it from Rhætia Septentrionalis, which belonged to the Frankish empire—both situated on the upper Danube—where the uncertainty of the frontiers between the two nations gave rise to diverse embassies and military demonstrations.

130. III. Italia, with its ancient subdivisions from the times of the Roman empire. It was conquered by Theodoric, as we have mentioned, after three successful battles against Odoacer, the Herulian king; the first stood on the banks of the *Sontius* (Isonzo), a small river that empties into the Adriatic; the second before Verona in the northeast of Italy, and the third on the banks of the Addua (Adda), whence Odoacer fled to Ravenna, where he perished. The most important cities during the Ostrogothic period were: Ravenna, situated in the midst of the lagunes or swamps on the Adriatic coast. It had become a splendid city, while serving as refuge and capital to the last emperors, and to Odoacer, who kept the whole Ostrogothic nation occupied before its almost impregnable fortifications for nearly three years. Ravenna became afterwards the residence of the Ostrogothic kings, and the traveller still admires there the sepulchre of Theodoric, the cupola of which consists of a single immense rock, being thirty-four feet in diameter. Rome had already suffered terribly during the two sieges and pillages of the Visigoths, under Alaric, in 408–410; and by the still greater devastation in 455, from the barbarous Generic and his Vandals. Poor Rome was afterwards taken by her own mercenary bands, the Herules; and, a fifth time, by Theodoric and his Ostrogoths, who, however, treated the fallen city with that deference and sympathy which the ancient metropolis of the civilized world merited; nay, he restored many of its crumbling monuments, preserved its senate and municipal administration, and won the hearts of its boisterous multitude by granting them *panem et circenses*. Milan, the strongly fortified and industrious metropolis, likewise received Theodoric with enthusiasm, when he descended at the head of his wandering nation into the plain of the Padus. Verona, situated on a mountain range, defending the defiles on the river *Athesis* (Adige), was his frequent residence, and he built there palaces and other public buildings, of which some ruins are still seen. Pavia, on the *Ticinus*, where the virtuous and eloquent Boëthius was unjustly confined, condemned, and executed in 525—the only dark spot in the bright buckler of Theodoric. Spoletium, then an important city in central Italy. Terracina, the ancient Anxur, on its picturesque promontory, still crowned with a fortress, and the ruinous palace of the Ostrogoth king. Naples saw again her joyous days in the residence of the most distinguished Romans and Goths, statesmen and warriors, Cassiodorus and others, who used the cure of her hot springs, and revelled in her delicious climate.[38] Tarentum, on the gulf to which it gave its name. Scyllacium, in Calabria, with a convent to which Cassiodorus retired in old age and died, after having served gloriously and faithfully Theodoric and his successors.

131. IV. Sicilia belonged to the Gothic empire. Syracusæ was still the capital of the island; second in rank was Lilybæum on the western promontory (now Marsala, so celebrated for its wines). It was by Theodoric given as a dower to the Vandal king Thrasimund, who married his sister Amalafried. That the Vandals continued to occupy that important fortress is proved by an inscription lately found there, "*Fines inter Gothos et Vandalos.*"

132. V. Illyricum Occidentale comprised all the provinces of the ancient diocese of that name, and formed the eastern part of Theodoric's possessions, highly important by its position, but dreadfully devastated and depopulated by the wars of the Huns, Lombards, Gepidæ, and other barbarian nations, who were then contending with one another on the banks of the Danube. Theodoric sent colonists; he rebuilt Sirmium and Singidunum on the *Savus*, and fortified the defences of the Illyrian mountains with castles and garrisons. Boiodurum (now Innstadt), on the upper Danube at the union of the *Ænus* (Inn) with that river, became an important city—so likewise Siscia (Sisseck) on the Save, and Salona on the Adriatic coast.

133. Italy had suffered an awful devastation and destruction of its inhabitants during the many different invasions of the fifth century; but the arrival of nearly a million of Goths in 489, produced a favorable change. Odoacer had distributed one-third of the arable lands of Italy among his Herulian warriors. These, Theodoric, after his victory, gave to his Ostrogoths, who thus obtained landed property, for which they paid the same taxes as the native Romans. It is a well-known fact, that at the close of the fifth century, nearly all the estates were in the hands of the wealthy senators of Rome; it was, therefore, not the lower classes who suffered by those partitions of property, but the nobility. The great mass of the Italian people had no landed property, and they continued as they had done before to live by their labor, by royal offices, and the supplies of bread and wine which Theodoric took care to furnish to the idle Romans, as well as the spectacles of the amphitheatre. Yet the division of lands among the invaders seems to have been circumscribed to northern Italy, where we find the Gothic nation more thickly settled. But the Goths had been too much estranged from the quiet occupations of agriculture, on a sudden to change the plough for the sword. They remained principally engaged in military exercises and hunting, and left the tilling and gardening of their farms to their numerous serfs. Nor did the two different nationalities of Germans and Romans ever mix; religion, language, habits,

[38] See the pleasant passages in the letters of Cassiodorus, wherein he describes the beauty and fertility of Campania. In his affected language, he calls the wine *cruentus liquor, purpura potabilis, violeum nectar!*" Var. 8, 31; 9, 6, 11; 10, 14; 12, 14, 15.

all kept them asunder. The Goths had, like most of the other Germanic tribes, embraced the abhorred Arian heresy. They were continually armed; large bodies united for their regular drill, and their entire organization was military. Theodoric foresaw that the relaxation of their discipline beneath the sunny sky of Italy would become their bane; he commanded their gatherings and manoeuvres; he settled warlike bands of the Alemanni in Rhætia; Gepidæ, and the wrecks of the Herules in Illyricum and on the banks of the Padus; and he improved the breed of his war-horses by the establishment of large studs in the Apulian plains. He was anxious to instruct his Barbarians in the arts of Rome, the building of fortresses, palaces, aqueducts, and the draining of the Pontine swamps; but he prohibited them the enjoyments of her literature, and said: "That he who trembles at the whip of the schoolmaster, will always flinch at the flashing of the sword." Theodoric, on the other hand, made no alteration in the internal division and organization of the country and its government; he left the vanquished Romans their privileges and liberties, as they called the vain names of republic, consuls, senate, and municipal magistracies. Romans and Ostrogoths lived peacefully together on terms of temporary friendship or forbearance. The blue-eyed, fair-haired Goth, so proud of his long, golden ringlets, hanging down over his shoulders, and the beard that covered his mouth, continued to dress in skins and furs, wore his long sleeves and wide trowsers tied at the knees and ankles, by leather straps, and stalked about in large brogues, with the heavy broadsword at his girdle, and the huge buckler on his arm—while his neighbor, the elegant Roman, in his short tunic, his knees and arms bare, his hair short cropped, his chin smoothly shaved, with his large *toga* gracefully covering his shoulders, regarded with horror his unwelcome hyperborean guest, though he in silence admired the domestic virtues of the Northmen, the modesty and chastity of the Gothic women, and the affectionate relations between parents and children. Nay, the contemporaneous Greek and Roman writers give the unanimous testimony, that the quiet and beneficent reign of Theodoric might be considered as the most perfect example of the happiness which a kind-hearted and generous prince could spread around him. The precious collection of original letters and decrees of Theodoric, written and published by his active secretary Cassiodorus Senator, gives the most detailed and interesting description of the progress and development of the country during this period of unclouded prosperity. We admire the attentive care of the indefatigable Ostrogothic monarch in promoting every branch of political economy, and we read with delight the glowing description in Cassiodorus of the cultivation and restored salubrity of Italy. There was abundance of wine, oil, fruit, grain, even for export. He praises the gardens of Reggio and Squillace, the beauty of Bajæ, near Naples, the precious wines of Verona, which were duly appreciated at the royal board, and it appears from his enthusiastic account of the vintage, that greater care was then taken with the noble wines of Italy than at the present time. Theodoric was the greatest character of the sixth century, a true practical genius, who went to the point in all his undertakings and did his work thoroughly; and it is interesting to the philosopher to see how much an intelligent monarch, assisted by such a statesman as Cassiodorus Senator, was able to create and establish in a reign of thirty-three years. He found Italy (489), a desert covered with ruins, swamps and forests, where the wild beasts were roaming—and he left it (526), a garden, a flourishing country, repeopled with the healthy and active Gothic race, and restored to commerce, agriculture, industry and a higher civilization, which might have been of lasting benefit to humanity, if another bright genius like his could have completed the amalgamation of the Roman and Gothic elements, and secured the permanent happiness of the two races. But the incapacity of his successors, and the ambition of Justinian, soon brought on those calamitous wars which terminated thirty years later, with the renewed desolation of Italy, and the total destruction of the Ostrogothic nation.

XV. Kingdom of the Vandals.

134. Their Possessions in Europe and Africa.—After the easy conquest of Spain in 428, the Vandals were invited by the persecuted Donatist sectarians, to invade Africa and their enterprising king Genseric, crossing the straits, soon overran the whole of northern Africa, from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean eastward to the great Syrtis, and building a numerous fleet at Carthage, he subjected the islands of the Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic isles. His roving Vandals became now as daring corsairs on the sea, as they formerly had been irresistible cavaliers on the main land. Genseric sacked Rome in 455, and the Vandals extended their piratical expeditions even to the Peloponnesus, where they were defeated by the Maniatæ, the modern Spartans. He undertook no changes in the government of Africa, and Latin was the official language among the Vandals, but they treated the poor African Romans with cruelty and scorn; they deprived them of the best lands, exacted immense taxes, and excited the bitterest feelings of revenge in the bosoms of their serfs. Nor could the Vandals get a firm footing in that extensive country. The Moorish tribes from Mount Atlas drove them from the entire coast lands between Tingis and Cæsarea. The four successors of Genseric did not inherit his talents. Thrasamund abandoned Sicily to the Ostrogoth Theodoric to secure his assistance; only the important port of Lilybæum he received back as the dower of the Gothic princess whom he married (131). Sardinia was used as a place of banishment, and during the violent religious dissensions in the African church, Thrasamund sent two hundred and twenty bishops in exile to that island. The Vandals were the first among the northern barbarians who became corrupted by the luxuriance of a southern sky, and while they were reducing the industrious native Christians to thraldom, and themselves revelling in their fragrant gardens and shady villas, they were suddenly surprised, prostrated and annihilated by the sword of Belisarius; and the Vandal nation leaves nothing behind them in the world except the hateful word Vandalism, denoting their wanton delight in destruction.[39]

XVI. The Eastern Empire.

135. Extent.—At the accession of Justinian I. the Byzantine empire still preserved almost the same limits as it had one hundred and thirty-two years before (395–527), at the division of the Roman empire by Theodosius. In Europe, we have the Danube, the Save, the Drinus, the Barbana, and the Mediterranean around the great Illyrian peninsula. On the Black Sea the Greco-Romans occupied the southern coast of the Taurian Chersonese (Crimea), the interior of which was inhabited by a fugitive German tribe, the friendly Tetraxitan Goths (91), who had refused to follow the banner of Theodoric to Italy, and enjoyed the protection of the Byzantine emperors. Nor had the Romans lost territory in the east. Since the cession of *Nisibis*, in the war against king Sapor in 363, the Mesopotamian frontiers had been fortified by Anastasius with the important castle of Dara (13), fourteen miles

[39] *Andalusia* (Vandalos), in Spain, is said to have its name from the Vandals.

west of Nisibis. It was still more strengthened by Justinian, and became the bulwark of the empire during the bloody wars with the Persians (96), which secured the Roman influence over Armenia Minor, and the Lazic, Albanian, and Iberian tribes of Mount Caucasus.

136. Provinces and Principal Cities.—The provincial division of the empire likewise remained the same, and it still consisted of the three dioceses of Thrace (belonging to the Præfecture of the Orient), and those of Dacia and Macedonia, which formed the Illyrian Præfecture. They also preserved their seventeen provinces, whose capitals were, after Constantinople, the most important cities in this part of the empire. We here mention only Adrianople, Philippople, Marcianople, in the diocese of Thrace; Thessalonica, Dyrrachium, and Corinth in Macedonia; and Sardica, in Dacia.

137. Frontiers of the Empire at the death of Justinian, A. D. 565.—With the reign of that emperor began the terrible invasions of the Sclavonic nations from the Danube; but although the Bulgarians and the Avars advanced into the heart of the empire, and besieged Constantinople herself, they were nevertheless successfully repulsed; and at the death of the emperor in 565, the Oriental Empire still preserved its old frontiers on the north, east, and south; while on the west, the borders had been extended by the glorious conquests of Belisarius and Narses, in Europe, to the Alps and the western extremities of the Mediterranean, and in Africa, to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Several ports on the southern coast of Spain, from the *Straits of Hercules* (now Gibraltar) to the environs of Valencia, were likewise occupied by the garrisons of the empire. The northern frontier, on the Danube, had been strengthened with fifty-two new fortresses, all the ancient fortifications had been repaired, so had likewise the celebrated *long walls*, built by the Emperor Anastasius (417), for a length of eighteen miles, from the Propontis, across Thrace, to the Black Sea, and advantageously situated for the defence of Constantinople.

138. Acquisitions in the West.—The countries comprised within these limits which, during the reign of Justinian had been added to the empire, were the following:

139. In Europe. I. The southern part of the ancient diocese of Illyricum Occidentale, along the upper course of the Save, to the Carnian Alps, and the Istrian Peninsula on the Adriatic. Ragusa, with an exeellent harbor on the coast, was built during the reign of Justinian, by the inhabitants of the ancient city of Epidaurus, which the Selavonians had destroyed during their invasion. The Illyrian Præfecture, to which this newly acquired province was added, reeeived now for metropolis Justiniana Prima (Giustendil), a magnificent city, that rose by the order of Justinian, on the site of the small village of Tauresium, where that monarch had been born, in the hut of a humble shepherd (35).

II. Italy, which was conquered by Belisarius and Narses, after a most tremendous war of eighteen years (535–553), during which Rome was five times taken by the Greeks, and retaken by the Goths. It was during the siege that Belisarius built the wall between the present *Porta del Popolo*, and *Porta Salaria*, which is still extant, under the name of *Muro Storto di Belisario*, and that the Greek defenders of the *Moles Hadriani* (Castle of Sant Angelo), hurled the magnificent statues on the heads of the storming Barbarians. Milan, then the most populous and brilliant city in the west, after Rome, was likewise taken and destroyed by the Frankish auxiliaries of the Ostrogoths, in the course of the war. Ravenna suffered likewise all the vicissitudes of the most barbarous warfare. Tagines, *Tagina*, in Umbria, on the western slope of Mount Apennine, near Spoletium, where the great and decisive battle took place between Narses and the king Totilas, in which the Goths were defeated, with the loss of their king and bravest warriors. The spot where the thousands of corpses were burnt after the battle, was still for centuries called *Busta Gothorum*. Naples had, at the beginning of the war, been taken by Belisarius, by a surprise, through a subterranean aqueduct. Nocera, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, where the desperate Goths, led on by their last king, Tejas, made an ultimate effort against Narses, who there terminated the war by their total destruction or capture.

Sicily, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and the *Balearic* isles, had likewise fallen back to the allegiance of the emperor.

140. In Africa, the sovereign of Constantinople had reconquered all the possessions of the Western Empire, from the Great Syrtis to the distant shores of the Atlantic, and Carthage, which so willingly had opened its gates to the victorious Belisarius, had again become the metropolis of orthodox Christians. Tricomarum, six leagues northwest of Carthage, where the battle was fought between Belisarius and Gelimer, the Vandal usurper, which decided the fate of the Barbarians. The site of Mount Pappua, at the extremity of Numidia, to which Gelimer after his defeat fled for refuge, is not known, and it seems difficult, on the indefinite description of Procopius, to fix the place with accuracy.

After the defeat of the Vandals, some of whom were sent as soldiers to the Persian frontiers, and the remainder dispersed and lost sight of in the interior of Africa, Justinian had still, during several years, some trouble with the roving mountaineers of Mount Atlas, the *Kabyles* and *Maurusians*, who in vain attempted from their strongholds on the outskirts of the desert, to profit by the change of dominion, and the religious dissensions, in order to recover the fertile country which the ancient Romans had taken from them.

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPE.

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AFTER THE INVASION OF THE AVARS AND THE LONGOBARDS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.[40]

General Remarks.——We have seen the position of the old world at the accession of Justinian I., A. D. 527. Half a century from that time take place the two last important migrations, those of the Avars and the Longobards, between the years 568 and 574, which produce so great a change in the political geography of Europe, that it will be necessary to explain their results. We shall, however, only confine ourselves to indicate rapidly the principal revolutions which occurred in Europe towards the close of the sixth century, as we have already given such full details on the preceding period.

§ I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

141. The British Islands have undergone great political changes since the beginning of the sixth century.

In Hibernia—Erin—(Ireland), the different small kingdoms became more and more flourishing, principally in conse-

[40] Compare Map No. 2, with Map No. 3.

quence of the rapid propagation of Christianity, that had already spread throughout the greater part of the island. Yet although it contributed generally to soften the character of the people, and to inspire them with ideas of religion and morality, it was not able to curb the military spirit of the Canfinnies, or chiefs at the head of their warriors panting for war and glory; and thus the intestine feuds continued in almost every part of that beautiful island; while the learned monks at Ardmacha, Benchor, and Killdara, were preparing for their more arduous and dangerous missions on the Continent among Saxons, Frisians, and Sclavonians, who all must with gratitude look back to Ireland for their first instruction in the Christian faith.

142. The kingdom of the Scots and Picts, in the north of Great Britain, preserved nearly the same limits. Christianity had already penetrated into the mountain regions by the strenuous exertions of the monks of Saint Columba (101). The ancient Britons were still in possession of the western coast of the island, and defended themselves bravely in Cumberland, Wales, and Cornwall; but new states were founded on the eastern shores in consequence of later invasions from the shores of Denmark.

143. Kingdoms of the Angles.—While the Saxons founded their states in the south (104), new conquerors, the Angles, from Schleswig on the Eider and the Baltic, arrived on the eastern coast of Britain, where they established three new kingdoms between the years 534 and 584. These, together with the earlier four Saxon states were henceforth known under the name of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. The new settlements of the Angles were the following:

Northanumbria (Northumberland), so called from its position north of the Humber, was founded in 547 by Ida, the Firebrand, a powerful chief, who, with his twelve sons and an army of Angles, landed on the Cape of Flamborough, and occupied the whole coast from the Humber to the Tweed. It soon split into two states: Deira (Deornas), on the south of the Tees, and Bernicia (Bryneich), on the north of that river; yet both became, in 560, united again under the same king. Eoforwic (York), was the capital of Deira and of all Northumberland. Bebbanburgh (Bamborough), built by Ida, south of the Tweed, was the first Anglican settlement in Bernicia.

East Anglia, on the coast, northeast of Essex, was colonized by Angles from Northumberland, and was erected into an independent kingdom by Offa in 571; its capital was Northwyc (Northwich), on the Yerne.

Mercia (Myrcna), between Northumbria and Anglia, toward the mountains of Wales. The victories of the Saxons had roused the Northmen on the Baltic; one band crossed over after another, and pressing forward in the interior, Creoda (Cridda), the descendant of Odin, founded in 584 Mercia, the *mark* or border state, against the Briton refugees of Wales, and the most powerful kingdom of the Heptarchy. Lindum (Lincoln), an ancient Roman colony, was the capital.

How these Dano-Germans gradually united and formed themselves into considerable kingdoms, and how far they respected the remains of Roman civilization which they still may have found there, we know not; nor does there exist any written history of the seven kingdoms until the time of their conversion to Christianity. The poor Britons were at last reduced to the western mountains of Cambria (103), or sought refuge among their Celtic brethren on the opposite coast of Armorica (70).

144. Scandinavia.—Darkness still covers the north; the dynasties of the Ynglingar at Sigtuna in *Swea-Rike* (Sweden), and of the Skioldunger at Leire in *Dannemark* (Denmark), begin to extend their dominion over the petty chiefs, the Sea-kings and Vi-kings of the islands; while the Northmen in their piratical expeditions, already begin to desolate the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic.

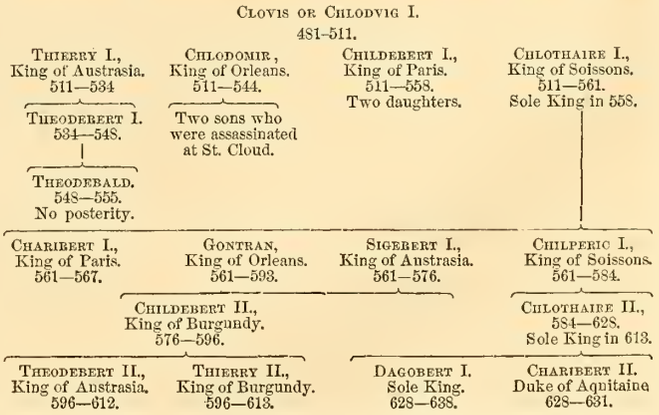
§ II. CENTRAL EUROPE.

145. Kingdom of the Franks.—The Frankish empire had received a considerable extension since the preceding period (110). The sons of Clovis[41] conquered Thuringia in 531, and Burgundy in 534 (119), and, taking advantage of the distress of the Ostrogoths during the wars with the Byzantine emperors, they insidiously obtained the cession of Provence from the unhappy king Vitiges in 535. Chlothaire I., the last of the sons of Clovis, united the Frankish kingdoms in 558–561; but, according to the custom of those times, he again divided them between his four sons; and on the death of Charibert, there remained the three kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy. The limits of these states were drawn in so absurd a manner, that it is impossible to give any clear idea of them. The Merovingian kings did not attempt to round off their states with easily defended frontiers, —their only view was to obtain an equal number of royal domains, many rich cities, and the best vineyards in the south or on the Rhine. Each brother demanded a duchy in Aquitaine; Paris, already an important city, was likewise divided among the princes, and every one fortified separately his own quarter as in time of foreign invasion. We can therefore only give a general outline of the *provincial* division, which soon became permanent by the development of the separate nationalities of Germans, French, Burgundians and Aquitanians, in the subsequent period of Charlemagne.

146. The kingdom of Soissons, now already called Neustria, or Westria (Wester-Reich), comprised all the provinces extending along the sea-shore, from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Rhine; only Brittany, the ancient Armorica, continued still independent. A small portion of Northern Aquitaine remained with the king of Neustria. Soissons was the capital, and the heart of France.

147. The kingdom of Austrasia or *Ostrasia* (Oster-Reich), comprehended eastern France and the new conquests beyond the Rhine, and, besides, the city and territory of Aberincatus (Avranches), on the coast of the kingdom of Soissons, and the entire north and south of Aquitaine; that is, the territories of *Turrones* (Tours), of *Pictavis* (Poitiers), and of *Limovicas* (Limoges), the entire *Arverna* (Auvergne), the cities and territories of *Rutenicus* (Rhodéz), of *Albingensis* (Alby), of *Cadurcinus* (Cahors), of *Tolosanus* (Tolouse), of *Convenas* (Comminges), of *Consoransis* (Conserans), of *Benearnia* (Béarn), of *Atura* (Aire), and of *Burdigalensis* (Bordeaux). Nay, it seems, even, that several towns of Provence, such as *Avenio* (Avignon), *Aquæ Sextiæ* (Aix), and

41 GENEALOGY OF THE MEROVINGIAN RACE UNTIL DAGOBERT, A. D. 638.



one-half of *Massilia* (Marseille), formed part of the kingdom of Austrasia. Sigebert, king of this country, perceiving the necessity of approaching nearer to his possessions beyond the Rhine, removed his royal residence from Rheims, the ancient metropolis of that part of Gaul, to METTIS (Metz), on the Moselle, which henceforth became the capital of Austrasia. ANDELAUS (Andelot), on the frontiers of Burgundy, is important in the history of the Franks, on account of the treaty of 587, which fixed the limits between Austrasia and Burgundy, and in which we discover the first traces of the hereditary succession in the fiefs.

148. The kingdom of BURGUNDY, or, as it now was called, the kingdom of ORLÉANS and BURGUNDY, because it embraced these two kingdoms, extended besides over the territory of *Melodunum* (Melun), *Provence*, and the western part of *Aquitania* (Saintes, Angoulême, Périgueux, and Agen). Gontran, its king, took his residence in CHALONS *sur Saône*, a position more central than that of either of the ancient capitals, Orléans or Lyons. EBREDUNUM (Embrun), at the foot of the Cottian Alps, and STABLON (Estoublons), more south, on the western slope of the maritime Alps, are remarkable places on account of the victories which the Frankish general Mummolus here gained, in 569 and 570, over the arrogant Lombards and their Saxon allies, when the former, not satisfied with their easy conquest of Italy, attempted to add Provence likewise to their territories, as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

149. AVARIA.—The Empire of the Avars occupied for two centuries the greater part of eastern Europe, and took the place of the kingdoms of the *Lombards*, *Gepidæ*, and *Bulgarians*, whose position we have described in the beginning of the century. The Avars were a Tartaric nation, by the Russian historians called *Obri*, and by the Franks, *Huns* (108), there being, no doubt, many Huns following along with them. The Avars had for centuries inhabited the eastern slope of Mount Oural, when they were defeated by the Turkomans from the Caspian, and driven westward. They in their turn subdued the Bulgarians on the Euxine, and appeared, to the terror of the Greeks, on the Danube, in 560. Justinian averted the storm with rich presents. All Slavia, eastern Germany as far as Franconia, and Bavaria, were devastated by that cruel and restless people, which for more than two centuries proved the scourge of Europe (560–796). They occupied all Bohemia and subdued the Sorabian Slavi in the present Saxony and Lausitz. In 563 they penetrated into Thuringia, where they for the first time came in contact with the Franks. United with the Longobards, they suddenly attacked and destroyed the Gepidæ, in Pannonia (122), and when the Lombards, in 568, marched off for the conquest of Italy, they occupied permanently the fertile and beautiful lands of Noricum, Pannonia, and all Dacia. Their southern frontier was the Danube, the Euxine Sea, and the western Caucasus. On the east, they touched the Volga, on the northeast they reached to modern Moskow, and along the Carpathian range their western border ran down the Elbe, from Magdeburg to Bohemia, including the portion of Austria, east of the Ens, and followed then south, along the Friulian Alps, the river Save to its junction with the Danube. They were a mighty nation, who during the seventh and eighth centuries kept Europe in continual fear. Many Sclavonian tribes were subdued by the Avars; others fled before them, and forcing their way across the Danube, inundated Thrace, and settled in northern Greece and the peninsula of the Morea (196). In a subsequent period, however, when the Bulgarians, under their leader, Kuvrat, recovered from their lethargy, and defeated the Avars in the east, and the inhuman cruelty of the latter brought the Bohemians in their despair to throw off the yoke, then the Avaric power began to sink. In order to secure themselves against the Franks, they had transformed the finest provinces of southern Germany to a desert, where dense forests arose, which separated Bavaria from Avaria. The more to secure their position on the Danube, they supported the rebellious Duke Thassilon of Bavaria, against Charlemagne; but the Frankish armies invaded their country in 791, and after several destructive campaigns, Prince Pepin subdued all western Avaria as far as the river Raab and the Danube, and forced the defeated Tartars to become Christians. Several times they rose in rebellion, but in 803 the heavy sword of Charlemagne smote them with such effect, that the Avaric nation vanishes from history, and only the eastern tribes found refuge on Mount Caucasus, where they still, to this day, form a warlike race under the name of AWARS or UARS, and their Khan is the most powerful among the *Lesgian* chieftains.

The Avars, being nomades, had no cities, but strongly fortified camps. Their capital was the RINGUS, or fortified circular camp at *Buda-Pesth* in Pannonia, where the Franks made an immense booty of the plundered treasures of so many vanquished nations. The Avars were the most talented and ingenious of the eastern tribes; they were tall, handsome, and excellent archers. They fought in complete armor; their steeds were barbed with chain mail, and the equipment of the Avar horsemen was adopted by the Byzantine Greeks, as were their long lances, with colored flags. They learned from the Greeks to conduct regular sieges, to throw bridges; but they showed such savage cruelty against their vanquished subjects, that their name, *Obri* in the Russian, got the signification of "horrible monster," as the *Bougre* (Bulgar), in French, and the *Hüne* (Hun), in German. The Avars were a brave and warlike people, but faithless, perfidious, and avaricious. From wild nomades, they became cunning tradesmen, who with their caravans, carried the oriental and Grecian wares and costly manufactures to the markets of Germany, where they made plenty of money, which they hoarded within the wooden walls of the Ringus, on the Danube, and it was then a common saying among the Franks, that before the conquest of Avaria the Franks had been a poor people, but that afterwards, the precious metals found there had made them more wealthy than any other nation in Europe.

150. GERMANY was thus divided between the *Franks* and the *Avars*. Among the independent SAXONS, the SCANDINAVIANS, the FINNS, and NORTHERN SCLAVONIANS, no remarkable changes took place during that period.

§ III. SOUTHERN EUROPE.

151. SPANISH PENINSULA.—The only change which here attracts our attention is the extinction of the *Suevian* kingdom in 585, and the progressive amalgamation of the different races which already began to speak the Spanish language, a mixture of Latin and Gothic. The only troubles there were caused by the ambition of the princes to succeed to the throne, and the arrogant bearing of the prelates, who, during the lethargic sloth of the Visigothic kings and nobility had made the ecclesiastic influence paramount in the realm.

152. KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARDS.—The Ostrogothic empire was destroyed by Belisarius and Narses, in the middle of the 6th century. In 568, Alboin crossed the Alps, with an immense army of Longobards, Saxons, and other German auxiliaries. He occupied Northern Italy, which henceforth took the name of Lombardy, and his successors extended their sway through the interior as far as Beneventum in the south. Yet the Lombards were unable to conquer the coast, where the well-fortified cities were supported by the fleets from Constan-

tinople, and thus their kingdom remained without consolidation, and exposed to attacks on every side except the north. The Lombard kingdom was divided into six larger provinces, containing thirty-six *ducatus* (duchies), which were governed by dukes, who, in the course of time succeeded in becoming almost entirely independent.

I. Austria (now the Venetian territory) with the larger Duchies of Tridentum (Trident), Forum Julii (Friuli), and Venetia or Austria Regni, which again comprised a number of smaller duchies, *Tarvisium* (Treviso), *Vincentia* (Vicenza), *Patavium* (Padua), &c.

II. Neustria (now Piedmont and Milan), was separated from Austria by the *Mincius* (Mincio), and the *Lacus Benacus* (Lago di Garda), with the duchies of *Eboreja* (Ivrea), *Taurinum* (Turin), and *Neustria Regni*, in which was the capital of the kingdom, Papia, or Ticinum (now Pavia), on the *Ticinus*. Smaller duchies were those of *Bergomum* (Bergamo), *Brixia* (Brescia), *Mediolanum* (Milan), and *Insula St. Julii*, on the small lake of Orta.

III. Æmilia, south of the *Padus* (Po), comprised the small duchies *Placentia* (Piacenza), Parma, *Regium* (Reggio), and *Mutina* (Modena).

IV. Tuscia (Toscana), divided into, 1, Tuscia Regni, with the duchies *Luca* (Lucca), *Florentia* (Florence), and *Clusium* (Chiuso); and 2, Tuscia Langobardorum with the duchy of Castrum. Separated from these territories, were for a length of time the southern conquests of the kingdom.

V. The duchy of Spoletum (Spoleto), with the city of Teate.

VI. The duchy of Beneventum, with the *gastaldates*, or jurisdictions of *Capua*, *Bovianum*, *Teate*, and smaller territories. Pavia had made a most obstinate resistance during a siege of three years. Alboin made it the capital of the kingdom. Milan had arisen from its ashes, and was again one of the most populous and important cities. Verona, the strong fortress on the Adige, where Alboin was assassinated by his revengeful wife Rosamund. Monza, near Milan, with the celebrated cathedral and monastery of Queen Teudelinda, where the kings were inaugurated with the iron crown of Lombardy. King Rotharis gave in 644, the Lombard code. All Lombards were nobles, *Arimanni*, or warriors; under the dukes stood the judges, or *Gastaldi;* free Lombards were empanelled as jurymen, to judge their equals; capital punishment was inflicted only for treachery, conspiracy, and cowardice. Judicial duels, and ordeals by fire and water were permitted. Woman enjoyed the highest honor, protection,[42] nay, even chivalrous adoration. The king was only the leader of the feudal army; the assembly of dukes decided all political questions. The native Romans were treated with unheard of cruelty; yet the Lombards did not take themselves the landed property; they exacted one-third part of the revenue. The tributes and taxes of the cities were heavy, but the citizens personally free. The Lombards, as Arian heretics, clad in skins, had terrified the Romans; yet the natural chivalrous character of the old Northmen soon took a polish and elegance superior to that of the Goths and Franks. The Lombards were excellent horsemen; they established studs of an improved race of war-steeds, on the meadows of the Venetian coast; they introduced the buffalo from India, and carried to perfection the art of falconry. Yet they never succeeded in conquering Rome, and the hostility with the Popes and the maritime cities, contributed to rouse the patriotism of the Italians, and to promote the development of the Italian republics of later times.

153. The Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire.—The conquest of Italy by the Lombards, deprived the Eastern Empire of some of the acquisitions which it had made in Italy during the reign of Justinian I.; yet it still possessed the following provinces, toward the close of the 6th century.

1. The Exarchate, which had its name from its governor, the *Exarch* (Ἔξαρχος), whom the Greek emperor sent over to administer the imperial possessions of Italy. He resided in Ravenna (42), and had a Greek fleet and troops at his disposal for the defence of the province. The exarchate consisted of Padua, Adria, Ferrara, Commacchio, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, and the maritime province called Pentapolis, because it consisted of the five cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona. Venice, situated at four miles distance from the mainland in her lagoons, began already to rise in power and wealth, and though governed almost independently by her military tribunes, was still considered as a dependence of the Greek Empire.

2. The province of the Cottian Alps (51), embraced at this period the whole range of the Maritime Alps and of the Apennines, on the fertile coast of Liguria, with the city of Janua (Genoa), which had already become a thriving commercial port.

3. The Duchy of Rome, extending from Perugia on the north, to Gaeta on the south, was governed by a military duke, though both the Bishop (Pope) of the Roman See, and the senate of ancient noble families exercised a great influence, and often opposed the despotic measures of the distant and weak Byzantine Government.

4. The Duchy of Naples was divided into two parts, by intervening Lombard territories. On the north, the beautiful city of Neapolis (Naples), with Sorrento, Puteoli (Pozzuoli), and the thriving commercial town of Amalfi, on the Salernitan gulf, and on the south, Calabria, with the strongly fortified and important city of Tarentum (Taranto). Sicily, with its capital, Syracuse, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic islands, belonged likewise to the Eastern Empire.

[42] See the laws of king Rotharis: elopement with a Lombard bride without the consent of the bridegroom, was punished with 1800 *solidi*, or gold pieces (*Roth. Legg.* 191), while the murder of a Lombard *ariman* or noble, could be atoned with only 900 solidi; nay, the taking a single kiss of a Lombard virgin without her permission, was punished with 900 solidi as compensation to the injured fair one, while a worse harm done to her *Roman* maid-servant, was atoned with only *three* solidi, and the breaking into her father's house by open robbery, with 80 solidi (*Roth. Legg.*, 14, 16, 26, 31, 32). The Lombards, like the Danes, compensated every injury on man or beast, whether premeditated or accidental, with ready money. (See the highly interesting details in Professor Leo's *Geschichte der Italienischen Staaten*. Hamburg, 1829, vol. i., p. 114 et seq.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE.

WESTERN AND CENTRAL ASIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA; THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLEMAGNE (A. D. 768–814), AND OF HAROUN AR RASCHID, THE ABBASIDE CALIPH OF BAGDAD (A. D. 786–809).

I. EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

§ I. Extent of the Dominions of the Franks on the Death of Pepin-le-Bref, A. D. 768.

154. General Remarks.—Great changes have taken place in the Frankish empire since the union of the three kingdoms

of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, first under Chlotaire II. in 613, and then a second time under king Dagobert in 628. The successors of the latter, the idle or *fainéans* kings of the Merovingian race, had given place, in 752, to Pepin-le-Bref, the founder of the second dynasty—the Carlovingians. The main causes of the downfall of the royal authority in France were the impolitic and detrimental divisions of the empire among the royal princes, the feuds and disorders which they occasioned, and the growing influence of the able and active *mayors of the palace* (118). By the new division of the states, on the death of Dagobert in 638, among his sons, every one of the petty kingdoms obtained its own Mayor Domus, which increased the confusion; nay, the relations between these military chiefs became the more hostile, the more the different nationalities of *German Franks* or Austrasians (Eastlanders), *Roman Franks* or Neustrians (Westlanders), and *Gallo-Romans*, or Aquitanians, developed themselves in language, character, and manners. In 687 it came to a civil war between the Neustrians and Austrasians and their warlike mayors. Pepin of Heristal and his Austrasians, gained the bloody battle at Testri against the Neustrians, in consequence of which he was chosen to rule over all the kingdoms as Duke and Prince of the Franks, and established the permanent seat of the executive power at Aix la Chapelle in Austrasia. The son of Pepin, Charles Martel (the Hammer), consolidated still more the new hereditary power of the Mayor Domus by his victories over the Saxons, Frisians, and Arabs from Spain, at Tours in 732; and so great was the influence of Pepin-le-Bref, the son of Charles Martel, that, with the sanction of clergy and nobility, and the assistance of the Pope of Rome, he could put the last miserable Merovingian king into a convent, and mount the throne of Austrasia and Neustria in 752. Aquitaine, Saxony, and Bavaria, which had recovered their independence during the troubles, are invaded by Pepin and partly reduced to obedience, when he divides his states between his two sons, Carloman and Charles, before his death in 768.

155. Limits.—The Frankish state was bounded on the north and northwest by the Channel and the Atlantic; on the south by the Loire, the mountain chain of the Cevennes and the Gulf of Lions on the Mediterranean.[43] On the side of Italy the Franks had extended their empire to the highest range of the Alps, in which two important passes were situated, which are often mentioned in the chronicles of those times: "*The Franks' Narrows*"—*Clusæ Francorum*—now the passage of the little Saint Bernard, which opens upon the valley of Aosta—*Vallis Augustana*—and the other defile, more south, called the Segusian Valley—*Vallis Segusiana* or *Vallis Sensana*—is the defile of Susa on Mount Cenis, which King Desiderius had fortified in vain, in 774, against Charlemagne, who boldly crossing over by the steeper mountain paths, took the Lombard camp in the flank and defeated them totally in the plain of Pavia. Beyond the Rhine the Frankish territory extended eastward to the river Saale, where it bordered on the Saxons, Sorabians, and Bohemians, and ran south to the Danube and along the *Anisus* (Ens) to the Alps, thus comprising Bavaria, which, however, was more tributary than subdued. On the northeast, the countries beyond the Rhine, and north of the Thuringian mountains, Saxony, and the coast-lands of the Frisians, though often invaded by the Franks, were still independent.

156. Division made by Pepin between his Sons.—Carloman, the elder, got Neustria, Burgundy, with Septimania, Provence, Alsace, and Alemannia, that is, western and southern France. Charles, the younger son, received Austrasia with Thuringia, Souabia, Bavaria, and those portions of western Saxony and Frisia which were considered as belonging to the empire. Aquitania, then almost independent,[44] was divided in equal parts between both brothers. From this somewhat unsatisfactory account of Eginhard, we discover, however, the insecurity of the frontiers, and the loose connection of the states among themselves.[45] What a work was there on hand for such a genius as Charlemagne!

I. Kingdom of Neustria.

157. I. Neustria Proper, between the Atlantic, the Channel, the Mosa, and the Loire, extended southeast to Burgundy; and being the earliest conquest of the Frankish nation, it was thickly settled by them and the centre of their power. Yet the western peninsula, Britannia (Bretagne)—Brittany—called likewise Armorica (70), and *Cornu Galliæ*, answering to the similar name *Cornouailles* (Cornwall), of the opposite coast in the British island, was inhabited by the pure old Celtic race, as different from the Roman inhabitants of Gaul, as from their conquerors the Franks. The Britons had, until the death of Pepin-the-Short, preserved their manners, language, particular laws, and native princes; and the French chroniclers of the times distinctly record that it was Charlemagne who first carried the Frankish arms into that country. Some of the frontier towns, however, such as Namnetes (Nantes), on the Loire, Redones (Rennes), and Aletum (Saint Malo), had already been occupied by the Merovingian kings, and later by Pepin.

II. Burgundia (Bourgogne, Burgundy), on the southeast of Neustria, between the Loire, the Cevennes, and the Alps, and bordering south on Provence, was at this period the most flourishing portion of the empire, both on account of the industry and activity of the inhabitants, and because the devastating incursions of the Arabs from Spain had hardly touched its frontiers.

III. Septimania, southwest of Burgundy, extended along the coast of the Balearic sea, or Gallic gulf—*Sinus Gallicus*—as the gulf of Lions was then called. This beautiful province had never been completely reduced by the Merovingians, and was soon re-conquered by the Mohammedans. It remained in their power until the Gothic count, Ansemandus, surrendered several cities—Nimes, Maguelonne, and Béziers—to Pepin, who already had crossed the frontiers. Narbonne, rising in rebellion, slaughtered the Mussulman garrison and opened her gates to the Frankish prince. Thus encouraged, the Franks boldly entered the Pyrenees, and it is related that the Saracen *Wali* of Girona and Barcelona did homage to Pepin, although a mere show of obeisance could not have been a real submission.

158. Provincia (Provence), south of Burgundy, on both banks of the *Druentia* (Durance), had been overrun by the Arabs, but Charles Martel defeated them there in A. D. 739, and the province was henceforth governed by Frankish officers.

159. V. Alesatia or *Alesacis* (Alsace), northeast of Burgundy, between Mount Vogesus and the Rhine, though inclosed within Austrasia, belonged to Carloman. It was the first conquest of Clovis from the Alemanni, and was afterwards incorporated into the province of *Eastern France* (Franconia), beyond the Rhine.

160. VI. Alemannia or *Alamania*, southeast of Alsace, on the right bank of the Rhine, embraced the southern part of Souabia and Switzerland, and extended to the foot of the Alps. A small portion of northern Souabia seems to have

[43] During the middle ages it was styled the sea, or gulf of the Lion, because, from the frequency of tempests, it was formidable to mariners. To write gulf of *Lyons* is incorrect.

[44] Aquitania was in a state of insurrection, and Charlemagne began his reign with its complete reduction.

[45] In his life of Charlemagne.

belonged to Austrasia; the Franks were unable scientifically to adjust political divisions of territory. After the defeat of their duke, Leutfried, in 748, the Alemanni were deprived of their native sovereigns, and governed by Frankish counts under the supervision of royal commissaries (*missi dominici*).

161. VII. Bojoaria (Bavaria), on the east of Alemannia, from which it was separated by the river Lichus (Lech), extended between the Danube and the Alps, eastward to the *Anisus* (Ens), where it bordered on the empire of the Avars. The Bavarians, though several times defeated by Pepin, who had penetrated into their country so far as the *Ænus* (Inn), preserved still their native dukes and their national habits, but they did homage to the Frankish kings, followed their banner, and paid a yearly tribute. Bavaria did not yet form an integral part of the empire, and is not mentioned in the division made by Pepin between his sons.

II. Kingdom of Austrasia.

162. Pepin gave Austrasia to his second son, Charles. It was by far smaller than Neustria, but it was nevertheless the principal portion of the empire, and in assigning it to his youngest and most talented son, Pepin manifested the predilection he felt for him. Austrasia was the cradle of the Frankish nation; it was the old homestead of those brave *degene* (thanes, chiefs), and *leudes* (warriors), who formed the feudal armies of the Franks. There, too, was the stronghold of the new dynasty in the hereditary castles of *Landen* and *Heristal*, on the Mosa, surrounded by the estates of the faithful retainers of the family of Pepin—and finally, it was on this exposed frontier that all the assaults of the Germanic, Sclavonian, and Tartaric nations were to be opposed, sword in hand, if the western civilization should not be entirely overwhelmed by new inundations of the barbarous hordes from the east. Great was therefore the responsibility that rested on young king Charles, but he had the head, heart, and hand, requisite for the mighty task which his father had imposed upon him.

These remarks are important in order to understand the political and social change of manners, ideas, and language which already separated the two leading parts of the Frankish nation—the Neustrians and Austrasians—at the time of Charlemagne. All earlier French writers speak of that great ruler as if he were a Frenchman, a Louis XIV., an absolute monarch of France, while the more profound modern historians, Guizot and Thierry, distinctly prove that *Karl the Great* and his *Austrasians* were genuine Germans, speaking the old German mother-tongue, and still preserving the habits and manners of the Tudesque race. The Neustrians, west of the Mosa, on the contrary, had already so far adopted the language and customs of the native Romans, that they appear as Frenchmen one century later, at the battle of Fontenay and the treaty of Verdun in 843, where, at the division of the Empire, the act of allegiance of the armies is rendered both in the French and the German language.[46]

163. VIII. Austrasia Propria—*Auster*—extended on both banks of the Rhine from the Mosa, which separated it from Neustria on the west, to the *Visurgis* or *Wissera* (Weser), that formed the eastern frontier line toward Thuringia, and the Sclavonian nations on the Elbe. The portion of this province, lying between the Moselle on the west, the Rhine and the Mayn on the north, and the Risga (Rechnitz), a tributary of the Mayn, on the east, formed what at that time began to be called Francia, France, and was under the Carlovingians considered as the cradle of the monarchy. It was in itself subdivided into *West Reich*, or the Western Kingdom, on the left bank of the Rhine, comprising Alsace, and *Ost Reich*, or the Eastern Kingdom, on the right bank of that river, the present Franconia in Bavaria. All the ancient Roman cities on the Rhine (71, 109) had been rebuilt, and were now flourishing; the hills on the banks of the river were covered with vineyards, and the numerous country-seats of the kings and their feudal retainers, presented the boisterous life and gaudy pomp of those barbarous times.

164. IX. Thuringia or *Thoringia* (Thüringen), between the Weser, which separated it from Austrasia on the west, and the Saale, which on the east formed the utmost frontier of the empire, against the Sorabians, and other Sclavonian tribes. After the conquest of this beautiful country by the sons of Clovis in 532 (120), it was considered as an integral part of their dominions, but during the downfall of the royal authority of the Merovingians, and the feudal wars of the *Mayores Domus* in the west, the Thuringians succeeded in rendering themselves independent. They placed their native dukes at the head of the government, and bravely defeated the Franks in the great battle on the river *Unstrut*. Pepin-the-Short was therefore obliged to turn his arms against them, and this he did so effectually, that all Thuringia had been completely subdued and christianized at the time when Charlemagne mounted the Austrasian throne.

165. X. Saxonia, Saxony, on the north of Austrasia and Thuringia. The indomitable Saxons, with their heavy short swords—*saxen*—still preserved their independence, in spite of the five fatiguing campaigns of Pepin, until at last the Franks advanced on the Weser, and imposed a yearly tribute of three hundred horses on the Saxons, which they took no care to pay. Nor did they keep their engagement to permit the Irish and British missionaries to prosecute their pious work of conversion among them; and many were the zealous and devoted monks, who, in the Saxon forests, gained the crown of martyrdom.

166. XI. Frisia (Holland and Friesland), on the northwest of Saxony, was separated from Neustria by the lower Rhine, and extended eastward to the Weser. The Frisians made the most desperate efforts to preserve their independence in their low, swampy coast-lands, and Pepin of Heristal did not succeed in subduing them entirely, during eight fatiguing campaigns, for they soon threw off the Frankish yoke again, and even the great power of Pepin-the-Short did not restrain them from slaughtering the pious Saint Boniface (Winfried), the archbishop of Mayence, who, in 755, had dared with cross and Christian banner to enter their wilderness, in order to spread the light of Christianity among them.

§ II. The Western Empire at the Death of Charlemagne, A. D. 814.

167. On the premature death of Karloman in 771, the Neustrian Franks placed Karl on the buckler, as their *König* and *Herzog* (79), instead of the helpless children of Karloman. Karl accepted and hailed this propitious union, as the beginning and corner-stone of the magnificent building he was going to erect. Charlemagne is the greatest reformer of the Middle Ages. Society was then in a ferment; barbarism and civilization were in the most violent contest with each other, and the latter could only gain the victory by violent means. Providence sends forth mighty individuals, who are destined to lead an entire age with giant steps forward in its develop-

[46] See the interesting details on Charlemagne, the ancient Franks, and the division of the Carlovingian empire, in Augustin Thierry's Lettres sur l'Histoire de France, Lettre I.–XII., and in Guizot's Histoire de la Civilization en France, Leçons XX—XXV.

ment, and furnishes them with vigor of intellect and strength of will to accomplish their arduous task. Such is Charlemagne; he does not follow the beaten track, and while he fixes his eye steadfastly on the distant glittering summit of the mountain, many a flower is crushed beneath his foot. He is a terrible warrior, who for forty-five years leads his immense armies from one frontier of his empire to the other, in constant warfare. The Aquitanians in southwestern France, the Lombards in Italy, the Saxons on the Weser and Elbe, the Danes on the Eider, the Sclavonians on the eastern frontiers, the Avars on the Danube and the Raab, and the Saracens beyond the Pyrenees, are either repelled or prostrated and subdued by dint of his sword. He succeeds in giving Europe an entirely different, a better regulated and organized form. At Rome he takes the imperial crown in A. D. 800, and thus revives a modern Romano-Germanic empire, that stood the storms of a thousand years, until it at last perished on the battle-field of Austerlitz in 1805. In all his campaigns Charlemagne showed himself an able general; his tactical movements were as admirable as the rapidity with which he knew how to assemble and lead on his unwieldy masses of feudal warriors. His *heer-ban* or feudal militia consisted of troops from various nations, differently armed and equipped, but kept together by the most severe discipline, which could only be enforced by a mind like that of Charles. His *leudes* furnished their own arms, horses and provisions for three months; to facilitate their march through the empire, military roads were opened under the supervision of the active emperor himself. His fleets protected the mouths of the rivers. He was obeyed and feared from the Eider to the Liris, from the Ebro in Spain, to the Theiss in Avaria. We know little in relation to the organization of the Frankish armies. Cavalry is never mentioned, though we can hardly doubt that the greater part of his feudal vassals served on horseback. The age of chivalry had not yet arrived, and what the moderns write about the twelve peers or paladins of Charlemagne, of his tournaments and knightly pomp and pageantry, belongs to fiction and romance. Yet Charles did not rely only on his *heer-ban*, or his liegemen bound to military service; he had another body of select troops, called *scara*, schaar, bands, or paid household troops, who served throughout the campaigns, and among them were distributed the royal fiefs of Italy. They may therefore be considered as the first nobles who introduced the Frankish feudality into the lands south of the Alps. Having thus secured peace and obedience throughout the western world, he dedicated the last ten years (804–814) of his long reign (768–814) to the internal organization and development of his empire, and here we behold him in his real glory. It would be impossible to give an account of the numerous cities, fortresses, churches, schools, bridges, high roads, and even canals, and other public buildings and monuments, which he caused to be erected in every part of his dominions; he fully recognized the different nationalities, Franks, Germans, Lombards, Tartars, Sclavonians, Greeks, and Arabs, who lived peaceably under his protection. In his diets on the Rhine, the clergy, high nobility, and the mass of the freemen (leudes), assembled in a meadow on the banks of the river, where they were marshalled according to their rank around the throne of the great Emperor. Foreign ambassadors from every part of the world were there received, their presents graciously accepted, and hospitality offered on a scale which had not been witnessed since the downfall of the ancient Roman empire. The comprehensive mind of Charles embraced the most distant portion of his empire; nay, even the minute detail of income and expense on the farms of his imperial domains. His *capitularia* or laws were discussed in the diets, and imperial officers were hurried off in all directions to superintend their execution. The administration of the empire was simple in the extreme, and based on earlier Frankish institutions. Charles feared and hated the proud Dukes of Aquitania, Bavaria, and Lombardy; he dissolved all the duchies, abolished their titles, and divided the whole empire into COUNTIES—*pagi* or *grafengauen*—at the command of which stood a count or *graf*, uniting the functions of judge and military commander. The graf enjoyed his fief only for his lifetime;[47] his sons had no hereditary rights; their election depended on the choice of the monarch. Yet in order to keep the most vigilant control over the counts and their jurisdiction in the counties, Charles employed his important and faithful envoys, or *missi dominici*, who were chosen from among the most experienced and virtuous prelates and laymen; they were in continual movement from one province to another, and woe to the negligent official; for Charles himself, like the lightning from the clouds, would immedately appear and his look was then withering. The capitulars of Charlemagne (still extant) are 300, and the whole collection of those of his successors more than 3000—all curiously illustrating the simple and rude manners of the ninth century.

168. EXTENT OF THE FRONTIERS.—Such was the state of the Carlovingian empire. The fifty years which separate the death of Charlemagne from that of Pepin-le-Bref, had considerably extended the dominion of the Franks. The new Roman empire of Charlemagne had almost as vast an extent as the ancient, with the exception, however, of Spain, Africa, and the island of Britain; but it embraced many lands in central Germany, which furnished him with stouter warriors than the more civilized Roman provinces. If within the bounds of the empire we reckon the tributary nations who were not directly subjected to his Frankish government, the empire had on the west, the Atlantic; on the south, the lower Ebro in Spain and the Mediterranean. On the coast of Italy it extended to the environs of Gaeta, an important city belonging to the Byzantine empire; and then to the Liris (now Garigliano), which separated it from the Duchy of Beneventum. The powerful chief of the latter ruled in the greater part of lower Italy, and recognized the supremacy of Charles, without being his subject. The possessions of Charles embraced besides, all the coast of the Adriatic, from the mouth of the river *Aternus* (Pescara), in eastern Italy, around the gulf of Venice, as far as *Rhausium* (now Ragusa), or even beyond that; which, however, together with *Jadera* (now Zara on the island), *Tragarium* (now Trau), *Aspalathos* (Spalatro), and some other smaller ports, belonged to the Byzantine Greeks (139). On the east, the frontiers of the empire ran along the Dalmatian mountains to the river Bosna, a tributary of the Save, and followed that river to its junction with the Danube and the Theiss; along this latter river the border ascended the Carpathian ridge, crossed westward to Bohemia, and along the course of the Oder—or as Eginhard says, in his life of Charlemagne, along the Vistula it touched the Baltic, the Eider, and the German Ocean. This immense extent of compact territory had 300 leagues or 900 miles in length from north to south, and 420 leagues in breadth from west to east.

169. We have given the utmost extent of the Carlovingian empire as far as the sword of Charlemagne did reach; and in the map this border is indicated by the *light green* line, leaving, however, the national color to the tributary nations who did not directly come within the Frankish administration. The subject provinces of the empire, in which the imperial administration had been thoroughly established, we have colored with a deeper green, to distinguish it from that of the merely tributary countries of the Sclavonic and Tartaric tribes on the eastern frontiers.

[47] The Count was called Pfalz Graf or Count Palatine, if he resided in any of the many royal mansions or castles called Pfalz.

A.—Provinces of the Empire.

170. Different Divisions. — The great fundamental change undertaken by Charlemagne, was the dissolution of the duchies and the subdivision of the ancient provinces into the above-mentioned pagi—*counties*—gheves or *gauen*, which again were subdivided into *centena* (hundreds), *marken* (communes), and manses (manors), all with their corresponding officials and their military service—*heerban*. This division of the pagi, which extended throughout Germany and France, is of the highest importance, because it was the *Gaugrafen* or judicial counts, who, during the subsequent period of the dissolution of the Empire, by obtaining the hereditary rights of their fiefs, and joining these to their *allodia* or proper estates, constituted that feudal nobility which, in the tenth century, broke up the institution of the pagi—*gauverfassung*—and formed their baronial territories on its ruins.[48] Charlemagne never intrusted an ordinary official with more than one county; an exception was made however with regard to the border Counts, who were called *Duces limitis*, and sometimes possessed extended powers. In cases of sudden insurrection, Dukes were nominated to quell the rebellion. The Bishops began likewise to obtain worldly influence by being placed as civil officials side by side with the military Counts, or as *Missi Dominici* above them; yet they did not yet appear armed in the field until the downfall of the Empire.[49] It was by this minute organization of his gigantic empire, that Charlemagne was enabled to investigate the real wants of his subjects, or the neglect or incapacity of his counts. Temporary and changeable divisions were those of the legations—*legationes*—and the imperial messages — *missatica*. The Church was likewise divided into archbishoprics (provinces), bishoprics (dioceses), archdeaconries, &c., &c.; these only are known with accuracy; the pagi we know only in general from the capitularia.

171. Austrasia still retained its ancient frontiers, which were rendered secure by border counties on the Elbe and Danube. It had become a flourishing country under Charlemagne, with rich and thriving cities. Westward of the Rhine was situated Aquisgranum — *Aquæ Grani* — (Achen or Aix-la-Chapelle), built during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian by a Roman governor called Granus, who gave his name to the hot springs and the city. Charlemagne making it his favorite residence, erected there the Cathedral of Saint Mary, in which he was buried. His palace joined the church by a wooden gallery; many public buildings with marbles and sculptures from Italy, adorned the city. Mettis (Metz), southeast of Aix, on the Moselle, was the former capital of Austrasia, which now saw its splendor darkened by the new favorite. Duilia (Düren), on the Rhine, was often the general place of rendezvous for the feudal armies of the Franks during the Saxon wars. Landen, the ancestral castle of the Carlovingians, west of the Mosa. Heristal (Herstal), on that river, the estate and residence of the elder Pepin, who there had built a strong fortress, where his successors often resided. Trèves (Treviri), rebuilt and flourishing. Magontia (Mayence), opposite to the junction of the Mayn with the Rhine, across which Charlemagne threw a wooden bridge on stone pillars. Saint Boniface, the Archbishop of Mayence, left his see to find martyrdom among the savage Frisians (166). Ingelheim, on the Rhine, surrounded by a splendid scenery of mount and dale, was likewise a favorite residence of Charlemagne, where he built a noble palace and called together the yearly diets of his states; there, too, in 788, Thassilon, the duke of Bavaria, was condemned as a faithless vassal to lose his duchy, and expiate his treachery in the gloomy exile of the convent. Theodonis Villa (Thionville), on the Moselle, where Charlemagne, in 806, divided his states between his sons. Wormatia (Worms), another favorite place of the Emperor, where he had a fine palace, and held frequently his Mayfield assemblies.

172. Interesting cities, on the east of the Rhine, were Franconofurt (Frankfort), on the Mayn, Wurtzburg, on the same river, where Charlemagne began the canal, which was intended to unite the Rhine with the Danube, by directing the course of the *Regnitz* into the *Altmuhl*, which discharges itself into the Danube. Yet the difficulties of cutting through the intervening morasses, and the renewal of the Saxon war, forced the enterprising monarch to abandon this useful work.

173. Frisia, whose inhabitants, stubborn as they were, yielded like the Saxons to the civilizing sword of the Emperor, and made as rapid progress as they. The demolition of the new built Christian church at Derventer on the Yssel, in 772, was the signal for the bloody war of Charlemagne against the Saxons.

Saxonia (Saxony) had been christianized and subdued, after a terribly protracted struggle of thirty-three years (771–804). It had lost great part of its population, been devastated and plundered; but it rose by the energy of its people, and the beneficial influence of Christianity and civilization, to become the strongest and best organized state of Germany. The Saxons, at the time of the war with Charlemagne, were divided into three great tribes, the Westphali (*Westphalians*), on the west, between the *Amisia* (Ems), and the *Visurgis* (Weser); Ostphali (or *Ostphalians*), between the Weser and the Elbe, and the Angarii (or *Angarians*), in the southwest. North of the Elbe, toward the frontiers of Denmark, on the *Eidora* (Eyder), lived the Norlendi (or *Nordalbingians*), in Wooden Saxony, *Holzatia* (Holstein). Celebrated places were—

174. Bocholt (Buchholz), on the junction of the Luppe and the Rhine, where the Saxons suffered a defeat in 779. Sigiburg, a strong fortress which Charlemagne held garrisoned. Badenfeld, where the brave Wittikind was defeated by the Franks. Eresburg (Stadtbergen), north of Badenfeld, the first fortress Charlemagne took and garrisoned, to keep the Saxons in subjection. There stood on a precipitous height, the celebrated *Irminsëule*, or Irmin's pillar, an object regarded with the most sacred veneration by the Saxons, but of which we do not precisely know whether it was an image of a god, or perhaps a monument of Arminius (Herman), the conqueror of the Romans, thus revered with divine honors.

Paderborn, north of Eresburg, in the heart of Saxony, became its most important city, where Charlemagne often resided. He held there his diet, in 777; received the homage of the Saxons, and a visit from Pope Leo III. Near this city, at the head source of the *Luppis* (Lippe), called Lippespring, the Saxons suffered a tremendous defeat in 776, and there Charles opened his Mayfield assembly, in 782, and in 804. Mount Suntel (Sauenthal), more east, where the generals of Charles were routed by the Saxons in 782. At Ohrheim, on the north, the Saxons were baptized in the river Weser, by thousands, after their submission. Bremon (Bremen), on the same river, and Hamaburg (Hamburg), on the Elbe, were originally fortresses built by Charles for the protection of the coasts, which soon became flourishing commercial cities.

[48] Some regions in Germany still retain the names of the ancient *Gauen*; for instance, Breisgau on the Rhine, Aargau in Switzerland, and others. See the beautiful maps No. 12, 13, 15, 16 in the great collection of Historical Maps by Charles Spruner. Gotha, 1839–52.

[49] See the 4th Capitular of Charlemagne, A. D. 806, chap. 4th: Episcopi cum comitibus stent, et Comites cum episcopis, ut uterque plenitèr suum ministerium peragere possit.

175. Alsatia (Alsace), southeast of Austrasia. Argentina Civitas, (*Argentoratum*), Strateburgum, Strasburg, on the Rhine, at the union of the roads from France to Germany, was the most important town of the province.

176. Alemannia (now Baden, Würtemberg and Switzerland), southeast of Alsace. Constantia (Constance), on the *Venetus Lacus*, or *Bodoma Sea*, likewise called Lake of Constance. Santi Galli Monasterium, a magnificent convent, built by St. Gallus. Curia (Chur), on the upper Rhine, in the high Alps.

177. Boioaria (Bavaria), east of Alemannia. Its duke, Thassilon, had, in spite of the homage paid to Pepin and Charles, sought the alliance of the Avars, and fomented an insurrection among the Lombards of Italy. He was therefore condemned at the diet of Ingelheim, in 788, had his hair cut off, and was exiled to the monastery of Fulda. Bavaria was then reduced to a province, and governed by Frankish counts. Ratisbona (Regensburg), the capital on the Danube, where Charlemagne called together the diet in 792 for the organization of the province. Salisburgum (Salzburg), where Charles gave a magnificent reception to the Greek ambassadors, sent by the Emperor Nicephorus, to settle the frontiers between the two empires.

178. Carentanum, Carinthia (Kärnthen), one of the newly conquered territories, where Charles settled the surviving tribes of the vanquished Avars, in 803. Villach, the oldest town of that territory.

179. Avaria (or Hunnia), on the northeast of Carinthia, the vast country between the Ens, skirting the Danube, through the present Austria and Hungaria, to the Theiss, which at that time was the seat of the still powerful nation of the Avares (by Eginhard called Huns). Charlemagne penetrated with his army into Avaria, in 791, as far as the Ens, and defeated the barbarians in several battles. His son Pepin continued the war, and driving them in 796 across the Theiss, destroyed the camp and capital of their *Chagan*, or king—the Ringus, or fortified circle near Buda, on the Danube, where the Franks made an immense booty. Part of the vanquished Avars were forced to adopt Christianity, and settled in Carinthia; the mass of the nation, however, fled back toward the Euxine, where they suffered still worse from their enemies, the Bulgarians, and disappeared altogether. Charles then brought German settlers into the conquered territory, and formed the *Marca Orientalis—Ostrichi*—(Austrian frontier county), a name it preserves to the present day.

180. Neustria, shut in by the ocean, the Mosa, and the Loire, could only extend herself toward Brittany, which had made a violent effort during the reign of Charlemagne, to recover its independence. The Bretons were again put down by the sword in 786; many castles were taken by the Franks, but the country still remained so unsettled, that Charlemagne saw himself obliged to erect a *Marca Andegavensis*, whose margrave scoured the country at the head of his horse, and held Frankish garrisons in Namnete, Redanes, and Andegavi.

181. Interesting Cities.—Paris, on the Sequana, had lost the distinction as capital, which it enjoyed under the reign of the Merovingians, but figured still as the metropolis of Neustria. The city had grown like the monarchy. She was no longer inclosed, like the ancient Lutetia, within the narrow boundary of the island of *Nôtre Dame* (Our Lady), in the river Seine; she extended already along the right bank, and was fortified with walls, towers, and moats. *Pons Major* led from the island to the city, on the right bank; *Pons Minor* to the extensive suburbs on the left. Here were the palaces of Julian the Apostate and Clovis, the ancient cathedrals of Saint Medericus, and of Santa Genoveva, with numerous monasteries and convents in the gardens around. Paris and its environs formed the *Pagus Parisiacus*, with its own jurisdiction. Pepin the Short had died there, and was buried in Saint Denis, a splendid abbey, built by the Merovingians, over the tomb of the Gallic Apostle. Sithiu (now Saint Omer), with a celebrated monastery, in which the last Merovingian king died. Bononia (Boulogne), on the coast, had arsenals for the armament of the coast fortresses, which Charlemagne had built to protect the country from the piratic expeditions of the Northmen. It was likewise the station for one of his fleets. Another squadron was placed at Ganda (Gand), on the junction of the *Scaldis* (Scheldt), with the Ligeris (Lys). Soissons still preserved its rank as the ancient capital; it was there that Carloman was crowned, while his brother Charles chose Laudunum (Laon), in Austrasia, for his ceremony. Turones (Tours), on the Loire, was still the resort of thousands of pilgrims, who thronged to the shrine of Saint Martin. Among the royal residences we mention Verberia, *Verberiacum* (Verberie), northwest of Paris, where Pepin held a celebrated diet the first year of his reign, and Charlemagne built a splendid palace. Cartsiacus (*Quierzy*), northeast of the former, on the *Isara* (Oise), where Charles often resided, and Attiniacum (Attigny), southeast of the former on the *Axona* (Aisne), where the brave and unhappy Wittikind, the most distinguished of the Saxon leaders, did homage to Charlemagne in 785, and was baptized in the river.

182. Burgundia (Bourgogne), embraced at that time all ancient Helvetia (Switzerland). Charlemagne divided Burgundy between his sons. Lyons and Geneva were the largest cities. The latter place, on the Lake Leman, was the rendezvous of the feudal armies of Charlemagne, in the campaign against Lombardy, in 772.

183. Aquitania (Aquitaine), reached across the Pyrenees to the banks of the Iberus (Ebro). The Aquitanians hated the Franks, and were always ready, under their own dukes, to take up arms against them. Duke Hunold was vanquished by Charlemagne in 769, and Aquitania, having become erected into a kingdom, was given to his youngest son, Louis. It contained fifteen counties, the provinces of Vasconia (Gascogne), Septimania, the Spanish Marches, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands. Tolosa (Toulouse), was the capital. Burdigala (Bordeaux), Franciacum (Fronsac), on the *Dordonia* (Dordogne), a strong fortress built by Charles in 770, to check the Aquitanians.

184. Vasconia, at the foot of the Pyrenees, south of Aquitania, did homage to Charles, but its perfidious duke, Lupus, taking advantage of the difficult retreat of Charles through the deep valleys of the Pyrenees, joined with his mountaineers the Saracenic enemy, and cut to pieces the rear-guard of the Franks. But Charlemagne, having captured the duke, punished his treachery with the gallows, confiscated his duchy, and assigned to King Louis the mountain region of Bigorre, Béarn, and lower Navarre, while the rest of the district was placed under the imperial government of the Frankish counts. Roscida Vallis, Roncevalles, Roncevaux (the Briar-Valley), on the upper *Irati*, a tributary of the Aragon, is the celebrated valley where Charlemagne, in 778, after his brilliant campaign on the Ebro, and the conquest of Cæsar-Augusta (Zaragoza), suffered the terrible defeat in which Roland, the border-count of Bretagne, perished with the Frankish rear-guard, and all the Saracenic spoils were lost. The battle was fought in the defile of the highest Pyrenees, still called *Puerta de Val Carlos*, in commemoration of the only disaster that checked the victorious career of Charles. From the plain below, Charles was an eye-witness to the destruction of his brave companions, without being able to bring them relief.[50]

[50] The death of Count Roland at the battle of Roncevalles, is the only historical fact connected with a name that afterwards becomes so

Marca Hispanica or *Gothiæ* (the Spanish Border), consisted of Septimania (124) and the *Comitatus Barcinonæ*, the county of Barcelona, whose southern frontier was the river Ebro. Zaragoza and upper Aragon were soon reconquered by the Arabs, and the wild inhabitants of the Pyrenees were continually wavering in their alliance with the Franks or the Moslemin. Barcinona (Barcelona) was besieged and taken by King Louis of Aquitaine in 801, and became henceforth the capital of the Spanish border. Ampurias and Tarragona on the Mediterranean—Tortosa, a strong city on the Ebro, was taken by Charlemagne in 811, but fell soon back again into the power of the Moslemin. Pampiluna (Pamplona), northwest, on the *Arga*, was the capital of the district *Marca Vasconensis*, which was lost in 824, after a second defeat of the Franks by the Mohammedans, in the defile of Roncevalles. Upon the whole, the conquests of Charlemagne in Spain were very precarious, and could only be held during the civil wars among the Arabs, and the rebellions of the Saracen *Walis* or governors of the Chalif of Cordova, who sought a refuge at the court of Charlemagne. Barcelona, however, was maintained, but its counts made themselves independent toward the close of the 9th century.

185. Italia or *Longobardia* (Lombardy), was conquered by Charlemagne in 773–74. The last Lombard king, Desiderius, died as a prisoner in France, and Lombardy was erected into a kingdom, and awarded to Pepin, the second son of Charles, in 781. It comprised the greater part of the Italian peninsula, from the base of the Alps, on the north, to the territory of Gaeta and the river *Liris* (Garigliano), on the south, which formed the frontier of the tributary duchy of Beneventum. Within the kingdom of Italy lay, on the west, the Patrimonium Sancti Petri (the Papal See), consisting of the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. It comprised, 1, the duchy of *Rome*, from the river *Marta* to the *Liris;* 2, *Tuscia*, from the *Marta* north to the *Floris* and the duchy of *Perusia* (Perugia); 3, *Sabina* with the duchy of *Spoletum;* 4, The *Exarchate of Ravenna*, with the *Pentapolis* (153), along the coast of the Adriatic. Rome was the scene of the coronation of Charlemagne, on Christmas day, in A. D. 800, in the ancient Basilica of St. Peter in Vaticano. Ravenna was still a splendid city. Pavia had suffered from the long siege, and now lost its prerogative as capital of the Lombard kingdom. The Lombards of Verona made the last stand against Charlemagne. In that strong position Adalgisa, the brave son of King Desiderius, attempted in vain to sustain the independence of the Lombard nation. He fled to Constantinople, but Charlemagne, still fearing the conspiracies of the Lombard dukes in his favor, abolished the old Lombard laws and constitution, and introduced the Frankish administration. Only the Papal states remained independent, the Emperor reserving for himself the title of Protector Sancti Petri.

186. The Duchy of Beneventum.—The Lombard dukes of this fertile territory remained almost independent of the empire, though the duke did homage to Charles, and paid a yearly tribute of 25,000 gold pieces. It contained the greater part of the present kingdom of Naples, from the Pescara to Tarentum. Duke Romualdus had conquered the eastern coastland of Apulia (now Terra di Bari) from the Byzantine empire, and given it the name *Longobardia Minor*. The rivers Sabbatus and Neta separated the duchy from the Italian possessions of the Greeks.[51]

Beneventum on the Vulturnus, was the elegant and splendid capital of the dukes. Capua, the southernmost point to which Charlemagne carried his victorious arms during his expedition in 807. Luceria (Lucera), in the Apulian plain, was taken by the Franks in 802. Acerenza, in the interior, and Salernum on the Posidonian or Salernian Gulf, both strong fortresses, which Charlemagne considered so dangerous, that he ordered Duke Grimoaldus to demolish their walls, when he granted him the investiture of the duchy.

187. Eastern Provinces belonging to the Kingdom of Italy.—The Marquisate of Friuli, on the northeast of Italy, was governed by Frankish counts after the revolt and death of the last duke in 777. When Pepin became king of Italy, Friuli formed a most important *marquisate* or border county, which comprised Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, on the frontiers of the Byzantine empire. Civitas Austriæ, *Forum Julii*, or *Friuli* (now Udine), north of Aquileia, was the capital.

Justinopolis (now Capo d'Istria), the capitalof Istria, and all the maritime towns on the Dalmatian coast, belonged to the Greeks. The frontier line between the two empires is not known. The Sclavonic tribe of the Chrobati or Croats, occupying the northeast of Dalmatia, as far south as the river *Cettina*, near Spalatro, were subjects of Charlemagne, while the Sorabians or *Serbians*, in the eastern province of Serbia, beyond the mountains, acknowledged the supremacy of Byzantium.

Venice, enthroned on her hundred isles, was already an independent republic. King Pepin had in vain attempted to attack her with his Frankish army. She had beaten him back from her impregnable lagoons, and it was only a mere ceremony when she sent her ambassadors in 806 to do homage to the old Emperor at Aquisgranum.

B.—Tributary Nations.

188. Position and Political Relations of the Sclavonians.—We have seen (77, 117) the advance of the different *Slavic* nations westward on the Elbe, and their settlement all along the eastern frontiers of the Franks, from the Baltic south to the Danube and the Adriatic. With Charlemagne begins the period of the Slavic wars, which continued almost without interruption to the thirteenth century, when the Sclavonians were either driven back on the Vistula or became christianized, Germanized, and incorporated in the German Empire. Charlemagne laid the foundation to those eastern *marches* or border districts, which somewhat later appear in the history of the Carlovingian emperors, under the name of *Marca Sorabica*, *Bohemica* (Nordgau), *Orientalis*, *Avarica*, *Windorum* (Windische Mark), and extended from the Elbe all along the Carpathian and Bohemian Mountains to the Theiss, the lower Danube, the Save and the Dalmatian hills on the Mediterranean. Charlemagne himself, in the midst of his multifarious occupations, undertook several expeditions against the Obotrites on the Baltic, the Wiltzes or *Welatabes*, between the Elbe and the Oder, and the Checks (Czechs), in Bohemia, who all acknowledged the Frankish supremacy, while the Empire was governed by so strong an arm. The Slavi even took up German habits, and they called their native *zupanies*, *kral* (könig), in imitation of the Germans. The religion of the Slavi was Dualistic, with some notions of Odin and Walhalla. Their institutions were as primitive as their manners; their character was good-natured, light-hearted and fickle; they possessed neither the bright understanding of the Romanic nations, nor the depth of feeling and the integrity of the Germans, nor the chivalrous bearing, the fancy, and the romance of the Northmen. The Slavi could only act under strong impulses from without; their virtue consisted in obedience; the world has felt this, and called the strictest form of serfdom—*slavery*.

celebrated in the romances and epic poems of the Norman-French minstrels and the Italian poets Pulci, Bojardo, and the divine Ariosto.

[51] The Greek empire, besides Calabria, still possessed in Italy the town and promontory of Otranto, the duchy of Naples, Cajeta (Gaeta), Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta.

189. Such was the vast empire which the small nation of the Franks, in the course of three centuries, had united by force of arms, and a truly great monarch had extended and consolidated by his genius. Charlemagne was now an old man; from his beloved Aquisgranum he directed the government of so many nations, and secured the tranquillity and progress of the European world with admirable equity and vigor; but he foresaw that he would be called off before his new creation would have attained the vitality and strength necessary for its existence. He feared the ambition or incapacity of his sons, and he therefore resolved himself to superintend the approaching division of his states. A national assembly was called together in Thionville, in 806, where he proceeded to a general division of his dominions in the presence of his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. To Louis, the youngest, he gave Aquitaine, with Gascogne, Septimania, the Spanish border, Burgundy, and Provence; to Pepin, Italy, southern Alemannia, with Bavaria, and the eastern frontier lands, as far as the Danube and the upper Rhine; and to Charles, the future Emperor, France proper, that is Austria (Austrasia), Neustria, northern Alemannia, with the *Northgau* of Bavaria, Thuringia, Saxonia, and Friesland. He even provided for all the eventualities by the demise of the one or the other of his sons, in order that no civil wars might break out after his death, and destroy the glorious work of so active and successful a reign. Yet his prudent designs were not to be fulfilled. Charlemagne himself lived to see his two most worthy sons die, the one after the other, and when he, shortly before his own death in 814, crowned Louis the Good, his only remaining son, Emperor in Aquisgranum, he gave to this weak and bigoted youth the whole empire, with the exception of Italy, which was awarded to his nephew, Bernard, the son of Pepin. The rebellion and death of Bernard, the subsequent civil wars between Louis le Debonnair and his own violent and unnatural sons, and the antipathy of the different nationalities—French, German, Aquitanian, and Italian—caused within thirty years (818–843) the eventful treaty at Verdun, which assigned to the great European states that extent and those limits which, with few modifications, they still preserve at the present day.

§ II. INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN NATIONS ABOUT A. D. 800.

A.—The Northmen.

190. Scandinavia.—In the north the tardy dawn of day has begun; the sagas become more consistent; we stand at last on a firm historical footing. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, are still divided among petty kings; yet so early as 735 we distinguish the Danish Sea-king Harald Gold-tooth (Hildetand), who, by dint of his sword, united the greater part of the islands and the mainland of Sweden. On the heath of Braavalla, in East Gothland, he fought a great battle with his nephew, the Swedish king Sigurd Ring, in A. D. 740, during the government of Charles Martel in France. At this famous engagement all the petty kings and pirates of the north, and most of the nations bordering the Baltic, Sclavonians, Saxons, Livonians, Frisians and others, met in arms. King Sigurd headed the hosts of northern Sweden and Norway, and the fairest of the shield-maidens (*skjoldmöer*), Ursina, bore his banner. After the most sanguinary combat, the Danes gave way before the Norwegian archers from Tellemark; the blind old king, Harald, mounted on his battle-car, drives furiously into the throng of battle; all his chieftains sink around him, and he dies himself the death of a hero. Both armies then stop the slaughter; they surround the magnificent funeral pile on which the body of King Harald is burned with his armor, chariot, and war-horse. King Sigurd, the victor, crosses over the Sound to the Danish islands, and builds the town of Ringsted in Sealand, where he lies buried. His son, Regnar Lodbrok, extends his maritime expeditions to Britain in 794. The Danish rovers burn the monastery of Saint Cuthbert on the Isle of Lindisfarne; but they are defeated by King Ella of Northumberland, who throws the Danish Sea-king into the Snake-tower, where the old lion suffers the most horrible death among the reptiles, while singing the *Lodbrokar Quida* or *Biarke Maal*, the wildest and most beautiful song of the Northmen.[52] Sigurd Snake-eye (Snogöje), his son, inherited Denmark, but was slain in battle with the Frankish border counts in A. D. 803, after extending his sway over all Reit-Gothland (Jutland), Skaane, Halland, and the southern parts of Norway. Another son, Björn (Bear), ruled in Sweden, while the more illustrious third brother, Godfred, King of Jutland, advanced upon the Eider, where he erected the celebrated wall or mound of earth and stones, the Dannevirke, across the peninsula from the bay of the river Schley (Slias-wyk or Schleswig), westward to the North Eider, to protect his Scandinavian dominions from the inroads of the conquering Franks of Charlemagne at that time—A. D. 806—occupied in the subjugation and conversion of the Saxons. Fleets of the Northmen began already their piratical descents upon the coasts of Friesland, and at the mouth of the Scheldt and Rhine. In order to control these dangerous guests, the great Emperor built the Castle of Hammaburg (Hamburg) on the Elbe, and concluded a treaty with the successor of Godfred, King Hemming, of Jutland; according to which the Eider should form the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire, and the Danes abandon their conquests south of that river. A few years later Christianity was preached in Denmark by Ansgarius, the Apostle of the North (826), and in 883 we find the whole kingdom united under King Gorm the Old of Sealand.

Sweden was still an almost unknown country. Björn Ironside, the son of Regnar Lodbrok, inherited *Swearike* and *Gota-land*, and resided at Biörkö, on the frith of Mælarn. In 826, he invited the monk Ansgarius, then preaching the Gospel in Schleswig, to visit Sweden. The courageous missionary followed the call; he and his monks visited the large city of Leire, on Sealand (106), then the capital of the Danish kings, and though captured by the pirates in the Sound, and losing his precious Bibles and missals, the excellent man, nevertheless, succeeded in reaching the dreary coast of Halland. Beautiful, romantic Sweden, was then a wilderness. For days and weeks the poor monks waded through morasses, intersected with copse woods and pine forests, without meeting a human being: they had to cross the stormy lakes in small canoes, and while forcing their way through the mountains, they were every moment in danger of falling into the fangs of some shaggy bear; but protected by an all-ruling Providence, and by the relics of Saint Cuthbert,—as Ansgarius says,—and by their persevering courage, they at last descended on the smiling banks of the Mælarn, the only part of the interior of

[52] In this lament of twenty-five stanzas, King Regnar recounts all the conquests and cruelties of his wild life, each stanza beginning with the fearful words, "We hewed with swords in deadly strife." The closing lines paint admirably the wild faith of the heathen Northman:

> "Cease my strain! I hear them call,
> Who bid me hence to Odin's hall!
> High-seated in their bless'd abodes,
> I soon shall quaff the cup of gods;—
> The hours of life have glided by,
> I fall! but laughing will I die!"

Regnar received his by-name of *Lodbrok* from the shaggy skin-garments he wore over his armor.

Sweden which was permanently settled at that remote period. Ansgarius was well received by King Björn and his *drottars*, or chiefs, one of whom built the first Christian church on the Mælarn; and it is a remarkable fact that the Swedes, even at the sanctuary of Odin at Sigtuna, were more tractable than the Danes of the islands, or the still more savage mountaineers of Norway.

Norway was still divided into a great number of smaller states, which were formed by the deep valleys, bays, and friths on the mainland, or on the numerous islands off the coast. Each district had its king. Throng, Mære, Fjord, in the north; Sogn, Hordaland, Rogaland, Westfold, on the coast of the ocean; Agde, Wiken, on the south; Hadaland, Tellemark, Hedemark, Upland, in the interior. All these petty states were united in the kingdom of Norway in 880, by the heavy sword of Harald, the fair-haired (Haarfager).

B.—Sclavonic and Turco-Tartaric Nations in Eastern Europe.

191. The Ljæchs, or Poles, inhabited the upper *Odera* (Oder), and the Vistula. They were still divided into small principalities, and seem to have done homage to Charlemagne, since his historian, Eginhard, says that the sway of the Franks reached eastward to the Vistula.

192. North of the Ljæchs, we find the mighty Slavic people of the Wendes (107), and the fierce Borussi (Prussians), on the Baltic (91), and bordering eastward on the Litwani, or *Lithuanians*, and Kriwitchi. On the northern slope of the Carpathian range, lived the Belo-Chrovates, or *White Croats*, and on the Dniester the Polæni and smaller tribes, who had at that time begun to yield to the Turkish hordes of the Chazars, rapidly advancing from the shores of the Caspian Sea, toward the upper plain of Slavia.

193. The Chazars (91) are held to be an East German nation, allied with the Alani, by Ritter and other German ethnologists, but they seem rather to belong to the true Turco-Tartar race. They were divided into forty tribes, under their hereditary chiefs—Chans—yet they acknowledged the supremacy of a great Chan, or *Chagan*, who possessed sovereign authority. The Chazars were a commercial people. Though originally Nomades, they soon became agriculturists in the fertile lands on the Kuban and the lower Volga; they raised rice, fruits, corn and wine. From their important fisheries on the Caspian, they obtained the sturgeon, their principal nourishment. They ascended the Volga, and brought their skins, fish, and the Indian stuffs and luxuries to Constantinople. From the northern Mordwins and Russniaks (Russians), they bartered honey, wax, and precious furs, which they transported to Africa, Spain, and France. Atel, or *Balangiar* (near Astracan), at the mouth of the Volga, was the residence of the Chagan. His palace was brick-built, but the Chazaric dwellings were clay huts. Sarkel, a Chazaric fortress on the Don, was built by Byzantine engineers in their service, to defend the passage of the river against the incursions of the Russians. The Chazars maintained their vast empire until the middle of the 10th century; but then it began rapidly to decline, partly by civil feuds of the clans against the Chagan, and the rebellion of the kindred tribes, the Cumani and Petcheneges (Patzinacks), and partly by the successful attacks of the Russian Grand Dukes of Kiew, who, uniting with the Emperor Basilius in A. D. 1016, defeated and captured the great Chan, George Zoulus, and divided the territory, which still for centuries preserved its name of *Chazaria*. The warlike nation was lost among other tribes on the Caspian; but part of their descendants seem to have preserved themselves unadulterated, in the noble race of the Kadjars (Usbecks), on the east of the Volga, and the Caspian Sea.

III. The Byzantine Empire.

194. Limits and Vicissitudes. — Terrible were the storms that broke loose on the Eastern Empire during the latter years of the more brilliant than prosperous reign of Justinian I. His weak successors were threatened with total destruction. Huns, Avars, Slavini, Bulgarians, Tartaric, and Turcoman tribes forced the formidable line of the frontier fortresses along the Danube, overran the Illyrian provinces, and settled at last (during the 7th century) permanently in Mœsia, Dacia, Illyria, Thrace, Macedonia, and in the heart of Hellas herself. The Lombards occupied the greater part of Italy, the reconquest of which, from the Ostrogoths, by Belisarius and Narses, had cost the empire such waste of blood and treasure. The kings of the Visigoths in Spain drove the Greek garrisons from the cities and posts of Bœtica and Carthaginensis, in southeastern Spain, in 619. The brilliant victories of Heraclius over the Persian Kosroes, the subsequent destruction of the Persian empire on the Tigris, and reconquest of Jerusalem and Syria, in A. D. 621–28, served only to weaken the empire, and to kindle the fiery flames of religious dissension. On the first appearance of the *Mohammedan Saracens*, from the Arabian deserts, in 632, the Christian sectarians embraced the Koran. Damascus, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell, 635–38; Alexandria and Egypt in 640; and the Arabian torrent rolled on through Northern Africa. Carthage was conquered by Abd-el-Malek, in 684, and the crescent of Mohammed had already reached the ocean in 705, and stood planted on the ruins of the ancient Christian cities, from the Atlantic on the west, to the distant frontiers of Cilicia, Armenia, and Lazica, at the base of Mount Caucasus on the east. Cyprus was lost in 805, Crete in 823, and Sicily in 826; and thus, of all the extensive territories of the empire, and the recent conquests of Justinian I., there remained in the era of Charlemagne, only the impregnable capital of Constantinople, with some parts of Thrace, Macedonia, the Ægean Islands, Asia Minor, and a few cities on the coasts of Crimea and of Dalmatia, besides Gaeta, Naples, and the coast of Calabria, in Southern Italy.

Sclavonian Settlements in the Byzantine Empire.

195. A. Kingdom of the Bulgarians.—In the preceding maps we have followed the advance of that Sclavo-Tartaric nation, from their early seats on Mount Oural (93), to the shores of the Euxine (108, 149), whence they made devastating incursions into the Byzantine empire. While roaming on the plains between the Don, Dneister, and Pruth, the Avars fell upon them and subdued them; yet the cruelty of their oppressors was so intolerable, that the Bulgars threw off the yoke in 619, and, under the command of their Chan Kuvrat (149), defeated the Avars, and maintained their independence under his successors. The Chan Asparuch crossed the Danube in 678, and founded the Bulgarian kingdom in Mœsia, between the Hæmus and the Danube—the present Bulgaria. A great portion of this fertile territory had already been occupied by Sclavonian emigrants, Tiverzi, Serverians, and others, who appear to have exterminated the last remains of the old Thracian race. These Sclavonians were called the *Seven Tribes*. The Bulgarians, although the dominant race, became, after the conquest, absorbed into the mass of the Sclavonian population. Thus the original Turco-Tartar race of the Bulgarians adopted the Sclavonian language, and

gave their name to the country, which it retains at the present day, yet they preserved many traces of their earlier nomadic habits. Like the son of the steppes, the Bulgar is still inseparable from his horse—his *alogon*, or mute friend. He is laborious, good-natured, and hospitable. The Bulgarian women are kind-hearted, compassionate, and industrious; their figure is slender; their deportment elegant; and they yield, in charms, only to the Greek women, the very model of female beauty in the East.

They continued their wars with the Byzantine emperors, who were often defeated; the Khan Krummus took, in 815, advantage of the humiliation of the Avars by Charlemagne; he crossed the Danube, prostrated the mortal enemies of the Bulgarians, and founded on their ruins the *great Bulgarian Empire*, which toward the middle of the 9th century extended from the Theiss, and the Carpathian ridge, south across the Danube, through Macedonia and Epirus to the frontiers of Greece. During this period the Bulgarians were converted to Christianity by the Greek missionaries, Methodius and Cyrillus, an event of the highest importance, not only because it promoted the civilization of that barbarous people, but because the virulent contest between the Romish Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople, about the Bulgarian *converts*, proved the main cause of the great schism which for ever severed the Latin and Greek churches.

196. B. Serbia or *Territory of the Servians.*—The Emperor Heraklius being unable to defend western Illyria and Dalmatia against the inroads of the Avars, induced some Sclavonic tribes from the Carpathian mountains, the Serbs and Chrobats (Croats), to abandon their ancient seats and move down south, into the provinces between the Adriatic and the Danube. The Greek and Roman population had been driven toward the sea-coast by the continual forays of the Avars, and these beautiful and fertile regions were now repeopled by the gallant and chivalrous Servians or *Rascians*, the noblest, most spirited and imaginative of the Sclavonic tribes, who, under their native chiefs or *Zupanies*, remained faithful in their allegiance to the empire until A. D. 1040, when Stephan Boistlaf made himself an independent *kral* or king of Serbia.

C. Sclavonian Tribes in Greece.—Numerous hordes of Slavi (Slavini, Slavesiani), mixed with Bulgarians and Avars, had, during the revolutions on the Danube in the beginning of the 8th century, descended through the pass of Thermopylæ, and settled in Hellas under their native chiefs, almost entirely independent of Constantinople. They took possession of Thessaly, Bœotia, and the peninsula of Peloponnesus, which at that time already began to be called *Morea* (from the mulberry tree, perhaps, introduced there by Justinian in 555). The Sclavonians occupied Argolis, Arcadia, Elis, Messenia, and the valley of Laconia, while the native Greeks fled to the coasts and the higher mountain-regions, and it was not until a century later, in 860, that Michael III. sent his general, Theoctistos, with an army to the Morea, and succeeded in reducing the Sclavonian princes to the allegiance of the empire. The free Laconians had then retired to the fastnesses of the mount Taygetus, and the plains of Messenia and Laconia were occupied by two warlike Sclavonian tribes, the Melingi and Ezeritæ, who were reduced to pay tribute to the Emperor.[53]

[53] Even to the present day we find traces of these Sclavonian settlements on the plains of the Morea, where the villages still retain the old Sclavonic names; as, for instance, Slava, Slavochori, Varsava, Vervitza, Vilitza, Kosovo, Tzernagora, Akova, Arachova, Dobrena,—while on the coast the Hellenic names prevail:—Corinth, Patræ, Arcadia, Modon, Coron, Vitylos, Prastos, Argos, Nauplia, Epidauros, and others. See, for details on the Sclavonians in Greece, and their influence on the manners and language of the modern Greeks, Geo. Finlay's Mediæval Greece, Edinburgh, 1851.

The Emperor Leo VI. (886–911), in his important work on the military organization of the Byzantine empire, gives a favorable description of the Sclavonic nations in Greece. The Slavi loved liberty, though they were unable to preserve it; they disdained the service of foreigners, and preferred the severer sway of their native Zupanies to the milder government of Byzantium. They were sincere, hospitable, and mild toward their prisoners. The imperial historian praises the beauty and modesty of the Sclavonian women, and the faithful affection of their husbands, as characteristic virtues of that race. Herds and flocks were their riches; agriculture their occupation, but they neglected mechanical arts and commerce; their wants were few, and they preferred to enjoy an independent life, rather than to earn comforts and affluence to which they were indifferent.

IV. THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD.

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE CALIPHATE OF HAROUN-AR-RASCHID.

197. Extent and Boundaries.—Mohammed preached the Islam faith in Mecca. With his flight to Medina, on the 15th July, 622, begins the era of the Arabs. On his death in 632, his religion and his banner extended throughout Arabia, and within one century his enthusiastic Moslemin had already subjected to their laws all that part of Asia which extends from the range of Mount Taurus eastward to the Himmalaya and the Indus, and from the Indian Ocean on the south, to Mount Caucasus and the river Jaxartes (Sihun) on the north; in Africa, they had conquered Egypt and all the northern regions between the coasts of the Mediterranean and the great desert of Sahara in the interior; from thence they had crossed the straits of Calpe in 711, and after the defeat and death of the Visigoth king, Roderic, at Xeres, on the Guadalete, they had occupied the greatest part of Spain, driving the Goths into the Asturian mountains; nay, they had even crossed the Pyrenees with their hundred thousands, and, in 732, advanced upon the Loire, when the Frankish hero, Charles the Hammer, saved France and all Christendom by his memorable victory at Tours. At the time when this vast empire was divided into two, in consequence of the establishment of the Emirate of Cordova or of the West, A. D. 756, it stretched from the shores of the Atlantic eastward beyond the Indus, and from the African desert and the Indian Ocean on the south, to the Pyrenees in Europe, the Mediterranean, Mount Caucasus, the Caspian, the deserts north of the Sihun, and Mount Muztag, on the borders of China.

198. Division.—The dynasty of the Ommiyad Caliphs perished, under the most terrific civil wars, in the year 750, and Abul-Abbas-el-Saffah (the Butcher), the first Caliph of the Abbasids, transferred his residence from the blood-stained Damascus to *Hira*, on the Euphrates, in 754. Yet the Ommiyad Abdor-Rhaman had escaped the general destruction of his family, and, fleeing to Spain, had founded the independent Emirate of Cordova in 755. During the revolutions which followed this political division in the Arabic empire, other chiefs asserted their independence in Northern Africa, and thus we find the Mohammedan world, at the time of Charlemagne and the Abbasid Caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid (786–809), divided into four large states or dynasties: 1, The Caliphate of *the Abbasids* in Asia and Egypt; 2, The Kingdom of *Kairouan*, or the dynasty of the *Aglabites*, in the ancient territory of Carthage, and part of Numidia; 3, The Kingdom of *Mekines*, or the dynasty of the *Edrisites*, in Mauritania; and 4, the Emirate of *Cordova*, or the dynasty of the younger branch of the *Ommiyads*, in Spain. In order to give clear

ness to our description of the Saracenic empire toward the close of the 8th century, we shall describe the provinces in the succession in which they were annexed to the Caliphate of Damascus, beginning with the mother country, Arabia herself.

A.—Caliphate of the Abbasids in Bagdad.

199. Limits, Division, and Provinces.—The orthodox successors (Caliphs) of the Prophet ruled over the eastern Mohammedan world, from the great Syrtis eastward to the Indus, and from the frontiers of Nubia in the south, to Mount Caucasus, the river Sihun and Mount Muztag in the north, and the empire embraced the following provinces:

200. I. Arabia.—*Djésirah-al-Arab*—the Island of Araby—was, from the remotest times, inhabited by populations who differed from one another in their habits and manners, and were divided into a great number of tribes, each governed by an Emir or Sheik, the patriarch of the family. We likewise distinguish two principal divisions with regard to their pursuits: 1st, the *Nomades*, known by the ancients as *Scenitæ* (Σκηνῖται) or dwellers in tents, afterwards called the Sons of the Desert, *Saracens*, or Bedawins.[54] They were wandering about with their herds of camels and horses in the oasis of northern Arabia, where the kingdom of the *Ghassanides* (or of Edom) had been formed on the frontiers of Syria; other tribes of nomading Saracens inhabited the dreary table lands of al-Nedjed in central Arabia: 2d, the *Hhaddesi* or sedentary Arabs, who dwelt in the cities and villages situated along the coasts of the Red Sea (Bahr Kolzom). They consisted likewise of two races—the *Hagareans* or Ismaelites, the descendants of Ismael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, who inhabited northern Arabia, and were partly idolaters and partly Jews, while some partook of the Magian worship and adored the stars. The second race were the *Sabeans*, who occupied the southern regions of Arabia—by the ancients called Araby the Blessed. There the *Homeirids* (Himjarids) had early accepted the Mosaic faith; but in A. D. 527, they were converted to Christianity by the sword of the Christian Kings of Abyssinia in Africa. Yemen, with its flourishing cities, its delightful climate, rich productions and traffic with India, was considered the gem of Arabia. At the period which now occupies us, all these states had embraced the new faith, and obeyed the great Caliph of the Prophet in Bagdad.

201. Principal Cities.—Mekka, an ancient city, situated in a narrow sandy valley fifty-five miles from the coast, and its port, *Djedda*, on the Red Sea, in the province of El Hedjaz. It was the sacred city of the Arabs, and pilgrims of every creed assembled there at the yearly festival in the great sanctuary of the *Beit Allah* or House of God, with the *Ca'aba*, and the black stone which Adam was said to have brought away from the terrestrial paradise. It was here where Mohammed began his preaching in A. D. 610; and after the conquest of the city in 629, called the *Moslemin* (believers), together on the hill of *Arafat*, and was proclaimed the spiritual and temporal sovereign of the Arabs. Djebel Harah, southeast of Mekka, into whose grottoes Mohammed retired to meditate his great reform. Djebel Thor, northeast, the cavern to which he fled for safety from the pursuit of the Koreishites on the 15th July, 622, and whence he sped through the desert to Medina. Yathreb —Jathrippa—called *Medinah-al-Nebi*, the city of the Prophet (now Medina), where Mohammed found a refuge after his flight (Hedjra) from Mekka in 622, lies 270 miles north of the latter city, and became the capital and burial-place of Mohammed and the first Caliphs. In its splendid mosque stand the tombs of Mohammed, Abu-Bekr, and Omar.

202. Bedr, southwest of Medina, in a valley near the coast of the Bahr Kolzom, was the celebrated battle-field on which Mohammed gained the first victory over his inveterate enemies, the Koreishites of Mekka, in 624. Djebel Ohod, four miles northwest of Medina, was the scene of the reformer's defeat in 625, which had nearly crushed Mohammedanism in its birth. Chaibar, northeast of Medina, in the Djebel Solma, the strongly fortified capital of the Jews in the north of Arabia. It was stormed and taken by Mohammed in 627, and the Jews converted to Islam by the edge of the sabre; it was here that the Jewish maiden, Zaïnah, poisoned the Prophet, who died three years later from the effects of the potion. Tabuk, the fountain and palm-grove, midway between Damascus and Medina, where the old and sick Prophet stopped the march of his suffering army in 632, and returned to die in Medina. Mutah (Mothus), near the eastern shore of Bahr el Luth (the Dead Sea), where the Mohammedans gained the first victory over the Greek army in 632. The valley of Honein, north of Mekka, is celebrated by the important victory of Mohammed over the idolatrous tribes of Arabia. Dawmat al Jandal (Dumet el Djondol), on the outskirts of the Syrian Desert in the interior, the first Christian city which the fanatic Mussulmans took in 626; but having been lost to the Greeks, it was reconquered by Khaled in 631, and its fall secured the Arabs the eastern road to Damascus. Ailah (Akabah), fortress and port on the northeastern gulf of the Red Sea (Bahr Akabah), the conquest of which secured to the Mohammedans the passage through the valley of Mount Sinai.

203. In Yemen, Sa'anah (Sabah), the capital. Mocha, Aden (Abin), a port on the Indian Ocean; Bahrein on the coast of the Persian Gulf (Bahr Alakdar); the kingdom of Gassan, north of Hedjaz; Yemamah, a powerful state in central Arabia (al Nedjed); which all were subdued by the generals of the Prophet in the years 628–631.

II. The kingdom of Hira in Irak-Arabi, northeast of Arabia, on the western bank of the Euphrates, was the first conquest of Abu-Bekr in 633. This kingdom, the Babylonian Irak, was governed by the Arabian chief Al-Mondar, under the sovereignty of Persia. Hira was the capital, and an important commercial city not far from the Euphrates. Ambar, on the north, became the capital of the Abbasids in 750, before the building of Bagdad.

204. III. Syria (es Sham), the whole region northwest of Arabia, as far as Mount *Amanus*, and from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, was the second conquest of the Arabs, who overran that country in 634–38. Bostra (11), east of Jordan, was betrayed by its governor to Khaled, the lieutenant of the Caliph. Damascus (Dameschk, es-Sham), the richest and most populous city in southern Syria, surrendered after the second defeat of the troops of Heraclius at Aiznaddin. Hamath (the ancient Epiphania), on the Orontes. Shaizar (the ancient Sarina), Kinnesrin (Chalcis), and other cities surrendered voluntarily to the victors.

On the banks of the Hieromax (Yermuk), a river discharging into the Jordan below the Lake of Tiberias, was the place of the last decisive battle, where the whole Roman army was cut to pieces in 636, a disaster which caused all Syria to surrender to the crescent. Jerusalem (Beit el Mokkaddas) capitulated, after an obstinate defence of four months, to the Caliph Omar, who came himself to take possession of the holy city, and built the splendid mosque of Omar on Mount Moriah. Haleb (the ancient Beroa), Tripolis (Tarabolos), Tyrus (Sur), Cæsarea (Kaisarieh), Joppe (Yafa), Ascalon, and many other cities, fell all successively into the power of the Arabs, who thus secured their rear for their expedition into Egypt and western Africa.

[54] Saracens is supposed to signify *Scharakajim*, natives of the East; and Bedawins or Bedouins to be derived from *Badia*, desert,—*Bar*, *Broi*, Berbers.

IV. Szoghur, that is, the land of defiles, the northern part of es-Sham, with the three celebrated defiles of Syria, of Mount Amanus, and of Cilicia—*Portæ Maritimæ*, *Amantides*, and *Ciliciæ*—which lead from Syria into Cilicia, and across Mount Taurus into the plains of Cappadocia. It embraced, likewise, the ancient Cilicia westward beyond Tarsus. Antakia (Antiochia), on the Orontes, was the capital of all the provinces, and still the wealthiest and most populous eastern city of the Empire.

205. V. Al Djesirah—*Mesopotamia*—was likewise lost for the empire immediately after Syria, with all its important cities: Edessa (Roha, Orfa), Karræ (Charran), Nisibis (Nesbin), the celebrated frontier fortress. Amida (Diarbekir), afterwards the capital, took this name in consequence of the early colonization of the three Arab tribes, *Bekir*, *Modar*, and *Rabia*, among which Mesopotamia was divided, and called in its different parts Dejar Bekir, Dejar Modar, and Dejar Rabia.[55]

206. VI. Dejar Mesr—*Egypt*—one of the most important provinces of the Caliphate, which was conquered by the general Amer-Ben-Alas in 640, during the war with Persia. It was subdivided into *El Bahari* (the ancient Delta), *Kibi* or Said (middle and part of upper Egypt), and *El Wahat* or the land of the Oasis in the Libyan Desert. Faramiah (Pelusium), on the Mediterranean, north of the Isthmus of Suez, was the first town which Amer (Amru) took, when the Caliph Omar sent him against Egypt in 640. Miszr, the ancient Memphis, on the western bank of the Nile, at that time the most important city after Alexandria. It defended itself bravely, and could only be taken by treachery, after a fearful siege of seven months; it was so totally destroyed that Omar built a new town, *El Fostat*, on the eastern bank, and this too gave place three centuries later to the modern Cairo. Eskanderiah (Alexandria) was likewise stormed and taken after a siege of fourteen months, which cost the Arabs 20,000 warriors. Alexandria never rose to its former splendor. It was then that the great library is said to have been destroyed by the order of the Caliph Omar, although the story is hard to reconcile with the silence of the original historians, or the condition in which the library had been left at the destruction of the temple of Serapis, where it was placed. All Egypt surrendered at the fall of Alexandria, which now became the granary of Arabia, as it formerly had been that of the Byzantine Empire. Its immense export of breadstuffs to Arabia was facilitated by the canal which placed the Nile in communication with the Red Sea, and which was repaired and restored by the Saracens.

VII. Nubia was likewise invaded by the Arabs in 651, under the Caliphate of Othman, who obliged the Christian kings of that country to pay annually a tribute of a large number of Ethiopian slaves.

207. VIII. Irak-Arabi (the ancient Babylonia), the central seat of the vast empire of the Sassanids, and which extended from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Indus, was the fourth conquest of the Arabs, who began their invasion of Persia at the time with that of Syria and the kingdom of Hira (203). Kadesiah, south of Hira, on the vast plain dividing Arabia from the banks of the Euphrates, was, in 636, during three days, a witness to the tremendous efforts of the whole Persian power to defend their country and religion against the Mohammedan fanatics. Yet they were defeated with fearful slaughter, and the last Persian king, Yezdegerd, became a fugitive, and was soon after killed on the banks of the Jaxartes. The Arabs now inundated all Irak-Arabi; Al Madein, or the two towns, *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, situated over against each other, on the banks of the *Didjfat* (Tigris), were the price of this victory. The proud Arabs after having plundered the immense riches and treasures of the Persian kings, hoarded in the capitals, set fire to the cities, and left not one stone upon another. Bagdad was afterwards built by the Abbasids, on the Tigris, from the ruins of Al-Madein. Kufah, on the western bank of the Euphrates, obtained a great renown, as having for some time become the capital of the successors of Mohammed. It was in the mosque of that town that the venerable Ali, the fifth Caliph, was assassinated in 651. His sepulchre was then concealed from his mortal enemies, the Ommiyad tyrants of Syria, but in the fourth age of the Hedjra, a tomb, a temple, and a city arose near the ruins of Kufah. Many thousands of *Alites*—called Shiites or heretics—repose in holy ground at the feet of the Vicar of God, and the desert around is vivified by numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion at Ali's shrine not less meritorious than the pilgrimage to Mekka. Bassorah or *Basrah*, toward the mouth of the Euphrates on the Persian Gulf, was founded by Omar, as a refuge for invalid warriors, and obtained a high reputation on account of its suitable commercial position. Near Bassorah was fought the battle of the camel, in which Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, during her rebellion, was defeated and taken prisoner on her camel by the generous Ali in 654. But the most celebrated city of the Saracens in that region was the famous city of Bagdad—*Mohammedia* or *Medina al Salam*, city of peace—founded by the Abbasid Caliph, *El Mansur*, in 765, on the western bank of the Tigris, at some distance from the earlier Parthian and Persian capitals, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Dastagerd, then lying in their ruins after their destruction by the Emperor Heraclius in 627. Bagdad became the capital of the Arabian Empire, and the Caliphs continued to reside there from El Mansur down to the last Caliph, Abdallah Mostassem Billah, who perished in 1258 under the sword of the Mongol Hulagu, Its population was immense, and the wealth of the East was hoarded within its walls. In the western quarter was the great bazaar *El Karkh*, which, by a bridge, was united to the main part of the city. Asker el Serramenra (the charming) was founded by Caliph Motassem Billah (the protected of God) in 842, twelve miles above Bagdad, as a splendid camp for the imperial life-guards, the Turkish mercenaries, who were thus kept separated from the mass of the Arabian population. The great palace there excited the wonder of the foreign ambassadors, and many Caliphs wasted their treasures on its embellishment. Kerbela, north of Hira, where *Hossein*, the son of Ali, perished in battle against the revengeful Ommiyads in 680. A splendid mosque arises on the spot; pilgrims from Persia stream in on the annual festival of his martyrdom, kneel down at his sepulchre, and abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.

208. IX. Belad Laun (Armenia), north of the Kurdistan mountains, extended toward *Rum* (Asia Minor) on the west, and embraced the table-lands of Mount Ararat, and the headwaters of the Euphrates. Arzen Rum (Erzerum), on the Euphrates, and the important defile, Kali Kala, the only narrow passage toward the coast-lands of Tarabesonda (Trapezus), on the Euxine (Bahr Nitesh). Debil, the capital of the province, at the foot of Mount Ararat, near the modern Bajasid.

X. Aran (now the Russian province of Grusia or Georgia), north of Armenia, on the river *Kur* (Cyrus), toward Mount Caucasus, though divided into the small valley districts of the Highlands, obeyed the Caliph of Bagdad. Sharvan or Shirwan on the east, with the capital Berdha'a (Bakavi), on the Bahr Chozar, the Caspian Sea. Sarir, north, near the celebrated pass of Mount Caucasus, the *Bab el Abwab* (Derbend), which had been strongly fortified by the Greek emperors to stem the incursions of the roving Khazars north of the sea.

[55] *Al Djesirah* signifies the island, which answers to the Greek Mesopotamia, the region *between* the rivers. By inattention of the draughtsman, *Bejar* has been placed in the map instead of *Dejar* (region), land.

Another pass, *Portæ Caspiæ*, descended between the highest peaks, Elboras and Kasbek, toward TIFLIS, the capital of KORDSHISTAN (Georgia). This was the frontier province bordering on the Allani and Khazars.

209. XI. ADJERBEIDJAN (the ancient Atropatene, in Media), south of Aran, extended to the shores of the Caspian, and was, after Irak-Arabi, one of the first provinces brought into subjection by the Mohammedans, who with fire and sword exterminated the Sabeans here in the centre of their fire worship. SHIZ (the ancient Phra'ata), in the south, was the most important city. ORMIJAH, on the *Bahr Kendan*—the lake Spauta, was the birth-place of Zer-Dusht (Zoroaster), the apostle of the Sabaism; TABRIZ (the ancient Gandsak), ARDEBIL became in 704 a thriving Mohammedan town.

XII. DILEM (Gilan), on the southwestern shores of the Bahr Chozar.

XIII. TABERISTAN, with *Koms* and *Damghan* in the interior, and MAZANDARAN on the southern coast of the Caspian, with the cities of *Amol* and *Asterabad*.

210. XIV. ARAK or *Belad al Djebail* (the ancient Media), on the east of Mount Elvend, was conquered by the Arabs in 742. Here lay HAMADAN (the ancient Ekbatana), which was taken by the Arabs on their sudden appearance beyond the mountains. NEHAVEND, south of Hamadan, where the Persians suffered the last great defeat, which opened all the eastern countries as far as the *Sihun* (Jaxartes), and the *Sind* (Indus), to their victorious arms. ASPAHAN (Aspadana), now Ispahan, southeast of Hamadan, was built by the Sassanid princes, and became afterwards the capital of the modern Persian kingdom. RAY or *Mohammedia* (the ancient Rhagæ, where Alexander overtook the expiring Darius), was an important defile opening on the immense Parthian plains towards Khorasan. In the mountains of *Rudbar* arose the terrible sect of the *Assassins*, and their mysterious chief, the Old Man of the Mountain.

211. XV. KHUSISTAN (the ancient Susiana), east of Irak-Arabi, was occupied by the Arabs the same year as Arak Adjemi. It touched the Bahr el Fars or the Persian Gulf, and had the important town of SHUSH, and TUSTER the ancient Susa, which both made a gallant resistance. AHWAZ on the Choaspes, and RAMHORMUZ, became flourishing Arabian cities.

XVI. FARS—*Farsistan*—the ancient Pars, Persis, the cradle of Cyrus and the conquering Persians. ISTAKHAR, Persepolis, near the Araxes, the ancient Persian capital, was still a considerable city, where the unhappy Yezdegerd in vain made a last desperate stand in the impenetrable mountains of his ancestors. SIRAF, on the Persian gulf,[56] had an important harbor, and a lively trade with India. The more eastern provinces of the Caliphate of Bagdad, which are less important for our present purpose, but may easily be found on every modern map of Asia, were the following:

212. XVII. KHORASAN, northeast of Farsistan; XVIII. SEDJESTAN, on the river *Hindmend*, the homestead of the celebrated hero Rustan; XIX. KERMAN; XX. MAKRAN, with the cities *Nichabour*, *Herat*, *Balk* (Bactra), and *Merv-al-Rud*, the ancient Alexandria Margiana. East of the Caspian, and north of the *Djihun* (Oxus), lay XXI. KHOWARESM—Chorasmia; and XXII. MAWAR-AL-NAHR, the ancient Sogdiana, beyond the Oxus, which the Arabs for a length of time hesitated to cross: both provinces were however occupied in 707–710, and thus arrived on the frontiers of Turkistan, the Arabs came in hostile contact with the Tchang, or Chinese, who in vain attempted to drive the Mohammedans back over the Djihun. The last Persian king, Yezdegerd, having perished by the daggers of his faithless mercenaries, the gallant Kotaibah (the camel driver) now reduced all the countries between the Caspian, the Jaxartes, and Mount Muztag, which for centuries remained the frontier against the Chinese empire. BUKHARA and SAMARKAND, east of Bukhara, were both stormed and taken by Kotaïbah, who built there magnificent mosques, and the immense bazaars which remained the centre of the flourishing traffic of the Arabs with China and India. But the enthusiastic Mussulmans did not stop here; like Alexander the Great, they continued their march eastward, through XXIII. ZABULISHAN (now Afghanistan), and crossing the Indus (Sind), reduced XXIV. the MULTAN, and MANSURA (Scindy), on its eastern banks, in 710, when civil disturbances at home, the downfall of the Ommiyad dynasty, and the formation of the western Caliphate of Cordova, in Spain, put a stop to their eastern conquests. Thus then had the Arabs, in less than a century, founded a dominion vaster than that of Alexander, or even that of the Romans. The Caliphs themselves had taken no part in these conquests; they remained invisible in the interior of their seraglios, where their early simplicity and virtue gave way to the corrupting influences of sensuality and sloth. The Arabs, tired of destroying, began to rebuild the ruined cities; smiling gardens arose on the slopes of the mountains; the plains were cultivated and adorned with delightful country-seats; the mosques, bazaars, and palaces of the Caliphs, were built in that beautiful style of Saracenic architecture, which afterwards struck the European crusaders with wonder and admiration. The Arab empire reached its culminating height of political power, cultivation, commerce, literature and art, during the age of Charlemagne, and the reign of the Caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid (the Just), from 786–809, when the great schisms in the Mohammedan faith, the rebellions of the provinces, and the rise of different heresies and dynasties, first began to threaten the dissolution of the Saracenic empire.

B.—KINGDOM OF THE AGLABIDS IN KAIROUAN.

213. The northern coast of Africa, west of Egypt, had been conquered by the Arabs, between the years 640 and 710, under continual insurrections of the native Christians. The possession of that extensive country was at last secured by the foundation of KAIRWAN, or Kairouan, in 674, and divided into the two provinces, *Magrab al Ausah*, and *Magrab al Aksa* (the near and distant Africa). Musa, the active governor or Wali of the Caliph Walid I., sent his general Tarik with cavalry, across the Straits, and Spain, in 711, fell an easy conquest to the Mohammedan arms. But forty-four years later, the successful Ommiyad rebellion in that country, excited the Wali of Kairouan, *Ibrahim-Ebn-Aglab*, to follow the example, and thus arose the kingdom of the Aglabids, who sustained their independence against the Caliphs of Bagdad, by mercenary armies of negroes and Berbers, until the year 908, when the last Aglabid was defeated by Obeidallah, a descendant of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima. This chief founded in Egypt the celebrated dynasty of the Fatimid Caliphs in Cairo.

CITIES.—TARABOLOS (Tripolis), on the great Syrtis, was taken by the Arabs in 642. JAKUBI, near Cabes on the smaller Syrtis, where the total defeat of the Romans caused the loss of Carthage, and all the flourishing Christian cities westward to Sebtah (Ceuta), and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. CARTHAGE had resisted; it was taken by the Arabs in 697; retaken the same year by the Greeks, then lost again, and in 698 totally destroyed by the infuriated Moslems. Carthage never rose from its ashes, and the few ruins left on its desolated coast, prove that all the materials for building have been carried away for the erection of KAIROUAN, the new colony and capital of the Saracens in Africa. This city is situated in the interior of the

[56] By the Arabs called *Bahr Alakdhar*, the Green Sea.

ancient province of Byzacium, at a distance of one hundred miles south of Carthage, and thirty-six west of Hammamet, its harbor on the sea-shore. Kairouan was quickly peopled with Berbers and Moors, who flocked to the banners of the Caliph, and became ready converts to the Mohammedan faith; and it thus became the great emporium for Northern Africa, during the Middle Ages. Bizerta, the ancient Hippo Zarytos, and Bona, Hippo Regius, were the last cities in this part of Africa which remained in the possession of the Greeks. In the west, Chuln, Cæsarea, and some maritime fortresses, offered a still longer resistance, but were all at last obliged to surrender.

C.—III. Kingdom of the Edrisites in Mequines.

214. Edris-Ben-Edris, a descendant of Ali, fled from the snares of Haroun-ar-Raschid, and excited a rebellion in the western province, *Magrab-al-Aksa*, where the Mohammedan Moors and Berbers elected him king, in 788. His son built Faz (Fez), and Mequines (Marokko), the former of which became a flourishing city, and the latter gave its name to the young Mohammedan state. Septa or *Sebtah* (now Ceuta) was a strong fortress, which the Visigoths of Spain held in possession on the African coast of the Straits. It was so well defended, that it stopped all the efforts of the Arabs to cross the strait, until the treachery of Count Julian, as is well known, opened to the Arabs the passage for the destruction of the Gothic Empire.

D.—IV. Emirate of Cordova.

215. Taric succeeded in landing on the promontory of Calpe with only five hundred horsemen, in 710. The boldness and success of his enterprise brought their reward in the name given afterwards to the promontory, Mount of Tarik, or Djebel-Taric (Gibraltar). The last Gothic king, Roderic, having gathered the entire host of the Visigoths, but without receiving any assistance from Europe, attacked the Arabs on the *Wady-al-Ete* (Guadalete), near Sherish (Xeres), where he fell, and the Goths suffered a total defeat in 711. The numerous Jews declared for the Arabs, who immediately were followed by myriads of Moors and Berbers from Africa. Everywhere defeated, the dispirited Visigoths fled to the Asturian mountains. The cities that surrendered were granted capitulation; those which defended themselves were levelled to the ground. Musa came himself, with 26,000 choice troops, and completed the conquest of Taric. The Wali Ejub made Cordova the residence of the Arabian government. The only Christian prince who made a stand was *Theodemir* of *Lorca*, on the coast of Murcia; he, however, was obliged to pay tribute. Thousands of Christians became Mohammedans; and it appeared as if the Moslem would now carry the Koran and the crescent all over Europe. The Arabian government was very simple: the provinces were governed by Walis; under these stood the Alkaldes. The Emir, or general governor, had a council, or *aduana* of counsellors—*mexewares*. Emir Okba introduced this system in 737. Judges (*Kadis*) were placed in every village, and their judicial activity was most severely controlled. The Wali, in the provinces, had an armed body called *Kaxiefes*, or gendarmes. Schools and mosques were established; roads laid out; and commerce and agriculture soon began to flourish. Abd-er-Rahman, the fugitive Ommiyad, raised the banner of rebellion in 755. Seville received him with joy; he gathered an army, defeated near Musara the Emir Jusuf, and achieved his independence in 759.

216. Division and Cities.—The Emirate of Cordova was divided into six provinces under military walis, Tholaithala (Toledo), Marida (Merida), Valencia, Saragostha (Zaragossa), Andalos (Andalusia), and Narbuna (Narbonne); twelve other walis, all with their viziers, or lieutenants, besides the kadis and mexewares, formed the *aduana*, somewhat similar to the *mallum* (79, 118) of the Goths and Franks. The progress of the Arabs under the active and intelligent Emirs of Cordova, was extraordinary; they crossed the Pyrenees, and added the beautiful province of Narbuna to their empire. The battle of Tours, with Charles the Hammer, at last put a permanent stop to their conquests in 732, and the Gothic chiefs in the Asturian mountains soon began to extend their dominion to the river Duero. All the plains along that river, then the general battle-field between Christians and Moslems, were called *Campi Gothici*, and being left inult, formed a dreary wilderness between the hostile nations.

Tholaithala (Toledo), on the Tagus, surrendered, like the other cities, to the victorious Arabs, and preserved its privileges as capital of the African Viceroy, until the time when Cordhoba (Cordova), on the Wady al Kebir (Guadalquiver), became the seat of the new Mussulman Caliphate. The *Balearic Islands* were likewise occupied by the Arabs, who from thence extended their piracies over all the coasts of Italy and France; nay, they even landed and built a castle at Fraxinetum, on the rugged coast between Nizza and Ventimiglia, at the base of the Maritime Alps, in 889. They massacred the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and built a castle upon the rocks commanding the entrance of the gulf. This was the origin of the formidable republic of Saracen pirates, who, from the bay of Fraxinetum, extended their incursions throughout Provence and Dauphiny; nay, the Saracens held possession of the passes of the Alps; they united with the Hungarians to ravage Helvetia and Valais, of which they remained masters for several years. They then crossed the mountains, and invading the plain of Piedmont, they burnt Acqui and ravaged the banks of the Padus; and it was not until the year 975 that the Count of Provence at last succeeded in retaking Fraxinetum with the immense booty which the Saracens had hoarded up there.

Islam had arrived at its zenith; it was the time of the brilliant Mohammedan civilization of Spain (in Arabic, Andalos). The palm of the desert rose at the side of the products of the west. Spain became the most populous and industrious country in Europe. Cordova was the seat of arts and literature; seventy libraries and seventeen academies and colleges opened abundant sources of instruction; questions of philosophy, science, or poetry, were discussed in the literary societies. The large cities, Toledo, Merida, Seville, Zaragoza, Valencia, Elbira (Granada), vied with Cordova in wealth and splendor; four hundred cities of inferior rank were enriched by commerce; on the banks of the Guadalquiver alone were scattered twelve hundred hamlets, embowered in vineyards and olive-groves.

V. INDEPENDENT CHRISTIAN STATES IN SPAIN ABOUT A. D. 800.

217. Kingdom of Gothia or *Oviedo*.—The Saracens and their allies, the Moors, were still strangers on the soil of Spain. After the death of King Roderic and the defeat of the Visigoths at Xeres, the wrecks of that nation who disdained submission to the victorious Moslems, fled to the mountains of Asturia; these were chiefly the nobles and clergy. From the Pyrenees, an extensive chain of high and rugged mountains (the *Mons Vindius* of the ancients) stretches westward to *Cape Finisterre*, the extreme headland of Gallicia. *Auseba*, one of those towering pinnacles of difficult access, afforded re-

fuge to the fleeing bands of some thousand Goths who sought hiding-places in the caverns of our Lady of Cabadonga, where they elected Pelayo, a distinguished warrior, as their chieftain, A. D. 718. The early traditions about the origin of the modern Spanish dynasties are not free from the exaggerations of national vanity; yet Asturia enjoys, as the ancient asylum of the noble Goths, certain liberties which had no other origin than the achievements of her sons; and the hamlet *Gegio* (Gijon), on the coast, scarcely observed by the Moslem enemy, became the cradle of a lasting monarchy, which grew to manhood among the mountains. There, protected by the high range of Auseba, the Christians began the long and arduous struggle, which, in spite of many reverses, at last, after the vicissitudes of seven centuries, was crowned with complete success, the reconquest of the magnificent peninsula, and the expulsion of the infidels. The Visigoth nation had become degenerated under the mild climate of Spain, yet the awful political calamities which had befallen them now steeled their courage and exalted their virtue; and soon they broke forth from their strongholds. Alfonso I. reconquered Gallicia in 750, and Troila made himself master of Oviedo in 759. The expeditions of Charlemagne beyond the Pyrenees, and the rebellions of the Saracenic walis or governors on the Ebro, encouraged the Goths, who then, toward the year 850, after the brilliant victory over the Arabs at Logroño, extended their dominion south of the mountains.

Such was the condition of the world in the era of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER VI.

EUROPE,

WESTERN ASIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA; THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AT THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR OTHO THE GREAT, A. D. 973.[57]

218. General Division.—During the period from the coronation of Charlemagne, A. D. 800, to the death of Otho the Great toward the close of the tenth century, great changes had taken place in the institutions, the manners, and the political relations of the states and nations in the old world. The mighty empires of Charlemagne and of Haroun-ar-Raschid had been shivered to fragments; and we find in the year 973, in Europe, no less than nineteen independent and more or less powerful states; while the Mohammedan Empire of the Caliphs had then become divided among a greater number of sectarian or heretical dynasties and rebellious Mohammedan tribes, than we can find space to describe. Of the nineteen states in Europe, seven were situated in the north. They were—I., the kingdoms in *Ireland;* II., the kingdom of *Scotland;* III., that of the *Anglo-Saxons* in *England;* IV., that of *Denmark;* V., that of *Norway;* VI., that of *Sweden;* and VII., the Grand-Duchy of *Russia.* Five in central Europe: VIII., the kingdom of *France;* IX., that of *Burgundy;* X., the *Romano-Germanic* Empire; XI., the kingdom of *Hungaria;* and XII., the Chanate of the *Petcheneges.* Seven in the south of Europe: XIII. the kingdom of *Leon;* XIV., the county of *Castile;* XV., the kingdom of *Navarra;* XVI. the caliphate of *Cordova;* XVII., the emirate of *Sicily* and the smaller islands; XVIII., the kingdom of *Croatia;* and XIX., the *Byzantine* or eastern Roman empire.

This being the period during which France and Germany became split into so many almost independent feudal seigniories, we have thought it desirable to go into some detail by giving the Latin names of the French counties, &c., then in use, and their modern appellation; and by delineating the different nationalities in the duchies of Germany; nor do we hesitate to present the student with the names of the later provinces (*themes*) of the Eastern Empire, in the Byzantine Greek language, because an accurate description of the East, and some etymological hints on the provincial names, may perhaps tend the better to explain the annexed map of the tenth century, and render its study more interesting.

[57] See Map No. 4.

§ I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. Kingdoms in Ireland.

219. Inhabitants and Remarkable Cities.—Toward the close of the tenth century we still find Ireland divided into the four petty kingdoms of Ultonia (Ulster), Connacia (Connaught), Momonia (Munster), and Lagenia (Leinster), which recognized the supremacy of the sovereign King of Midia (Meath). The civil feuds among the more powerful *Canfinnies* (100) still continued, and the savage manners of the Irish clans stood in the most singular contrast to the learning and piety of the monks in the numerous convents and monasteries which contributed so much to the propagation of Christianity in the north. The landed property belonged in the mass to the clans, and the Canfinny was the liege-lord; the succession was elective, and never settled without bloodshed. Several clans, such as the *O'Connors* and *O'Neals*, had already a preponderating influence. The people were poor and barbarous, and agriculture was still neglected. The Danes and Norwegians, from their piratical settlements on the Hebrides and Orkney islands in the seventh century, began already their devastating descents upon the eastern coast of Ireland. Nay, they founded several independent states on the southern coast, with Waterford and Dueseford (Wexford), as their strongholds. On the west they occupied Luimnich (Limerick), and we read in Snorro Sturleson, the Icelandic historian, the exploits of Thorgils and Frode, the sons of King Harald, the fairhaired of Norway, who, with their fleets, took possession of Dyflin (Dublin), where Thorgils for long years ruled as king, until he fell in battle against the Irish.[58] Teamor or *Tamora*, in the kingdom of Meath, was the principal city of the Irish, where the clans met in their confederate diets. Armagh (100) continued to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. Its numerous monasteries were celebrated for their learning and austere discipline. Hundreds of zealous monks accompanied the Norwegian Prince Olaf Tryggveson in his expedition to Norway in 995, where they, under many dangers and privations, laid the foundation of a higher civilization, by the first introduction of Christianity in Nidaros (Throndhjem). Corcagia, *Chuirke* (Cork), in Munster, was already an important commercial city.

II. Kingdom of Scotland.

220. Extent and Principal Cities.—The early history of Scotland is enveloped in total darkness: it would have been interesting to know the historic facts connected with the union of two so entirely different nationalities as those of the Gaelic or Celtic Scots, and the Scandinavian or Gothic Picts (101), under the crown of King Kenneth II.,[59] in 843, which is supposed to

[58] See the saga of Harald Haarfager, chap. xxxv., in Samuel Laing's beautiful translation of the *Heims Kringla* or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway. London, 1844. Vol. I., page 304.

[59] From the register of Saint Andrew's we learn that the Scottish Kings, from Kenneth II. down to Edgar, 1098, were buried in Hyona or I-colm-kill (101). After that period Dunfermline was the place of royal sepulture.

have given birth to the more modern kingdom of Scotland. Yet the truth is, that the light of history begins much later to dawn on the misty Highlands of Scotland. Danes were settled on the northeastern part of the island called *Caithness*. King Indulf vanquished them at *Cullen*, but could not make them quit the island. *Edinburgh* became early the capital; *Scone* on the northwest, where the great battle took place, in consequence of which King Kenneth was enabled to unite the two realms of the Picts and Scots. His castle was afterwards the residence of the Scottish Kings, several of whom were crowned there.

III.—Kingdom of England.

221. Extent, Condition, and Remarkable Cities.—King Egbert of West-Sex had in A. D. 828 subdued the other states of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy (104). The *stool-kings* of the old dynasties, sprung from Odin, were extinct, and England had obtained a unity and internal tranquillity which was essentially favorable to the moral cultivation of the Anglo-Saxon nation, and the development of their national institutions. The Britons in North Wales were vanquished, the island of Mona (Anglesea) conquered, and only the kings of Cumberland and Strathclyde (103) maintained their independence until about 950, when they were replaced by dependent counts. King Æthelstan (924–941) subjected the princes of Wales to a tribute of cattle, which Edgar (959–975), after a successful invasion of North Wales, changed into the yearly delivery of three hundred heads of wolves. This beneficial exaction caused the speedy destruction of these beasts throughout the island. Edgar armed war-ships, and defeating the Danes in Ireland, he took Dublin, the first acquisition of the Anglo-Saxon kings beyond their own territory. Thus the whole southern portion of the island, northward to the Tweed and Cumberland, belonged to the English crown. The last distinction between the old Saxon Seven States disappears entirely under Ælfred (871–901), and England is forthwith divided into *shires* and *hundreds* governed by *earls* and *earldormen*. The Frank pledge—*frithboth*—gave a mutual security to the communities, and the ancient Roman military roads an easy communication between the different parts of the state. These remarkable high roads were, 1, the *Ermings Stræde*, from Dover and Canterbury, running north through Stamford to Lincoln and Winteringham on the Humber; 2, the *Foss-Wæg* (ditch-way), running southwest from Lincoln by Cirencester to Exeter in Cornwall; and 3, the celebrated *Wætlinga Stræde*, running northwest from London through Tamworth to Shrewsbury and Offa's dike, at the base of the hills of Wales. The latter (Watling-street) was the boundary between the Danes and English, in the treaty between Ælfred and Guthrum the Dane, in 890, according to which Northumberland and East Anglia were ceded to the Scandinavian invaders.

The piracies of the Northmen had begun already, in the time of King Egbert, to become troublesome to the inhabitants on the coasts; soon they took the character of regular maritime expeditions of the daring sea-kings of Scandinavia, who, in spite of the victories of the glorious Ælfred in 897, succeeded in forming independent states on the eastern coast, and a century later (1016), to bring the whole island under the sway of King Knud (Canute) of Denmark. Lundenwyc, London, on the Thames, the capital of the kingdom, was already a populous, commercial, and wealthy city, which had been enlarged and embellished by Ælfred; the old St. Paul's Church was built in 604, on the first introduction of Christianity among the Saxons by St. Austin, and numerous convents and monasteries in every part of the city gave proof of the rapid change its mild doctrines had produced in the ideas and habits of that wild and heathen nation (104). Cantwaraburh (Canterbury) was the great metropolis of the Anglican Church, and its Archbishops knew full well to extend their influence and their privileges among the devout Edgars and Æthelreds. Oxnaford (Oxford) was already celebrated as the seat of learning. Eoforwyk (York) was the capital of Northumberland, the centre of the Danish power. Brunanburh, near Lincoln, where the terrible battle was fought in which Æthelstan, in 938, totally defeated the Northumbrian Dane Anlaf (Olaf), and his Scottish auxiliaries. Cruland (Croyland), the celebrated monastery in Mercia, which the savage Danes plundered and burnt in 870, after the defeat of Osgood of Lincoln.[60]

Æthlinga-eig (Athelney), the Isle of Princes, the fortress in Somersetshire, near Taunton, where Ælfred the Great hid himself in the forest and the surrounding swamps, and prepared for his attack on the Danes.[61] Ethandun (now Eddington near Westbury), where Ælfred so brilliantly defeated the Danes, baptized their sea-king Guthrum, and restored the independence of England in 878. The Scilly Islands, by the ancients called *Cassiterides* or *Sylinæ Insulæ*, were during this period brought under the dominion of the English kings, and what is more important, it was in this quiet retreat of monastic seclusion that the Norwegian sea-king Olaf Tryggveson, known in the history of England by the name of Anlaf, received baptism in 993, and from thence introduced Christianity into Norway and Iceland, by means of the zealous English missionaries whom he brought along with him.

The island of Man—*Monarina*, *Monapia Insula*—in the Irish Channel, had become the seat of another Norwegian sea-king, who united the Hebrides on the west coast of Scotland, and the Orkney Islands—*Orcades Insulæ*—into a powerful kingdom, so conveniently situated as naval stations for the daring Norwegian Vi-kings, who thence extended their piratical invasions over all the neighboring coasts of Ireland and Great Britain.

IV.—Kingdom of Denmark.

222. Extent, Conversion, and Consolidation.—During the 9th century the north of Europe began to pass from the state of fermentation and disorder, which had prevailed in all its countries, into a more peaceable and orderly condition. It was the beneficial influence of Christianity which mainly contributed to produce this great revolution. The Christian religion became the point of union that, like the electric spark, roused the nations of the north from their long sleep of ignorance. The first authentic information we obtain from Denmark is that of the pious and devoted Ansgar, or Ansgarius, the Apostle of Scandinavia, who in A. D. 826 accompanied the first Christian Dane, Harald Klak, the under-king of South Jutland—then an exile at the court of Louis-le-Debonnair—back to Denmark, and built the church at *Schleswig*. Ansgar and his monks visited King Biörn in Sweden, where, with the support of a distinguished Swede, Hergier, they built the first Christian church on the banks of the *Mælarn* (190). From his see in Schleswig Ansgar now strengthened his missionary army with enthusiastic brothers from Germany and France, and preaching publicly in Danish, he

[60] See the detailed and characteristic account of these events in Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I., page 509 *et seq.*

[61] This interesting spot at the confluence of the Parret river with the Thone, is exactly known, not only from tradition, but from a golden enamelled ornament found there, exhibiting the name of Ælfred by an inscription: "*Ælfred het meh gewircan*"—Alfred ordered me to be wrought.

gathered multitudes around him, and secured his spiritual conquest by the establishment of the Archbishopric in *Hamburg* in 830. Attacked by a fleet of savage Vi-kings in 845, he retired to *Bremen*, where he met a deputation of Jutes, who conducted him safely to *Ribe* (Ripen), on the west coast of Jutland. There he built and consecrated the cathedral church in 858, and having gloriously fulfilled his mission of laying a solid foundation for the civilization of the north, he died in Bremen in 865, revered by all, and later canonized by the Pope as the great Apostle of Denmark. A few years later King Gorm the Old (Gorm den Gamle) of the Danish Islands, succeeded in subduing the petty states of Jutland, and secured the southern frontiers of his united kingdom by extension of the Dannevirke (work of the Danes) from the bay of Schleswig westward to the North-Eider, the boundary of the Carlovingian empire. The integral parts of Denmark then consisted of 1, JUTLAND, divided by the *Kongeaa* (king's river) into NORTH JUTLAND (Reit Gothland) and SOUTH JUTLAND (Schleswig), comprising on the east the ancient ANGLEN, the homestead of the Angles in Britain, and on the west NORTH FRIESLAND, inhabited by the Frisian fishermen; 2, the DANISH ISLANDS (Ey Gothland); 3, SKAANE (Scandia, Skaney) in southern Sweden, and divided into the three ancient provinces, *Halland*, northwest on the Kattegat; *Blekinga-ey*, northeast, on the *Waræger-Soe*, East Sea, or Baltic; and *Skaane Proper*, the southern point of the great Scandinavian Peninsula. All the provinces were divided into *Sysler* (shires), and *Herreder* (hundreds), governed by the *Jarls* (earls), who, with the *Bönder* (freemen), met the king at the *Tinge* (national diet), where public affairs were transacted, and the kings and chiefs elected by acclamation of the people. King Gorm felt himself strong enough to cross the Eider and invade *Nordalbingia* (Holstein), then a province of the duchy of Saxony. The Danes were defeated, and Henry I. the Fowler, established the *March* or margraviate of Schleswig, between the Eider and the Schley—the *limes Danicus*, as it is called by the chroniclers, which for nearly a century remained the battle-ground of the hostile Danish and Saxon borderers. Otho the Great crossed the Dannevirke in 970, overran all Jutland, and forced King Harald Bluetooth, the son of Gorm, to be baptized, and grant the monks the liberty to convert his subjects throughout the kingdom.

CITIES AND HISTORICAL PLACES.—HADDEBY (*Slias-wyk*), Schleswig, with the first Episcopal church ranging under the see of Hamburg. SILBERSTED, north of Schleswig, where king Bluetooth was defeated by Otho in a great battle, and baptized in the brook, which, after these great events, was called Hellig-bæk, or Holy Brook.[62] RIPA (Ribe), VIBURGUM (Viborg), AROSIA (Aarhuus), and BURGLANUM (Borgland), became later episcopal sees of the province of Lund. JELLINGE, with the barrows of king Gorm, and his Christian queen, Thyra Danebod. The magnificent sepulchral room of the queen has lately been excavated, and highly interesting antiquities, shrines, silver goblets, and golden figures of birds found.[63]

OTTEN SUND (Sound of Otho), a bay on the Liimfjord, in Northern Jutland, where the Emperor Otho, in the pursuit of the retiring Danes, found himself stopped by the frith, and in his rage at not being able to cross over, launched his spear into the water, and returned to Germany. ODENSE, in the island of Fyen (Odins-ey), a thriving city, with an episcopal see. ROE'S KILDE, on the island of Sjölund (Sjælland, Sealand, *Herthæ Insula*), the more modern capital of Denmark, from the times of king Harald, is situated at a short distance from the heathen *Leire*, and the forest of Hertha, with the splendid cathedral church, and the Episcopal see for Sealand. BURGUNDARHOLM (Bornholm), a fertile island south of Skaane, which during the middle ages became an important emporium of eastern commerce. In a bog on this island was found no less than half a bushel of *Cufic* or Arabian coins (207), with the inscriptions of the Caliphs of Bagdad, from A. D. 698 to 1010, which were current in the countries through which the Northmen had to pass on their way to Constantinople. LUND, in Skaane, became in 1090 the archiepiscopal see for the *Provincia Lundensis*, embracing all Denmark and Esthland.

V. KINGDOM OF NORWAY.

223. EXTENT, DIVISION, AND HISTORICAL SITES.—The Icelandic Sagas have thrown a wonderful light on the early history of Norway, and the Norwegian Bonde (free landowner), can, with the admirable book of Snorro Sturleson before him, at the fireside, during the long winter evenings, follow up the events of his forefathers in every valley, on every mountain, where still so many rough monuments of the olden times testify to the historical veracity of the poetical traditions of the Skjalds.[64] The great Scandinavian peninsula is by a high mountain range, the *Kjölen*, divided into two distinct countries, SWERGE (*Sweden*), and NORGE (*Norway*). The centre of both countries is very rugged and mountainous, but in Sweden the mountains slope off southward, to the immense lakes of *Wenern* and *Wettern*, and the fertile plains of Skaane; while on the contrary, in Norway, the slope lies north, terminating with the precipitous promontory of North Cape. These upper highlands are scantily inhabited by the nomadic tribes of Finns and Laplanders, who, by the warlike Germanic invaders, were driven northward at the time of the first occupation of Scandinavia by the Goths. (86.) Though Norway is more mountainous than Sweden, and all its coasts are high—sometimes more than a thousand feet of fearful precipices, overhanging the deep friths, the islands and the sea, yet its climate is, on account of the neighborhood of the ocean, milder than that of the lower coasts of Sweden,

[62] It was on the banks of Hellig-bæk, that the Danes, in 1850 gained the battle of Idsted against the rebellious Holsteiners.

[63] The *Runic* inscriptions from these mounds are among the oldest and most important documents of Danish history. The smaller sepulchral stone (Bautasteen), has the following:—*King Gorm made this hill after his wife, Thyre Danmarksbod.* The larger Jelling stone has been erected by the son and successor, Harald Bluetooth, to the memory of his parents:—*King Harald raised these hills after his father Gorm and his mother Thyre. This Harold is he who won all Denmark, and Norway, and Christendom;* that is, became a Christian, together with his people.

[64] See the preface of Snorro himself, to his "Sagas of the Norse Kings." "In this book," he says, "I have had old traditions written down, as I have heard them told by intelligent people, concerning chiefs who have held dominion in the northern countries, and who spoke the Danish tongue—*Danske Tunge*—and also concerning some of their family branches, according to what has been told me. Some of these accounts are found in the genealogical tables of our forefathers, while the rest are taken from old songs, which at the time were recited for the pleasure of the chiefs at their banquets. There were *Skjalds* (bards) in the court of Harald the Fair-haired (A. D. 863–931), whose poems the people know by heart even at the present day (Snorro wrote this about the year 1220), together with all the songs about the kings who have ruled in Norway since his time. We rest the foundations of our history principally upon the songs which were sung in the presence of the chieftains themselves, or of their sons, and we confidently adopt as truth and history all the accounts we find in these poetical memorials of their feats and battles: For although it be the custom with the bard to praise the chief before whom he strings the harp, yet no one would *dare* to relate to a chief deeds of glory which all the warriors present, and the chief himself, would know to be nothing but flirtation and untruth; because that would be mockery and scorn, instead of admiration and praise."—*Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, by Sam. Laing.* Vol i. pp. 211–213.

whose winter is extremely cold and dreary; because that whole region is exposed to the eastern storms, sweeping over the snow plains of Northern Siberia and Russia. Sweden has but scanty harvests of grain; but it abounds in iron, copper, and other minerals. Norway lives almost entirely on its fisheries, game, and commerce. The extreme length of that wild territory, from the southern promontory of Sweden to North Cape, is upward of 1100 miles; its breadth from Bergen, in Western Norway, to Stockholm on the east, is 450 miles; its superficial dimensions are three hundred thousand square miles, of which thirty thousand are covered by lakes and swamps; it is therefore more thinly inhabited than any country in Europe, having only five millions of souls, one million and a half of which are *Nordmœnd*, or Norse. The most singular features in the scenery of Norway are the *fjords*, or friths, deep valleys filled by the sea, which often run into the interior for several hundred miles. How these immensely deep rifts, sometimes not a gunshot in breadth, have been furrowed out of the solid primary rock, is still a problem. It could not be from the action of the sea, for they extend into various branches, starting off in directions which never were exposed to the impulse of the ocean; and we can therefore only explain this phenomenon by the general elevation of the land by volcanic upheavings, as we find it in Iceland. In the depth of these land-locked bays, shut in by rocks, woods, and the deep and glassy waters of the distant ocean, lived the *Viking* of old—lives now the happy and peaceful farmer or fisherman, with his small and neat dwelling leaning against the rocks, a green meadow on the banks for his cows and goats, and his little skiff at anchor before his door; where he in sight of his chimney smoke, and the rocky forest around, catches the finest sea-fish, the delight of distant Italy and Greece. Can we wonder, then, that such localities—the deep fjords, and the hundreds of high, rocky islands at their mouths, should have invited the enterprising Norsemen of old, to the exciting and lucrative life of the pirate.[64] The natural division of Norway was into regions lying north, west, and south of the mountains; and these into thirty-four or thirty-five *Fylker*, or districts, having petty kings, who were continually fighting with one another, until Halfdan Swarte (the Black), the king of Westfold, about the year 850, began to extend his sway in the south and west. His son, the celebrated Harald Haarfager (the fair-haired), crossed the Dovre-Fjeld, and subdued with the sword all the small sea kings, and *stool* kings of the north and west, during his long reign from 863 to 931.

Many of the vanquished chiefs fled to Iceland, which had just been discovered at that period; others crossed the Kjölen and settled in Hjemteland and Heriedalen, on the frontiers of Sweden. King Harald reduced the petty kings to the position of mere governors or judges called *Jarls*, somewhat similar to the Counts of Charlemagne. They never afterwards succeeded in throwing off their allegiance, nor did they ever obtain any feudal powers. In Norway the full strength of the nation rested on the *Odels Bonde*, that is, the free landholder or husbandman, who was the proprietor of the land—held not from the king nor from any feudal superior.[65] The equal division of property among the children, a rule extending to the crown itself, prevented the accumulation of power and lands in individuals. Norway had no fortresses save her snow-capped mountains, no feudal castles nor strongholds for arrogant nobles; the farm-house of the *Bonde*, like the manor of the Jarl, was built of wood, much resembling the picturesque cottages of Switzerland. The King with his *Hird* or court, the Jarls and the Bönder, appeared at the *Ting* or general assembly, where they took part in the discussion of state affairs. Another class were the *Trælle*, thralls or domestic slaves, mostly prisoners captured by the Vikings at sea on piratical cruises; they were private property, but generally so well treated, that Sigurd Jarl, the high-priest of Thor, for instance, enabled his Trælle to purchase their freedom by giving them the right of fishing in the fjords on his estates, or seated them as farmers on his uncleared lands. Hakon the Good, the son of Harald Fairhair, attempted to introduce Christianity, but he found the Norse too stubborn and devoted to their old heathen gods and festivals; and it was not until the energetic rule of King Olaf Tryggveson in 997–1000, and that of the unhappy Saint Olaf, who perished in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030, that the temples of Odin and Thor were at last destroyed, and the Cross of Christ arose at Nidaros (Trondhjem), in the north.

Nordenfjelds, north of the mountains, we have: Halogaland on the frontiers of Finnmaken; Naumdal and Throndor *Trondhjem* (Drontheim), with the capital Nidaros on a deep frith. Here the traveller admires the celebrated cathedral built 1033, a huge structure in the ancient Saxon style, with arches, cloisters, and roughly carved ornaments, and the sepulchral vaults of the Norwegian kings. The shrine of Saint Olaf was a place of pilgrimage for the pious Catholics from every part of Europe. *Hlade* (the grange), the residence of Harald and his successors. *Moere* where the public assemblies were held, and where we still behold the mounds and foundations of heathen temples. *Stiklestad*, north of Nidaros, the bloody battle-field where the heathen Norse defeated and slew King Olaf the Saint, in 1030. *Rimol*, farther inland, the country-seat of Thora, where Hakon Jarl was stabbed by his serf Karker, in 997. West of Throndlay Nord and South Moere and Naumdal, on the shores of the ocean. *Westenfjelds* (west of Mount Dovre), Fjord, Sogn, Hordaland, with the rich commercial city of Bjorgwinn (Bergen), afterwards one of the seventy confederated towns of the Hansa. Rogaland, where, in the deep bay, *Hafursfjord*, Hakon Jarl, in a most tremendous naval battle, defeated the daring *Joms-Vikings* or pirates, from Jomsborg, in 996. *Söndenfjelds* (south of the mountains), Agde, on the southern coast opposite to Jutland. Tellemarken, Hallingadal, Vestfold, and Viken on the frontiers of Sweden Opslo (now Christiania), the later capital of Norway. *Kongshelle*, frontier fortress, the scene of many hard-fought battles with the Swedes. In the uplands, Guldbrandsdal, Eistridal, Romerige, Hedemarken, and other valleys. Norway had its own archiepiscopal see in Nidaros. Its jurisdiction—*Provincia Nidarosiensis*—extended to Iceland, Greenland, the Shetland Islands, the Orkneys, Färœer, and Hebrides.

224. Discoveries and Conquests.—Nor are the conquests of the Norwegians, during this brilliant period of their history, less interesting than the events in the mother country herself.

Hialteland (the Shetland Islands), Orknöyjar (the Seal Islands), *Orcades*, Orkneys, Syder Œer (Hebrides or Western Islands), were early occupied by the Northmen, who, in the reign of King Harald Fairhair, formed a kingdom on the island of Man. Every group of islands had its bishop as suffragans of the province of Nidaros. The Faer-Œer or Sheep Islands, so called on account of the numerous flocks that make the principal resource of the islanders, were discovered in 861.

Iceland, or *Sneeland* (snow country), as it was called by the Dane Gardar, who discovered it in 863. Its colonization began in 875 by the Norwegian Ingolf. Greenland was discovered nearly at the same time, though it was not colonized until one century later in 973–85, by Erik the Red, who undertook an expedition from Iceland to the western seas. A year later (986), Biarne Herulfson sailed south from Greenland, and

[64] See the fine description of the Norwegian coasts in Sam. Laing's Norway. London, 1836.

[65] See above note 37, page 31. Laing's beautiful preliminary dissertation on Snorro, Chap. III.

found the east coast of AMERICA, where Leif Ericson, Thorwald Ericson, and Thorfinn continued their discoveries, and called the fertile woodlands VINLAND, and the savage inhabitants *skrællinger* or wretches. Some colonies were established on the coasts of Rhode Island and Massachusetts; but they did not prosper, and appear to have been abandoned in the thirteenth century.[66] Iceland was soon colonized by dissatisfied Norsemen, who fled from the sword of Harald Haarfager; they established a republican government, and were, in the year 1000, converted to Christianity.

VI. KINGDOM OF SWEDEN.

225. EXTENT, DIVISIONS, AND REMARKABE CITIES.—The early history of Sweden is more obscure and far less interesting than that of Denmark or Norway; nor do the middle ages of Sweden present us with so rich a variety of events, as do the expeditions and conquests of the Danish and Norwegian sea-kings, and the later participation of the Danes and Norse in the crusades, and their multifarious relations with the south. Sweden has no Snorro, no Saxo. But, on the contrary, Sweden has a modern history from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, more brilliant than that of any other nation during the same period. There were continual wars between the different tribes of Goths and Swedes and between the reigning dynasties. The country was mountainous, covered with forests; the inhabitants were poor. The Norwegians and Danes by possessing the western coast-land along the Baltic, Viken, Halland and Skaane, excluded the Swedes in a manner from the participation of the western expeditions of their neighbors. Yet the Swedes had their own crusades nearer at home; from early times they fought against the Laplanders of *Helsingeland*, in the north, and against the Finnish or Chudish tribes in *Quainland*, and *Kyriala-land* on the east. These obscure conquests, and the Swedish settlements on the coast of Finnland, form the best part of their annals; the rest is bloodshed and horrors at home. The Swedes in Swithiod north of the lakes, and the Goths in the more southern Gothland, though divided by their ruling dynasties, met for the same temple service at the great sanctuary of Odin at Upsala; and toward the middle of the ninth century, Eric Edmundson contrived to unite the warring tribes, and to rule Sweden as *Enekunge* or sole king, with his Jarls and Drots. Christianity made but little progress among so wild and superstitious a people, who still clung to Odin and Vallhalla, and it was not until 1157 that Saint Eric, in his zeal, carried the cross to Finnland among the Quains. The power of the Swedish Kings was very circumscribed by the general diets of the free proprietors, the Bönder, and by the pride of the Jarls, who, like the Dukes and Counts in Germany and France, arrogated a certain degree of independence to themselves; nay, very early we find in Sweden the Jarl of the Realm—*Riks-Jarl*—in similar relations to the king as the *mayor domus* in the kingdom of the Franks. The family of the *Folkunger* having first obtained this hereditary dignity, they soon aspired to the crown itself in 1250.

SUITHIOD consisted of the provinces DALARNE on the north-east, the southern part of HELSINGALAND as far north as the river *Angermanna Elv;* UPLAND, with the AALANDS islands, on the east; VERMELAND, by the *Eda-forest* separated from Norway; WEST-MANNA-LAND, SODERMANNA-LAND, and NERIKE around the deep frith *Mælarn;* the mining district was called JERNBÆRALAND (Iron-produeing-land).

GOTHLAND, south of the large lakes of *Wener* and *Wetter*, was divided into west and east Gothland; and SMAALAND, bordering south on the Danish possessions in Skaane. GOTHLAND and EGLAND (Oeland) lay off the coast. SIGTUNA, on the Mælarn, with its heathen rock-altars and temples, stood already in ruins. UPSALA, the later capital of the Swedish Kings, north of Sigtuna, became the archiepiscopal see of the ecclesiastical province of Upsala—*Provincia Upsaliensis*—which embraced all Sweden and Finnland as far as the river Newa in the Kyriala Bottn or Finnish Gulf. BJÖRKÖ (Birka), west of Sigtuna, on the Mælarn, whither the kings had removed their residence during the tenth century, and remained until Jarl Birker, about the middle of the thirteenth century, built STOCKSUND on the *Stockholm*, an island strongly fortified with walls and towers, to protect the offing of the Mælarn against the Vikings. From this small beginning rose afterward the splendid city of Stockholm.

VII. GRAND DUCHY OF RUSSIA.

226. ORIGIN, EXTENT, DIVISIONS, AND REMARKABLE CITIES.—Among the many Sclavonian tribes who were driven northward from the Black Sea on the advance of the Chazars (91, 193), were the Russniaks, Ross, or Russians,[67] who penetrated the Sarmatian forests, and subdued and expelled the Finnish tribes of the Mordwens and Muromens on the upper Volga; there they settled and founded the great and flourishing cities of Novgorod on the lake of Ilmen, and Kiew on the Dnieper. To the southward they waged continual war with the Chazars, and on the Baltic they met the Northmen, who, as WARŒGS or *Väringers* (adventurous warriors), infested the coasts with their piracies. Owing to the quarrels among their own chiefs, which gave the Russians so much trouble, they entered into an alliance with the more intelligent strangers, and thus it happened that the Danes in A. D. 852 laid the foundation of the immense Russian Empire, where the descendants of the dynasty of Ruric held the sway for more than seven hundred years. An adventurous band of Danish Vikings, commanded by *Ruric* the Jute, his brothers *Sineus* and *Truvor*, and the young prince *Gorm* of Denmark, landed on the Finnic Gulf, near the lake of Ilmen. These chiefs, at the head of the *Russniaks*, soon extended their conquests among the Slavic tribes; they occupied the flourishing city of Novgorod, and advancing boldly into the heart of the country, formed a large empire between the river Düna on the west and the Volga on the east, and fixed their residence at Kiew on the Dnieper. Pressed, however, by the numerous tribes of Sclavonians around, and by the Chazars from the south, the stout Danes were obliged to defend themselves sword in hand behind their fortresses, until new bands of their roving countrymen pouring in, Ruric and his brothers soon recovered their conquests, and established themselves permanently in A. D. 562 in Russia. As long as Ruric and his descendants were considered aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Northmen. They distributed estates and subjects among their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers by fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic islands. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deeper and more permanent root in the soil, they mingled with the native Sarmatians, Russ and Russians, in blood, habits, and language; and the first Wladimir, who was baptized by the persuasion of his fair Queen, Olga, in 980, and introduced the Greek Church service into Russia, disbanded his Danish body-guard.[68] But in-

[66] See for farther details the numerous works published by the Society of Northern Antiquaries in Copenhagen, and by several distinguished literary gentlemen in this country.

[67] The Russians appear for the first time in the Byzantine historians of the ninth century, under the undeclinable name of Pῶς, and they have then already their characteristic features the white skin, the red hair, and the green cat eye.

[68] It is a highly interesting fact that the German Chronicler, Ditmar of Merceburg, so late as 1018, says: "that Kiew in Russia was then still guarded by the strength of the Danish arms."

stead of returning to the north, the Danes, always fond of southern scenes and impressions, pushed on to Constantinople, where a great number of their countrymen had already taken military service among the Greeks. The Byzantine Emperors, surrounded by intrigues and treachery, were glad to enlist several thousands of brave and sober Northmen. They received high pay; they wore their bear-skin mantles over their glittering armor; and the astonished Greeks hearing their name *Væringer*, pronounced it: *Varanghi*—Βαράγγοι. With their heavy broadsword at their side, and the double-edged battle-axe on their shoulder, they attended the Emperor to the Santa Sophia, the Senate, the Hippodrome, or the battle-field. He slept and feasted under the guard of his Danish Varanghi; and the keys of the palace and imperial treasury, of the towers and gates of Constantinople, were held by the firm and faithful hand of the Scandinavian prince who commanded that chosen body. They continued to speak their own language, and, on days of great festivals, they offered their congratulations and assurances of loyalty to the Emperor in the Danish tongue.

The Scandinavian elements in the government of the early Russian states, and the Greek service in their Church, are important facts which gave their peculiar character to the Russian people. The most intimate relations between the northern kings and the Russian grand-dukes continued for centuries. Young Danish or Norwegian princes were educated at the court in *Gardarike* (Russia), and the northern pilgrims and warriors passed mostly through that friendly land on their route to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land. Under their warlike chiefs the Russians reached the shores of the Black Sea so early as 865. They armed expeditions against Constantinople herself in 904 and 941, and though they were defeated and driven back, they profited by these visits. They returned more civilized; Greek churches and monasteries were built in every part of the country; the Russian clergy obeyed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and thus the civilization which both church and commerce introduced into Russia had an oriental character. Many institutions, however, were still Norman; the Russian state officers were called *gosti*. Wladimir admitted the nobles — *Boyars* — to his council, and the oppressive despotism which was introduced in later centuries, after the Mongol invasion, had not yet degraded and enslaved the frank and jovial character of the *ancient* Russians. At the time of the death of Otho the Great, 973, the great principality of Russia extended from the Lake of Ladoga, south toward the waterfalls of the Dnieper, the lower Don, and the Black Sea. The Grand Duke Swärtoslav advanced victoriously to the foot of Mount Caucasus in 955–972, where he destroyed the empire of the Chazars, and subdued the *Yassi* and *Kasachi*, nomadic nations of Turkish origin, on the steppes of the Kuban. The Russians even conquered and occupied the city and principality of Tmutarakan—Motercha—on the *Taurian Bosporus* (as indicated in the map), and entered into direct relations to the Greeks in the Crimea. Only some few relics of the defeated Chazars had saved themselves in the northeastern portion of that peninsula, and others had crossed the Volga, retreating eastward. The Finnic nations on the northeastern frontier were likewise expelled into the dreary plains of Biarmeland—Permia—on the shores of the *Gandawyk*—the White Sea—or forced to recognize the Russian rule. A similar fate awaited the Lettic and Lithuanian races on the Baltic, and thus had that active people, in the space of one century (from 862 to 973), already formed the largest empire in Europe. Novgorod—*Nemogrâd* (New-town)—on the northern bank of the Lake Ilmen, the first capital of Russia, was already a thriving commercial town. Kiew, south on the right bank of the Dnieper, as the second capital of the grand dukes of Russia, became adorned with Byzantine churches and convents, and showed signs of its future greatness by its crowded population, and active commerce on the Black Sea and Constantinople. Polotzk, on the Düna, was the capital of the tributary Slavic race of the *Polotzchani*. Zaslav (now in ruins near Wileika), on the Niemen, was the principal city of the *Slovensi*.—Smolensk, on the Dnieper.—Tchernigov, southeast of Kiew, became an independent principality. Pereyaslavl, near Kiew.—Murom, on the Oka, northeast, was the capital of the tributary Finnic race of the Muromens. Moskow herself was yet unborn.

On the southern shores of the Baltic, or the *Sea of the Warægs*, as it then was called, were still independent the savage Borussians (Prussians), and the Vendes (in Pomerania), who were fighting hard with the Saxon emperors of Germany, but had not yet succeeded in forming their large *Vendic Kingdom*, which we shall describe in the period of the Crusades.

§ II.—CENTRAL EUROPE.

228. Dismemberment of the Carlovingian Empire.—The mighty arm, which had ruled so many warlike nations of western Europe beneath its peaceful jurisdiction, was now no more, and the pious, but indolent, Louis-le-Debonnair, who could not control his own wife, Queen Judith, was still less able to restrain his violent sons, and their ambitious and aspiring retainers—both prelates and warriors—nor the then awakening feelings of nationality, which, with a higher cultivation, began to inspire Germans, French, and Italians. The Mussulmans in Spain; the Lombards in Italy; the Gallo-Romans in Aquitaine; the half-converted Saxons; the heathen Sclavonians and Avars; the proud Neustrian Franks; the still prouder Austrian Germans, as the countrymen of Karl the Great himself; all now fretted beneath the lax and vacillating government of the monkish Louis, and all aspired to a national independence, which only the penetrating glance and the armies of Charles had been able to restrain. Charles had victoriously repelled the gatherings of other barbaric tribes along the distant frontiers of his immense empire—but Danes, Sclavonians, Tartars, and Saracens, awaited only the death of the great emperor, to take back with usury the tributes which he had imposed upon their vanquished tribes. The Northmen immediately began to infest the coasts with their fleets—the Saracens pressed upon the Spanish marches; the Basques (Vasconi) resumed their liberty in the Pyrenees; Brittany was in commotion; the Obotrites and Sorabians crossed the Elbe; the Bulgarians invaded Avaria. Within all was disorder; poor Louis gave away his domains to the church; he granted *hereditary* estates to his counts and envoys, and in his despair he divided his empire among his heartless and ambitious sons. Soon the civil war broke out in all its fury; the nations demanded their independence. Charles of France and Louis of Germany united against their brother Lothaire (Luther) of Italy, the Emperor, and the bloody battle at *Fontanetum* (Fontenay) near Auxerre in Burgundy, in July, 841, decided the separation of the component parts of the Carlovingian empire. Lothaire was routed, and forced to relinquish his imperial title. In the treaty at Verdun, 843, France, Germany, and Italy became distinct kingdoms, but in order to make an equal division, the two allied brothers ceded to Lothaire the whole tract of country lying between the Rhone, Moselle, and Scheldt on the west, and the Rhine and Alps on the east, that country in which the nationalities were mixed French and German, and the possession of which has after-

ward been the cause of so many desolating wars down to our own day. This country, then called *Middle France*, now took the name of its sovereign, Lotheringhe-Rike, *Lotharingia*, or Lorraine.[69] So far, the independence of the different nationalities had been accomplished, yet the divisions between the quarrelsome descendants of Charlemagne did not stop there, and shortly afterward, at the death of Charles-le-Gros, A. D. 888, the three kingdoms split into nine states, separated by difference of race, language, or dialect. These were, 1, *Germany;* 2, *Lorraine;* 3, *France;* 4, *Bretagne* (Brittany); 5, *Italy;* 6, *Transjurane Burgundy;* 7, *Cisjurane Burgundy;* 8, *Aquitaine;* and 9, the *Spanish Border*. At the time of Otho the Great, one century later, 951–973, Italy and Lorraine had become united to Germany; Brittany and Aquitaine stood in loose feudal relations to France; and only the two Burgundies, united into one kingdom, and the western Spanish March, or the kingdom of Navarre, had preserved their autonomy. After many extraordinary vicissitudes, the German branch of the Carlovingian house became extinct with Louis-the-Child in 912, and the French with Louis V., the Idler, in 987; in the former state followed first duke Conrad of Franconia, until 919, and then the powerful dukes of Saxony; in the latter, the most wealthy and intriguing of the Feudatories, Hugh Capet, Count of Paris.

VIII.—The Kingdom of France.

229. Limits of France in 973.—The modern kingdom of France extended, at the period during which we describe the position of Europe, from the mouth of the Scheldt south to the city of Barcelona, whose count still recognized his allegiance to France.[70] Eastward, France was separated by the rivers Scheldt and Moselle from Lotharingia, and by the Saône and Rhone from the kingdom of Burgundy.

230. Political Divisions.—Feudalism had been repressed by the strong hand of Charlemagne, who administered his vast empire by his counts, as his judicial officers; they were however entirely dependent on the sovereign will of the Emperor. But Louis-le-Debonnair and his successors gave away dignities, counties, domains and all; and thus the elevation of the third royal dynasty in France, that of the Capets, in 987, marks the epoch during which feudalism, in its full power, prevailed throughout that country, and the greater part of central and southern Europe. In France, feudalism seemed at the beginning of the 11th century, already upon the point of crushing the royal authority altogether; but many different concurring causes—the strong central position of the Capetian domains, the prudence and longevity of these chiefs, the security of their hereditary succession, the protection and encouragement they gave to the cities and free communities, and lastly, the crusades, and the constant feuds among the nobles themselves—contributed to the slow yet progressive extension of the royal prerogative, which ultimately, in the beginning of the 14th century, gained the most signal victory. At the time of the downfall of the Carlovingian line, we make a distinction between the royal *domains* and the *fiefs*. The former were the immediate possessions under the crown, and they were at that time reduced to a mere trifle, while a considerable number of fiefs, more or less important, still belonged to the king. Yet though he was considered the *Suzerain*, or paramount lord of them, they formed in reality so many small independent states, the owners of which, under the feudal titles of dukes, counts, viscounts, barons, or mere seigniors, had now become possessors of territories, which their fathers only held as removable *Gau-grafen*, or imperial stewards. At the breaking up of the organization of the counties (*pagi* or *gauen*), the counts becoming hereditary lords, began to exert their influence and power in uniting as many districts as possible under their dominion; and while thus rounding off their territories, by marriage, or by the sword, large estates were founded that might have bid defiance to royalty itself. The Church had of course followed the example of the nobility, and the bishops and abbots, snugly seated in their cities and monasteries, became just as warlike, ambitious, and quarrelsome, as the dukes and counts themselves.[71]

231. The Carlovingian Domains in 987, were reduced to the small Comitatus Laudunensis, whose capital, *Laudunum* (Laon), situated on a steep mountain, was the capital of Louis the Idler (le fainéant). The town of *Compendium* (Compiègne), on the Oise, was his second possession, where he was crowned and buried.

232. Feudal Territories.—We shall here make some historical remarks on the most important, and only give the name of the rest. They were sixty in number, on the accession of Hugh Capet.[72]

I. Comitatus Flandriæ, which occupied the whole northern part of France. *Brugæ* (Bruges), *Ganda* (Gand), and *Arrebate* (Arras), were the most important towns, though still in their infancy.

II. Comitatus Guisnæ (Guines). III. C. Boloniæ (Boulogne). IV. Pontivus (Ponthieu), were all situated along the coast of the Channel. Abbatis Villa (Abbeville), was the capital of the latter; it had formerly belonged to the rich Abbey of St. Richerii. Hugh Capet had taken possession of the town, and fortifying it as a strong bulwark against the Normans, he gave the command of it to his brother-in-law, the count of Ponthieu.

233. V.—Comitatus Vermandensis (Vermandois), south of Flanders, with the city of *Augusta Vermanduorum* (Saint Quentin), which gave its own name to the county, and took that of the saint who had died a martyr within its walls; *Ambiani* (Amiens), on the Somme. VI. C.—Suessiones (Soissons). VII.—C. Vadensis (Valois), with the capital, *Crispium* (Crépi), and the fortress, *Vadum* (Vez), the former residence of the counts.

234. VIII.—Comitatus Reitestinus (Réthel), east of Vermandois, contained the whole northern part of the present Champagne. IX.—C. Remensis (Rheims), and Roceji (Roucy), in the centre of Champagne. X.—C. Campaniæ (Champagne). XI.—C. Senonensis (Sens), west of Champagne.

235. XII.—Ducatus Franciæ (duché de France), comprised the whole country between the Loire and the Seine,

[69] The kingdom of Charles the Bald was then called Francia Nova —*West* or *Neu Franken*—the ancient Neustria and Aquitania, and that of Louis the German, east of the Rhine, Francia Antiqua—*Ost* or *Alt Franken*—the ancient Austrasia; an appellation which is still preserved in the Bavarian province of Franconia.

[70] Borrell, the ninth count of Barcelona, declared himself independent shortly after the accession of Hugh Capet.

[71] The bishops had obtained the jurisdiction of the ancient counts, or Count Palatines, in the cities of the empire; but as they were prelates, and could not themselves wield the sword of justice, they ruled by means of their military viscount, *vice-comes*, or bailiff. Thus the poor citizens, instead of one master, had now got two, who were often quarrelling with one another, and disturbing the tranquillity of the town with their violent feuds.

[72] The scale of our map did not permit us to fix the names of all the counties, viscounties, and smaller seigniories, but the historical student will easily be able to follow us on any geographical map of modern France. We likewise give both the Latin name then in use, and the modern French, because we know, from our own experience, how important the mediæval denominations are, in order to understand not only the chronicles and documents of the time, but even the frequent Latin citations which we meet with on every page in modern works on French history.

from the borders of Normandy and Brittany, to those of Burgundy. The duchy contained the above-mentioned counties of Champagne, and the following:—Comitatus Parisii (Paris), the most important of all; because the city of Paris, its capital, became on the accession of Hugh Capet, again the residence of the French king.

Aurelianum (Orléans), on the Loire, formed likewise an important county, dependent on the duchy of France. Smaller feudal possessions following its banner, were Belvacum, (Beauvais), C. Carnutinus (Chartres), C. Turonensis (Tours), and others. XIII.—C. Corbolii (Corbeil), southeast of Paris. XIV.—C. Mellenti (Meulan), northeast of Paris. XV.—C. Vucassinus (Vexin), with the capital, *Pontesia* (Pontoise), on the Oise. The count was the vassal of the archiepiscopal see of Saint Denis, and raised his own banner.

236. XVI. Ducatus Normannlæ (Normandy) extended along the coast of the Channel, from the river *Bresle* on the northeast to the *Couesnon* on the southwest, and was divided from the county of Vexin by the river *Epte*, so celebrated by the treaty between Charles the Simple and Rolf Ganger, the Norman hero, in 911, at the town of Saint Clair-sur-Epte, wherein the whole fertile province was ceded to the Normans. These fierce warriors had, during the latter part of the ninth century, continued their invasions on the coasts of France, burning and destroying the cities on the banks of the Seine, Loire, and twice besieging Paris itself. But their settlement in Normandy in 912, was of immense consequence for the development, not only of the French kingdom as a power, but for that of the language and literature of France, and the introduction of those chivalrous ideas and manners by which the French, later, outshone all the nations of Europe. Those Danish and Norwegian Vikings were, by the effeminate Carlovingian Princes, considered as unwieldy barbarians; but they appear, on the contrary, to have been a highly endowed race of men, who, by their intelligence, daring courage, activity, and perseverance in every enterprise, were the true prototypes of their still more successful descendants, the Americans. The Normans took up the plough as nimbly as the sword. The fertile lands of Normandy were divided by the line among the conquerors, who became the lords of towns and hamlets, and thus the native serfs changed masters; but from a wilderness the country within twenty years became the garden of France. It suddenly rose to wealth and civilization, being peopled by thousands of Normans from Denmark and Norway, who continued to pour in and settle on the coast-lands of Bayeux and Coutances, where their language, the Danish tongue—*Danske Tunge*—predominated for centuries, and is still distinguished in many words of the Normanic dialect of the present day.[73] The wild, fantastic religion of Odin; the adventurous life of the sea-rovers; their sudden conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, with its pomp and solemnity—all combined, gave a certain religious and romantic turn to their character, their ideas, and manners, which we discover in their chivalrous institutions, their literature, and arts. Every church built by the Normans in France or Italy bears evidence of their fanciful taste for dragons, monsters, and supernatural beings.[74] The Norman knights marrying native Frenchwomen, soon forgot their native language, and not being crammed with the pedantic Latin of that period, they boldly took up the vulgar French dialect, which their bards, within a century, raised to the rank of a polished and poetical language. The Norman chroniclers and poets are the fathers of the present French—not of that soft and love-breathing tongue of the *troubadours* in southern France, beyond the Loire—the *Provençal*—which after a short brilliant sway during the age of the crusades, was stopped in its progress by the terrible religious wars against the Waldenses, and soon yielded to the proud Castilian in the southwest, and the wonderfully developed and harmonious speech of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace in Italy. It was the Norman poets—the *trouvères*—who, in the *northern French dialect*, wrote the conquest of England and Jerusalem, the deeds of King Arthur and his knights of the round table. They introduced the taste for the romances of chivalry, and the celebrated allegorical tales of Alexander the Great, which, with ingenuity and secret flattery, described the life and deeds of King Philip Augustus of France, and at last decided the character and structure of our modern French. Nor was their political and military influence less remarkable than that of their poetry and art; and it is mainly to the Normans that we must ascribe the brilliant success of the French arms in the great crusade in 1099.

Rodomagus (Rouen), on the Seine, was the ducal capital. *Altavilla* (Hauteville), in the viscounty of Coutances on the coast, the patrimonial seat of the noble race of the *Hauteville*, from whom sprung the world-known Robert Guiscard, Roger, Drogo, Bohemund, and Tancred—the former, the conquerors and founders of the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the two last, the heroes of the first crusade. XVII. Comitatus Drocæ (Dreux), southeast of Normandy, at the period we describe, occupied by Duke Richard I. XVIII. and XIX., C. Alencionis (Alençon), and C. Bellismum (Bellesme), south of Normandy, possessed by lords who followed the ducal banner of Normandy.

237. Comitatus Britannlæ (Bretagne) occupied the whole ancient peninsula of Armorica, whose count often appears as vassal of the Dukes of Normandy. *Redones* (Rennes) was the capital. The Bretons were of British origin; they spoke their own Celtic language, and hated the French, as their brethren beyond the water their Anglo-Saxon oppressors. They were a brave and quarrelsome people, and gave the Dukes of Normandy continual trouble, until Duke William I. brought them to allegiance with the broadsword. XXI. Dominium Fulgerlæ (Fougères), northeast of Brittany.

238. XXII. Comitatus Cenomanlæ (Maine), capital *Maiatum* (le Mans). XXIII. C. Andegavensis (Anjou), capital *Andegavi* (Angers), on the Loire. XXIV. C. Vindocinensis (Vendôme), at the time possessed by the Count of Anjou. XXV. C. Blesensis (Blois). XXVI. Vice-Comitatus Biturricæ (Bourges) consisted of the city of that name, the capital of *Berry*, with its territory and the Abbey of *Saint Gondon-sur-Loire*. XXVII. Dominium Borbonense, (Seigniory of Bourbon) southeast of Berry, with the capital *Bourbon*, called Archambaud, after the lords who ruled this region for several centuries.

239. XXVIII. Ducatus Burgundiæ, different from the kingdom of that name, or of Arelate, which latter lay south between the Rhone and the Alps. The duchy bordered north on Champagne and France, east on Lorraine and the kingdom of Arelate, south on the Saône, and west beyond the Loire on Bourbonnois and Nivernois. Burgundy was held by Henry the Great as a fief of the French crown; he obtained it afterwards in full property from his brother, Hugh Capet, when the latter

[73] The Normans are still the best mariners of France, and all their most distinguished Admirals were of Norman descent. We discern, likewise, this Scandinavian influence in the naval expressions of the French language, such as, for instance: *esguif, boulines, raalings, gardinges, haler, sigler, sterman*, and many others—all of Danish origin.

[74] The most curious Norman monument of those times is the immense tapestry in the Church of Bayeux, two hundred and fourteen English feet in length, which represents the expedition of William the Conqueror to England, the battle of Hastings, and other military exploits, exhibiting the armature and costumes of the eleventh century in a beautiful workmanship. It was embroidered by the fair hands of Queen Mathilda and her court ladies, and must have given the industrious women occupation for years.

mounted the throne of France in 987. Diviona (Dijon), on the Ouche, was then the capital of the duchy; but the princes generally resided in the castle of *Poulli*, on the Saône. *Fontanetum* (Fontenay), west near the river Icauna (Yonne), where, on the 25th of June 841, was fought the bloody battle between the sons of Louis le Debonnair, which cost the empire thousands of brave warriors, and decided its final dismemberment. *Austunum*, the ancient Augustodunum (Autun). *Autissiodorum* (Auxerre), with splendid ruins from the Roman times. The Palatinatus Burgundiæ (county of Burgundy, afterwards the *Franche Comté*) formed at this period part of the Arelate kingdom, and was divided among several counts, whose feudal territories cannot be given in detail. XXIX. Comitatus Ternodorensis (Tonnère), northwest of Burgundy. XXX. Comitatus Nivernensis (Nevèrs), on the east of the duchy. XXXI. C. Cabilonensis (Chalons), southeast on the Saône. XXXII. C. Matiscensis (Macon), south of the former, on the Saône, on the frontier of the Arelate kingdom. In the territory of this count, William the Pius, Count of Auvergne and Aquitaine, founded in A. D. 910 the celebrated monastery of Cluni—*Cluniacense monasterium*—in a beautiful valley on the river *Graona* (Grône). As he dedicated it to the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the Abbey was placed under the immediate dependence of the Roman Pontiff.

240. XXXIII. Comitatus Alverniæ (Auvergne), west of the Rhone, and south of Bourbonnois, in the high mountains. *Clarus Mons*—the celebrated Gergovia of Julius Cæsar (now Clermont), on a splendid site at the foot of Mount Puy de Dome, was the capital. XXXIV. V. C. Lemovicensis (Viscounty of Limoges), which embraced the Haut-Limosin on the north; and XXXV. V. C. Torennæ (Turenne) on the south, both west of the Auvergnian Mountains. XXXVI. Comitatus Marchæ (county of the *Basse Marche*, or the lowland county of Limosin) westward, with the capital *Bellac* on the Gartempe River. XXXVII. C. Varactensis (county of the *Haute Marche* or highland march), east of the former, on the western slope of the mountains, with *Varactum* (Guéret) for its capital. At the time we describe, this county was united to C. Petragoris (Périgord), with the capital *Petragora* (Périgueux) on the *Illa* (Isle). Lying on the southwest, toward the Garonne, Périgord was separated from the hill county by the Basse Marche. XXXVIII. C. Encolismensis (Angoulême) northwest of Périgord. XXXIX. C. Pictavensis (Poitiers), north of the Angoumois, was at that period possessed by William II., Duke of Aquitaine.

241. XL. Ducatus Aquitaniæ (Aquitaine or Guyenne), south of Périgord and Limosin, and to which belonged then, not only the county of Poitiers, the Comitatus Xantonensis (Saintonge), and Alnetensis (Aunix), on the coast of the Atlantic, but also the greater part of Limosin. *Burdigala* (Bordeaux), on the Garonne, was the largest and most flourishing city of Guyenne, but it belonged in 987, with its county, to the duchy of Gascogne.

242. XLI. Ducatus Guasconiæ (Gascogne), south of Guyenne.—*Elusa* (Auch) the principal city, capital of XLII., the *Comitatus Armaniaci* (Armagnac), in a central position, and the most important county of Gascogne. XLIII. *V. C. Aquensis* (Albret), on the coast of the Gulf of Biscay, with the capital *Aquæ* (Dax) on the river *Aturis* (Adour). XLIV. *C. Fidentiaci* (Fezenzac), east of Armagnac. XLV. *V. C. Leomania* (Lomagne), with *V. C. Lectoræ* (Lectoure), northeast of Fezenzac, on the Garonne. XLVI. C. Astaraci (Astrac), with the capital Mirande. The count possessed likewise the neighboring Comitat. Pardiaci (Pardiac). XLVII. V. C. Benearniæ (Viscounty of Béarn), south at the base of the Pyrenees, with the capital *Palum* (Pau), on the river *Gava* (Gave). XLVIII. C. Bigorræ (Bigorre), east of Béarn, in the high valleys of the Pyrenean mountains, with the capital *Tarbes* on the Adour. XLIX. C. Conveniæ (Cominges), east of Bigorre, with the capital *St. Bertrandi* (Saint Bertrand).

243. L. Comitatus Tolosæ (Toulouse), east of Guyenne, with which it held the first rank in southern France, comprising besides, 1, the Comitat. Caorcini (Quercy), north of the Garonne, with *Caorcium* (Cahors), on the river *Oltus* (Lot); 2, V. C. Albingensis (Albigeois), with the capital *Albigæ* (Alby), on the *Tarnus* (Tarn); and 3, the Comitat. Sancti Ægidii (Saint Gilles), at the mouth of the Rhone. This small county belonged properly to the county of *Nemausus* (Nîmes), and had its name from the old Abbey of that name, situated on the banks of the Rhone. LI. Comitatus Rodenensis (Rovergue), east of Quercy, belonged to the younger house of the counts of Toulouse. The capital was *Rodes* (Rodéz), on the *Aveyron*. LII. Dominium Montis Pessulani (Seigniory of Montpellier). LIII. C. Melgorii (Mergueil), east of Montpellier. LIV. V. C. Narbonensis (Narbonne). LV. C. Carcassessii (Carcassonne), west of the former, and then in possession of Comitatus Fuxi (Foix), south in the valleys of the Pyrenees. LVI. C. Rossillonensis (Rousillon), southeast of Carcassonne. The capital was *Elna* (Elne), and afterwards *Perpinianum* (Perpignan).

244. LVII. Comitatus Barcinonæ (Barcelona), or the Spanish Border-County, which still belonged nominally to France, from the time of the conquest of Charlemagne (184), but soon declared itself independent. Later, it played a brilliant part in history under the sway of its warlike counts, who in the year 1137, by the marriage of Count Raymond Berengario IV. united Barcelona with the kingdom of Aragon. LVIII. C. Ampuritanensis (Ampurias), in the passes of the Pyrenees. LIX. C. Ceredaniæ (Cerdagne), and C. Bisuldensis (Bézalu), west of Ampurias, on the southern slope of the mountains, and LX. Comitatus Urgellensis (Urgel), in the deep valley of Andorra.

245. With the accession of the third race—the Capetians or Capetingians—in 987, the history of the *Franks* is at an end, and that of the *French* begins. The Germanic elements in the former have been entirely absorbed in the Romanic language, character, and habits of the latter. Yet the Aquitanians, south of the Loire, and the Burgundians on the Rhone, still preserve their distinct nationalities. Burgundy had already, a century ago (888), formed an independent kingdom—and the feudal bonds by which Aquitaine is still attached to France are so slight, that when Hugh Capet, in 990, with his feudal army advanced upon Tours on the Loire, then besieged by Count Aldebert of Périgueux, and sending his heralds, asked the Aquitanian, "*Who made thee count?*"—he received the proud answer: "*Who made thee king?*"[75] Thus we find France at the close of the 10th century ruled by sixty almost independent princes, and a still greater number of powerful prelates, who considered Duke Hugh Capet of Paris their chosen king, only as a *primus inter pares*, yet we shall soon, in our next historical picture, at the close of the subsequent century, discover with what prudence and perseverance the Capetian kings have employed their household power for the extension of their territory and the consolidation of their hereditary dynasty on the throne of France.

IX.—Kingdom of Burgundy (Arelate).

246. Origin, Extent, and Principal Cities.—During the disturbances which followed in France on the death of Louis the Stammerer (son of Charles the Bald), in 879, the

[75] See the important work of Augustin Thierry: Lettres sur l'Histoire de France. Lettre XII., page 220, of the Bruxelles edition.

intelligent and active Duke Boson, his brother-in-law and governor in Burgundy, was unanimously elected king by the Burgundian diet at Montaille, and took the crown at Lyons. The young kingdom—*Regnum Burgundiæ*—comprised at that time a portion of the French duchy of Burgundy (Chalon and Mâcon), the Franche-Comté, Vienne and Lyons, the southeast part of Languedoc west of the Rhone and the Provence. Arelate (Arles) became the capital, and gave it the name *Regnum Arelate*. Burgundy was recognized by King Charles the Simple of France as an independent state, but after the death of King Boson, in 887, Count Rudolphus, his governor of the provinces beyond Mount Jura, in High Burgundy (Switzerland), rebelled against his son and successor, Louis, and established another kingdom in Wallis and Savoy. Burgundy was thus split in two—Burgundia Transjurana and Cisjurana (219)—which, however, after different revolutions, were united again under Rudolphus II., in 933. But being attacked by France, Rudolphus III. transmitted the succession of his crown to the Emperor Henry II. of Germany; the imperial forces took possession of the county in 1032, and then Burgundy remained in feudal relations to Germany for two and a half centuries. Charles IV. is the last emperor who was crowned king of Arelate in 1364, and proudly called Marseilles and Toulon *his German ports*. Yet the whole was a mere ceremony. Provence had long ago been united to Aragon (1166), and to France (1245), and the latter power successively incorporated the small, almost independent states into which the Arelate kingdom, in the course of time, had become divided.

The Burgundian kings were elective, and entirely dependent on the nobility and clergy; their revenues were insignificant, and they could only secure their equivocal position by enriching the church, and distributing their royal domains among counts and cavaliers. The kingdom of Burgundy extended from the Saône and the Rhone on the west, to the Alps on the east, and from Basle on the Rhine to the Mediterranean. It was divided into High Burgundy or Transjurane Burgundy —comprising *Western Switzerland*, *the Aargau*, *Oechtland*, *Valais*, *le Pays-de-Vaud* and the county of *Geneva*, together with the *Franche Comté*, and part of the *Duchy of Burgundy* —and Arelate or Cisjurane Burgundy, with *Sapaudia* (Savoy), *Comitatus Lugdunensis*, and *Provence*. Lyons was ceded in 955 by King Louis IV., as a dower for his daughter, who married Conrad, third king of Burgundy, and was for some time his capital. *Besançon*, *Geneva*, *Lausanne*, *Grenoble*, *Valence*, *Avignon*, *Embrun*, *Forcalquier*, *Aix*, and *Marseille*. Vienne (122), was the capital of a county under the allegiance of France. The origin of the celebrated house of Savoy is from this time. Their oldest possessions were on the lakes of *Annecy* and *Geneva*, and in the *Lower Valais*, from *Saint Maurice* to the castle of *Chillon*, situate on the lake. Afterward Count Odo married Adelaide, heiress of the marquisate of Iporedia (Ivrea). From these parents Amadeus inherited, together with Savoy, the valley of Aosta, the plain of Pie-di-Monte (Piedmont), and a number of fortresses reaching to the Mediterranean.

X. The Romano-Germanic Empire.

247. Frontiers, Extent, Change of Dynasty and Constitution.—The entire eastern moiety of the Carlovingian empire, with Lotharingia, Bohemia, Moravia, the eastern marches on the Danube, the Sclavonian states east of the Elbe, the duchy of Poland, and the kingdom of Italy, was, during the memorable reign of Otho the Great (936–973), formed into the Romano-Germanic Empire, which, on account of the possession of Rome, the imperial capital of the west, received the proud name of the *Sacred Roman Empire of the German Nation*—(*das heilige Römische Reich Deutschen Volkes.*) During the middle ages it preserved its preponderating influence on the political relations of Europe; and it was considered as the principal empire in the world, a rank which, however, was disputed by the Byzantine emperors of the east. It occupied the whole central part of Europe, from the banks of the Scheldt, and the Meuse, and from the Alps and the Mediterranean on the west, to the Vistula, and even far beyond that river, to the Bug, the Carpathian mountains, and the Adriatic on the east. On the north, Germany extended from the Schley, near the *Dannevirke* (190), north of the Eider, to the Gulf of Tarentum and the Tuscan Sea in the south. After the battle of Fontenay and the treaty of Verdun, in 843 (162), the nations had broken the chains which linked them to the unwieldy Carlovingian Empire. The west Franks had become Frenchmen—*Français;* the east Franks, Germans—*Deutsche;* whose five leading tribes, the Saxons, Thuringians, Frankonians, Suabians, and Bavarians, at once appear in their distinct national development, and with the extinction of the German branch of the Carlovingian dynasty in 911, the history of the *German Nation* begins. Charlemagne had concentrated the whole government of the different German tribes under his powerful rule, by the abolition of the ducal dignity, and the strict dependency of his imperial officers, the counts of the *pagi* (*gaugrafen*), and the envoys, (*missi dominici*), who controlled them (170). But after his death, the invasion of the frontiers was begun by Danes, Hungarians, Sclavi and Saracens; his weak successors were unable, like the great emperor himself, to fly from one end of the empire to another, to repel the enemy; they therefore placed border counts—*margraves* —with ducal powers, at the head of the armies: soon the jurisdiction of the provinces passed into their hands too; and during the reign of the last Carlovingians, towards the close of the ninth century, we find that these warriors reappear as dukes of Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Souabia, and Lorraine. They were not yet, it is true, regarded as lords of their people and lands, but as ministers and representatives of their king, in whose name they regulated, in peace the affairs of justice and order, and in war, led the army of their tribe to battle. But soon becoming large landed proprietors, and being no longer under the surveillance of the royal envoys, the dukes took advantage of the weakness of the kings. By degrees they arrogated to themselves an increase of power, and brought the lesser vassals under their dominion;—nay, they even gradually made their *dignity*, granted them only as imperial crown officers, *hereditary* in their families, as well as the revenues of the crown lands, which they had only received as the reward for their service. Like the great dukes, the inferior imperial officers, the counts, palatines, margraves, and others, established themselves more and more firmly in their dignities, and the estates attached to their jurisdictions. The whole ancient division of districts—*gauen*—and the principles on which they were founded, fell gradually into decay, and the lands became seigneurial territories. The spiritual lords, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were like the temporal lords, members and vassals of the empire, and like them, they augmented their secular power and possessions by means of military tenures; and thus all these dignitaries became in the course of the tenth century, from mere deputies of royal authority, independent princes of the German nation. The ancient military organization of Charlemagne, was the arrière-ban—*heer-ban*—the gathering of the freemen, who, with shield and lance followed the emperor on his expeditions for the short term of six months. But in the succeeding wars with the Hungarians and Poles, victory could only be secured

by a skilful and daring cavalry. Knights' service on horseback, in full armor, was therefore required from the nobility and their vassals; the chivalrous spirit of the age prompted the larger proprietor to take his estate as a fief of the nobility, and become their liegeman. Thus arose the *Ritterschaft*—the order of the knights—while the common freeman being exempted from his military duty in the *arrière-ban*, and forbidden the use of sword and lance, was oppressed with contributions and taxes, and sunk back into the despised condition of the peasant and the serf. In the wild times of the *fist law*, the poorer class of freemen called *lids—leute*—gave themselves up, both in body and possessions, to the guardianship of the church, or as tenants to the nobles, and thus they and their descendants became bound to *the soil*, and the property of their lord. The rude manners of the Germans were however softened by the early dawn of chivalry. Arms, and the chase remained their favorite occupations; the sword and the falcon their best treasures. Tournaments and jousts were introduced by Henry the Fowler, to exercise his German knighthood for the equestrian warfare against the Hungarians. The hunting fêtes of the German nobility were superb, and included among the highest festivities of life. Ladies, from gorgeously ornamented tents, beheld the animated scenes of the chase. In the evening, they feasted under tents in the forest, and the jovial company, with their suites, returned by torchlight, amidst the music of the hunting horns. Large tracts of land were left waste for the sake of the chase, and kings and nobles preferred on this account the residence in their castles, and despised the quiet dwelling in cities. We have spoken of the flourishing cities on the Rhine (71, 163); in the interior of Germany the rise of fortified towns commenced during the Hungarian wars, in the beginning of the tenth century. In order to protect the open country against the desolating incursions of the Hungarian hordes, Henry the Fowler built a number of castles, or *burghs*, to serve as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the environs. Merseburg, Meissen, Dresden, Nordhausen, Quedlingburg, and many other fortified cities and castles in Saxony and Thuringia, arose at this time. The citizens—*burghers*—were endowed with privileges; they formed free municipalities, exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops or secular nobility, and became the safeguards of social and political liberty in Germany. After the extinction of the German branch of the Carlovingian dynasty, with Louis the Child, in 911, Conrad, duke of Franconia, was chosen king. Though he found great opposition among the unruly dukes of the different German principalities, he bravely defended the country against the Hungarians, secured the possession of Lorraine beyond the Rhine, and on his death, in 919, proposed Henry, duke of Saxony, as the most worthy chief to succeed him on the throne. The Saxon house then followed, from 919 to 1024, under Henry I. (the Fowler), the three Othos, and Henry II., one of the most brilliant periods in German history.

248. Divisions and Principal Cities.—The Romano-Germanic empire, though apparently so vast in extent, was in reality not very powerful, because composed of many scattered nations—Germans, Sclavonians, and Italians, who differed from one another in origin, manners, language, and laws, and were governed by turbulent dukes and arrogant prelates, who were continually in arms against the emperors. We shall here give a short description of the nine great subdivisions of the empire during the reign of Otho the Great.

I. The kingdom of Lotharingia or *Lorraine*, on the northwest, between the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, formed a portion of Germany; but its position on the frontiers of France made it easy for the nobles to maintain a state of almost entire independence, which continued until the conquest of Otho the Great in 959. Lorraine was then divided into two dukedoms: Ducatus Lotheringiæ Inferioris—*Ripuariæ*—or lower Lorraine, on the *Meuse* (Maas) and the sea-coast, and Ducatus Lotheringiæ Superioris—*Mosellanæ*—or upper Lorraine, on the Moselle, and extending eastward to the mountain range of the Vosges. The two duchies were divided by the celebrated forest of the Ardennes or *Silva Arduenna;* and the political separation by Otho dissolved the alliance of their nobility, thus securing these important provinces to the empire. Aquæ or *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where Charlemagne died in 814, and Otho I. was crowned in 936 with great solemnity, continued to be considered as the capital of the empire. *Cologne*, the archiepiscopal seat of Bruno, the emperor's brother. *Leuva* (Louvain), on the *Tilia* (Dyle), where the Normans, during their devastating incursions, had erected a fortified camp, but were totally defeated by the valiant King Arnulf in 889. Those invincible Danes, who never had been known to fly before an enemy, were here borne down by the edge of the sword; their camp and fleet with immense booty were taken, and the joyful event spread like wildfire throughout all Germany. Mettis (Metz), on the Moselle, was the capital of upper Lorraine. *Tullum* (Toul), *Virodonum* (Verdum), *Confluentes* (Coblentz), on the Rhine, and *Treviris* (Trèves), on the Moselle, were flourishing cities. Lucelinburg or *Luzilinburch* (Luxemburg), a strong fortress on the *Alsuntia* (Alzette), was ceded by the monks of Trèves to Count Sigfried, who was the first of the powerful Counts of Luxemburg, that later mounted the imperial throne of Germany.

II. Ducatus Fresiæ (Holland and Friesland) extended from the north of the Weser along the shore to the Scheldt. The Counts of *Holtlandia* possessed the low coast-land of modern Holland. *Ultrajectum* (Utrecht) and *Daventre* (Derventer) were the principal towns.

249. III. Ducatus Saxoniæ, on the east of Friesland, was, in the tenth century, the most powerful and important state of Germany. The unruly, heathen Saxons, whom Charlemagne had converted to Christianity and civilization by the sword, had in the course of the ninth century, become the bravest and most cultivated people in Germany, who, under the native chiefs, King Henry the Fowler, and his great son, Otho I. of Saxony, delivered Germany from the insupportable yoke of the Hungarians, and united the imperial crown of Italy to that of the mother country. The duchy extended from Friesland to the Oder, and north from Schleswig to the Thuringian mountain ridge on the south. All the lands eastward of the Elbe were conquests from the Sclavonian tribes of the Viltzes, Sorabi, and Daleminzii, on the *Limes Sorabicus*, which now became the *Ostmark* or eastern frontier, strongly protected by castles and border-settlers. *Osnebrugge* (Osnabruck), *Padarabrunna* (Paderborn), *Münster*, *Goslar*, *Hildesheim*, all cities with cathedral churches. *Magadeburg* (Magdeburg), on the Elbe, became an archbishopric under Otho. *Quidilingaburg* (Quedlinburg), built by Henry I. The remains of the great king lie buried in the Church of Saint Peter. *Memleben*, where he died on the 2d of July, 936. *Merseburg*, where he gained the celebrated victory over the Hungarians, in whose camp thousands of German prisoners, women and children, were liberated from the most terrible fate, and Germany secured against the yearly invasions of those barbarians. This memorable battle took place in 933. Near *Goslar*, at the base of the *Hartes-Berg* (Mount Hartz), the richest silver mines in Europe were discovered during the reign of Otho, and worked to the great prosperity of Saxony. *Hammaburgum* (Hamburg), on the Elbe, and *Brema* (Bremen), on the Weser, both archbishoprics, which sent their missionaries into the north for the conversion of the heathen Scandinavians. *Marca Sliaswyk* was the border dis-

trict beyond the Eider, which Henry I. established as a bulwark against the incursions of the Danes from beyond their fortified lines—the Danevirke—between the frith of the Schlei and the North Eider (222). Thuringia, in the south, was during this period united with the duchy of Saxony.

IV. Ducatus Franconiæ consisted of the ancient Frankish lands on the central Rhine, Hassia, the country west of the Thüringer-wald, and extended east to Bohemia; it was divided into *Francia Rhenensis*, on both sides of that river, and *Francia Orientalis*, at the foot of the Fichtel-gebirge, on the upper Mayn. In Franconia the ducal title appeared later, because the country, as long as the kings continued of the Carlovingian family, was considered as *king's land;* it was, however, administered by powerful counts; and the celebrated families of the Babenbergers in eastern Franconia, and the Conradinians at Worms on the Rhine, divided the power, until they broke out into a deadly dispute and fight, in which the Babenbergers were completely defeated. Count Conrad soon afterwards in 911 mounted the throne as Conrad I., and possessed the duchy with full ducal power; and his brother and successor, Eberhard, obtained the ducal dignity from Henry I. of Saxony. Large ecclesiastic territories included in Franconia, were the following: The archbishopric of Mainz, the bishoprics of Würtzburg, Bamberg, Worms, Spire, and the wealthy and powerful abbeys of Fulda and Lorch. Tribur, on the Rhine, celebrated for the frequent diets of the empire held there. Magontia—Mainz—(Mayence), on the junction of the Mayn and the Rhine. *Franconovurt* (Frankfort), on the Mayn. *Wirciburg* (Würtzburg), on the upper Mayn. *Babenberg* (Bamberg), on the Regnitz.

250. V. Ducatus Alemanniæ (Souabia), south of Franconia, embraced the present Baden, Würtemberg, and eastern Switzerland, the Aargau, Züriegau, and Turgau. In Souabia, where the defence of the frontiers was not so necessary, the ducal dignity was but gradually acquired through the power of the *imperial envoys* (167, 170), and developed itself later. Conrad I. made the brave warrior, Burchard, Duke of Souabia. *Augstburg* (Augsburg), on the Lech. It was south of this city, on the Lech field, where Otho I., with his Germans divided into eight squadrons, surrounded and totally defeated the Hungarians, thousands of whom found their grave in the river, A. D. 955.

VI. Ducatus Bavariæ, southeast of Souabia, was bordered west by the rivers *Lech* and *Ratenna* (Regnitz), and east by the *Böhmer-wald* and the river *Anisus* (Ens); north it touched the Thuringian mountains, and south the high chain of the Alps. Bavaria was one of the oldest duchies of Germany, and we have already seen how her duke, Thassilon, of the ancient race of the Agitolfingi, by his alliance with the Avars, excited the anger of Charlemagne, and lost his duchy at the diet of Ingelheim in 788 (177). Bavaria became then, like the other Frankish countries, ruled by imperial counts. But her eastern frontiers were so much exposed to the incursions of the Sclavonians from Bohemia, and the Hungarians from Pannonia, that the ducal dignity was restored as early as 901, and her frontiers were even extended by placing the whole duchy of *Carinthia* (Kairnthen), and the *Marca Orientalis* (Osterichi or modern Austria), under the control and protection of the Duke of Bavaria. Ratisbona—*Reganesburg* (now Regensburg), *Pazzawa* (Passau), and *Anisipurg* (Ens), on the Danube. *Salzburg*, in the beautiful plain on the Salza, was, by Charlemagne, erected into an archbishopric over all Bavaria.

VII. Ducatus Bohemiæ, northeast of Bavaria, comprised the eastern frontier province of Moravia, and extended to the Carpathian mountains. The Bohemians were Sclavonians belonging to the tribe of the *Czekho-Slovaks* (107), who, in the times of Charlemagne, voluntarily recognized the supremacy of the Franks, and remained henceforth united to the Germanic Empire. German missionaries spread the light of Christianity among the Czekhs, and in the year 972 an archbishopric was erected in Prague, which exerted its beneficial influence over the eastern provinces of the empire. *Praga* (Prague), the capital of Bohemia, on a magnificent site on the Moldau, became soon a populous and thriving city. *Olomuc* (Olmütz), in Moravia, was the strong border fortress against the Hungarians.

VIII. Ducatus Polonlæ, north of Bohemia, stood only in more distant feudal relations to Germany. The *Ljæchs* or Polani (107), the present brave and cruelly down-trodden Poles, formed early a large number of small principalities on the extensive and fertile plains of the Vistula and the Oder. The *Masuri*, *Wislanti*, *Wielunzani*, and other *Ljæchish* tribes, terminated their internal feuds in the year 842, and chose a virtuous freeholder by the name of Piast for their duke. During the reign of his descendants, the *Piasts*, Christianity was introduced into Poland by Greek missionaries from Constantinople. Duke Mieczislav dismissed his seven heathen wives, was converted, baptized, and married the Bohemian princess, Dombrowka; many nobles followed the example of their duke; and the erection of the episcopal see of Posen in 970 soon gained the victory against the Greeks, and brought Poland back to the allegiance of the Roman Pontiff. At that time Otho I., at the head of his feudal army, appeared on the Vistula, and the timid Mieczislav did homage to the Emperor, paid yearly tribute, and followed the imperial banner with his Polish cavalry. Yet the Poles were too powerful and too warlike a people to remain under the yoke of the haughty German border-counts, and already the son of Mieczislav, Boleslav the Brave (Chrobry), restored, in 1000, the independence of his country, and took the royal crown. The Poles were a handsome, active, sincere, and valiant people. The farmers—*kmetons*—served on foot with lance and shield; the richer proprietors—*szlachzie*—appeared on horseback in full armor, and formed the strength of the feudal army of Poland—*pospolité ruscenié*. Otho and his German knights were astonished at the immense wealth and abundance they discovered all over the country; and learned that the commerce between the Baltic and the Black Sea and Constantinople, at that time passed mostly on the commercial roads through Poland, who protected the merchants and contributed her own active part in the general traffic by her grains, furs, cattle, and excellent horses. The government was still patriarchal; and the life of kings and cavaliers divided between agricultural pursuits, the chase of the urus and bear, or equestrian forays against the Russians. Lusacia (Lausitz), on the Elbe, and the duchies of Silesia and Pomerania were provinces of Poland. *Wraslaw* (Breslau), on the Oder; *Crakow* on the Vistula; *Posen*, *Plotzk*, and *Gniesno* (Gnesen), were the principal cities. Otho III. established an archbishopric in the latter city in the year 1000.

251. IX. Regnum Italiæ. — Charlemagne was crowned Roman Emperor on Christmas Day, in St. Peter's, in the year 800, and he governed Italy, with his other vast states, forty years establishing the reign of the laws and a flourishing civilization. Eight kings of the Carlovingian dynasty ruled in Italy; but when Charles-le-Gros was deposed in 888, Italian or Burgundian princes disputed for seventy years the crown of Italy and the imperial title. Powerful feudatories arose on the downfall of the royal authority. These were the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany, the marquises (margraves) of Ivrea, Susa, and Friuli. The great Lombard duchy of Benevento, which had only rendered feudal homage to Charlemagne, and comprised more than half the present kingdom of Naples, had now fallen into decay, and split into the small principalities of Capua, Salerno, and Gaeta. Berengar, the marquis of Friuli, reigned for thirty-six years, but with continually disputed pre-

tensions. The calamities of Italy were then aggravated by foreign invasions. The Hungarians pouring in through the defiles of the Julian Alps, devastated Lombardy; the Saracens, then masters of Sicily (from 826), infested the southern coasts and settled on Mount Gargano, at Lucera in the Apulian plain, and on the Gulf of Tarento. Plunged in an abyss from which her wrangling native princes could not save her, Italy sought her salvation in the sword of the Saxon Otho the Great. It is a well-known fact that it was the tears of a beautiful woman, Adelheid of Burgundy, then besieged in the castle of Canossa, on Mount Apennine, by the revengeful Berengar, which determined the chivalrous German king to cross the Alps in 951, to win his lovely bride and the imperial crown of Italy; an event of the utmost importance, because it henceforth drew the almost entire attention of the German kings to the affairs of Italy, and hindered them from consolidating their power in their native country. The German army found no opposition south of the Alps. Berengar II., the sovereign of Italy, submitted, and when he later attempted to raise the banner of independence again, Otho descended from the Alps a second time, deposed the Italian prince, and received the imperial crown at the hands of Pope John XII., in 961, in Rome, and the iron crown of Lombardy the following year in Milan. The greater part of Italy recognized the German supremacy; only the Greeks sustained themselves in the south. Otho sent the bishop Luitprand to Constantinople, to obtain the cession of the Greek territories from the Emperor Nicephorus; and when the embassy proved unsuccessful, he entered in 969 the Greek provinces sword in hand. But a revolution at the imperial court of Constantinople restored the friendly relations between the two empires. The Greek princess, Theophania, gave her hand to young Prince Otho, the successor of his father, Otho I., who died immediately after his return to Germany in 973.

252. Division and Cities of Italy in 973.—In the north, the marquisate of *Milan*, between the Alps, the upper Padus, the Apennines, and the lake of Garda, with the archiepiscopal see of Mediolanum, a large number of counties and flourishing cities, who began already, under the protection of the German king, to augment their privileges and immunities, and to give a republican form to their municipal government. On the west of Milan lay the marquisates of *Ivrea*, *Susa*, *Montferrate* and *Savona;* and on the east, the county of *Tridentum* (Trent), in the Alps; the march of *Verona*, and the county of *Forum Julii* (Friuli), with the Istrian peninsula. Verona and Friuli were by the emperor united with the duchy of Bavaria, in order that the German feudatories might keep the passes of the Alps open for the passage of the imperial armies. In central Italy, we find the wealthy and powerful counts or marquises of Tuscia, or *Tuscany*, extending from the march of Verona, across the Padus by *Ferrara* and *Modena*, through Tuscany, to the frontiers of the Papal States. This vast and rich territory became, a century later, the celebrated patrimony of Countess Matthildis, and the cause of the violent feuds between the Emperor and Pope. *Florentia* (Florence), the seat of a count, was yet a small town on the Arno. *Pisa*, flourishing by her commerce; *Sena* (Siena); *Canossa*, on the northern slope of Mount Apennine, the strong and celebrated fortress, where Adelheid, the Burgundian princess, sought refuge against king Berengar, and was rescued by Otho the Great. *Garda*, on the lake of the same name, another castle, where Berengar, with great cruelty, had kept the lovely woman a prisoner, until she most ingeniously, with the assistance of a clergyman, escaped in disguise, and threw herself into Canossa. The Patrimonium Sancti Petri, embraced besides the immediate environs of Rome (Latium, Sabini, and Campania,) Southern Tuscany, as far as the river Umbrone, the duchy of *Spoleto*, *Perugia*, and a part of the ancient *Exarchate* on the coast of the Adriatic. Rome had still preserved her municipal government, with all the august but idle titles of antiquity. She extended at that time already beyond the Tiber, Pope Leo IV. having, in 849, built and fortified the *Civitas Leonina*, around the cathedral of Saint Peter on the Vatican Hill, in order to protect the sanctuary of the apostle against the piratical expeditions of the Saracens.[67] During the tenth century the august capital of the world became the prey to the most violent dissensions between the contending nobles of Spoleto and Tusculum. The papal chair was obtained by open bribery, by violence and assassination, and the meretricious influence of the beautiful countess Theodora, and her still more dangerous daughter Mariuccia, who both swayed pope, prelates, church and all—gave rise to the singular tale about a *female Pope*—the Popess Joan X., about 930! Consul Crescentius, a noble patriot, attempted to restore the ancient Roman republic, but Otho III. descended into Italy, stormed the castle of Sant Angelo, and the Roman hero perished as a martyr for Italian independence, in 998. How forcibly do these remote events remind us of those of our present day! Rome in her ruins was still the most beautiful city in the western world, and the young emperor, in his enthusiasm for southern civilization, resolved already to make her again the capital of his modern Roman empire, when he, in 1002, fell the victim of his attachment to Stephania, the injured widow of Crescentius.

The sword of the German emperors did not reach into Southern Italy. The Greeks having united with the Saracens from Sicily, defeated Otho II. near *Basentello*, on the gulf of Tarento, in 981; the German army was cut to pieces, and the German emperor himself escaped only by half a miracle. In the course of time, the Greek cities of *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*, succeeded in the same manner as Venice, in detaching themselves from the Byzantine empire, and in gradually enlarging their dominion. The principalities of *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Salerno*, were then the only remains of the kingdom of the Lombards. Apulia and Calabria, the last possessions of the Byzantine emperors in Italy, were governed by *catapans*, or vice-regents, who were continually engaged in hostilities with the Italian princes and republics, and the Saracenic emirs of Sicily, until the appearance of Robert Guiscard and his Norman warriors, in the beginning of the eleventh century, at once changed all the political relations of that terrestrial paradise.

It is in the times of the Saxon emperors—961–1024—that we discover the first formation and early development of the celebrated Italian Republics, which later perform so brilliant a part in the History of the Middle Ages. The cities of Italy, like those of Germany (245, 216) sought security behind their walls, against the incursions of the Magyars and Saracens; their power increased rapidly; the oppressed from all parts found in them a refuge from their tyrants. These exiles carried with them their industry and their arms, to protect the hospitable community that received them: thus every

[67] The many pilgrims from the west and north who visited the shrine of the Apostle, had already formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished in the language of the times as the *scholæ* or *vici* of the Lombards, Saxons, or Greeks. This open town was then inclosed within the fortifications of the Castle of Sant Angelo, and called in honor of the enterprising Pope, the *Leonine city*. Great ceremonies took place at the inauguration. "The walls were besprinkled with holy water; the young community was placed under the guardian care of the Apostles and the Angelic hosts, that both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved prosperous and impregnable."

village became a fortress, and vied with its neighbor in efforts to augment the means for its defence. The dukes, marquises, counts, and prelates, who considered these cities as their property, and the citizens as their vassals, soon perceived that they had already broken their chains. The nobles then left their residences in the towns, which had become disagreeable to them, and retired to their castles. But they became sensible that to defend these castles they had need of men devoted to them; that notwithstanding the advantage which their heavy armor gave them when fighting on horseback, they were the minority, and they hastened to enfranchise the rural population, to give them arms, and to gain their affections, by granting them protection and lands. The effect of this change of system was rapid, and soon produced in Northern Italy a new state of society: the Lombard free towns, and the landed nobility, who, in pursuing their opposite interests, sided, the former with the Italian pope, and the latter with the German emperor, and reappear two centuries later, in the protracted struggle of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

During the period of the Saxon and Franconian dynasties (973–1039) it became the custom for the German kings, at the head of their feudal armies, to undertake a visit or campaign into Italy (*der Römer-zug*), to take the imperial crown at Rome, and call together the states of Lombardy at Roncaglia, on the banks of the Po, near Placentia. There the emperors received the homage from their Italian feudatories, had their laws for their Italian government promulgated, and their treasury filled with Italian gold pieces. But the diets or *placita* of Roncaglia became in the course of time a mere formality: after a stay of some months, occupied with tournaments and festivals, the Germans recrossed the mountains; the Italian nobles retired to their castles, the prelates and magistrates to their cities. These acknowledging no authority superior to their own, and being left to themselves, must necessarily come into collision—a collision occasioning a continual petty warfare between the prelates, supported by the cities on the one side, and the nobles aided by their vassals on the other. Italy remained in this state until 1039, when Conrad the Salic put an end to these troubles by that constitution, which became the basis of the feudal law during the following century. By this the inheritance of the fiefs was protected from the caprices of the lords, and of the crown; the *heer-ban* of the seven banners, who were to follow the emperor, was instituted on less oppressive conditions; the remaining slaves of the land were set free; and Italy began to enjoy a comparative tranquillity until it was involved in the great contest about the investitures between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. towards the close of the century.

XI.—Kingdom of the Hungarians.

253. Their Origin and Conquests.—The great empire of the Avars (149) had been dissolved partly by the defeats they suffered from the Franks under Charlemagne in 799–803, and partly by the invasion of the Bulgarians, who occupied their seats in Pannonia, when, about the year 855, another barbarous nation from the distant east, the Ugri, Hungri, or, as they called themselves, Magyars, made their appearance on the Carpathian mountains. They were originally an eastern Finnish tribe, whose home was Ugria on Mount Oural.[77] During the great migration of the Tartaric Sclavonian nations in the fifth century, they followed their neighbors, the Bulgarians, on their march southward. For a length of time, they remained on the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea, but having been dislodged by the Petcheneges, and defeated by the Russians under Ruric, in their attempt to ascend that river, they were obliged to turn westward.[78] Their wild hordes of cavalry, followed by trains of carts with their families, crossed the Dniester and Dnieper, and spreading through the open plains of Dacia, they united there with the relics of the vanquished Avars. Thus strengthened in number, and led on by their new allies, they penetrated through the defiles of the Carpathian mountains, fell suddenly upon the newly settled Bulgarians, whom they forced quickly to recross the Danube, and advanced westward, occupying all the country between the mountains and the Theiss. There, on the plains between that river and the Maros, were seen the filthy camps of nearly a million of unknown barbarians. The ancient Magyars, like the Huns, whom they resembled in ferocity, were divided into divisions or swarms, each consisting of thirty thousand horsemen, commanded by *Voivods*, who had elected the brave and experienced Arpad as their *great Chan* or commander-in-chief.

The Hungarians, though Finns by descent, were a handsome race, possessed of excellent qualities; but their first appearance in Europe inspired a terror and disgust hardly less than that of the Huns themselves. They were a nomadic people; they fed on horseflesh; they were covered with skins of wild animals, though they wore heavy armor made of iron from the mines of Mount Oural. Like the Tartars, they adorned their long lances with streamers or flags of brilliant colors, which, when whirled in the air, and accompanied by their piercing yells, spread panic and dismay among the German cavalry who were daring enough to oppose their progress. Yet their most terrible weapons were bows and arrows. They fought only on horseback. Their rapidity, impetuosity, and cruelty, rendered them irresistible, and almost incredible were the devastation, bloodshed, and misery which this nation for one entire century, from 855 to 955, brought over every part of central and southern Europe. The nobler qualities of the Magyar character have developed themselves later, after their conversion to Christianity in A. D. 1000. Yet even in their heathen darkness, they were not entirely devoid of principles of justice and faith in their plighted word. They possessed remarkable talents for mechanics, manufacturing, and arts; agriculture soon began to flourish on the fertile plains of the Theiss and the Danube, and they distinguished themselves in different directions from all the other Turkish tribes of the east. The warlike disposition and natural ferocity of the Magyars never left them in after times, but they served most happily to make that nation a bulwark for Germany and Europe on the walls of Belgrade against the Ottoman Turks.

Suddenly arriving in Avaria—by themselves called *Magyar Orszag*, the present Hungary—they immediately subdued the Bulgarian and Sclavonian tribes. On the banks of the Theiss they made a halt, no doubt afraid of invading the civilized Carlovingian empire beyond that river. Here, to their astonishment, embassies from the Greek emperor in Constantinople, requested their aid against the Bulgarians south of the Danube. Nay, envoys from the German emperor himself, and from his rebellious border-counts, the Moravian margraves, implored their assistance the one against the other. Terrible was the responsibility of the Carlovingian emperor Arnulf, in calling in the Hungarians; they came; they spread devastation, not only in Moravia, where they exterminated the inhabitants, but they hurried south through the defiles of the Alps, and defeated the Italian counts on the plains of Lombardy. Returning again through Bavaria, the burn-

[77] *Ugria*, in the Sclavonic language, signifies fallow land, untilled soil, steppe, or prairie; thus the nomadic inhabitants on Mount Oural were called Uhori, Ugri, Ungri, or Hungri, and by the monkish writers of the time, Hungari, that is, nomades, or vagrants.

[78] Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives some interesting details on the first settlement of the Hungarians in Avaria (Pannonia), but he knows them only by the name of Turks, and calls their country Turkey.—*De Administrando Imperio*, cap. 38.

ing villages along the Rhine, and in the heart of Lorraine beyond that river, proclaimed in flaming characters the degradation of Germany. It was not until the reign of the brave Henry I. of Saxony, in 936, that the Magyars were checked in the terrible battle at Merseburg, and their army at last defeated and destroyed in so thorough a manner by the great Otho, on the *Lech-field* in 955, that the seven fugitives who returned to Hungary to tell the woful tale, caused the Magyars to relinquish their inhuman warfare, and never again to invade Germany. The thousands of men, women, and children taken prisoners by them, contributed much to their civilization; Christianity advanced it still farther; and here it was again a woman—the celebrated Hungarian Princess Sarolta, who wielded her sword and mounted her steed as boldly as the best Magyar—that was converted and persuaded her yielding husband, King Geisa, in 973, to be baptized in the Christian faith. King Stephen I. (997–1038) effected—after great opposition however—the general introduction of Christianity among those barbarians. Strigonium (Gran), on the Danube, became the archiepiscopal see for the ten dioceses which were established. The Latin language was adopted by the king and nobility, and a regular government soon effected a change in the manners and character of the Magyars. The kingdom became then divided into seventy-two *comitatus* or counties, and the feudal system, with military tenures, was introduced. The Magyars formed the army; the poor Sclavonian subjects were treated like serfs, and kept in degrading subjection. The Magyars occupied the whole of modern Hungary; on the north they bordered on Poland and Moravia, on the west their confines reached the Austrian marches; on the south the Danube separated them from the great Bulgarian kingdom, and on the east the Carpathian range protected them against the still more terrible Petcheneges, then in their most formidable power. The Magyars lived mostly in villages, and few cities were founded during this period.

Buda-Pesth, the ancient Acincum (35, 179), on both banks of the Danube, once the site of the camp of Attila and of the Avars, became the capital of the Arpadian dynasty of Hungary. On the plain east of the Danube, the Magyar nobility on horseback in complete armor, assembled at their national diet, where the laws were sanctioned, and all political questions decided. This was the celebrated Field of Rakos. Wissegrad and Comorn were strong fortresses on the Danube. Alba Realis (Weissenburg), on the southwest. Posony, *Preciburg*, Presburg, on the Austrian frontiers. The Carpathian defiles were protected by the Magyar tribe of the Szeklers, that is, *borderwardens*, who still, to this day, are the fiercest hussars in the world.

XII. Chanate of the Petcheneges.

254. Their Territory, Conquests, and Destruction.—The Petcheneges—*Patzinaks*, *Patzinakitæ*, or *Bitchenak*, as the Byzantine historians call them, were a Tartaric tribe from the steppes between the Yaik and the Volga. Having been driven from their home by their eastern neighbors, the Kumani, they, about the middle of the ninth century, fell upon the Magyars, themselves the subjects of the Chazars, whom they vanquished, and forced to flee westward. The Petcheneges pursued them across the Dniester, Dnieper, and Pruth, to the foot of the Carpathian mountains. Here they stopped: other tribes joined the first, and for more than two centuries this disgusting people occupied the whole immense territory from the Don and the Donetz all along the shores of the Black Sea, throughout the Walachian plains to the Aluta. This territory they divided among their eight numerous hordes, which were subdivided into forty smaller clans. Four of the Petchenege hordes occupied the pasture lands on the east of the Dnieper; the other four on the west.[79] Their chiefs were hereditary chans, their nobles were called *kangars*. They extended on the north to the waterfalls of the Dniester, where they carried on a continual war with the Russians; on the south they crossed the Danube, and devastated every part of Macedonia and Thrace; the Greeks were in despair; they attempted to pay them off, but by their glittering Byzants excited their thirst for gold still more; a civil war among the Barbarians saved Alexius; Chan Kegen, a distinguished Petchenege, fled the country, was converted, and, at the head of the Greek army in 1050, he defeated his countrymen, and settled part of them at Moglena in Macedonia. Yet other hordes still continued their incursions, until in 1122 they were attacked at the same time by the Kumani and Uzi, their ancient rivals on the Volga, and by Kalo-Johannes, the great emperor. By well concerted manœuvres, the monsters were entrapped at last; there was no help for them; they were exterminated with the edge of the sword, and never appear again in history. The Petcheneges are described as the most beastly and disgusting wretches that ever lived; they were faithless and perfidious; their avarice was insatiable; their passions brutish; their favorite food the raw flesh of cats, rats, foxes, wolves; they wore long hair and beards, and flowing garments, like the Tartars, whose language they spoke. The Petcheneges never quitted their steeds; they formed myriads of cavalry, and were as rapid in their charges as the arrows they shot off; no spark of humanity, no ray of cultivation ever reached them; their detested name appears on every page of the Byzantine historians from the eleventh century; and the German monks, in their chronicles, never omit, when speaking of them, to add the epithets of *pessimi* and *vilissimi*. Their villages or hut-built towns, were called *katai;* they had some agriculture on the Danube, and a lively trade with Cherson, Theodosia, and other Greek cities on the Black Sea. They sold their cattle to the Russians, and bartered their plunder for all sorts of Eastern luxuries, such as purple vestments, silken dresses, precious furs, and aromatics. After the dispersion of their hordes, some Petchenege stragglers were incorporated into the Greek armies of the Comnenian emperors, in which they rendered good service; and King Zultan of Hungary formed a colony of these monsters on his western frontiers, in order to frighten the Germans.

§ III. SOUTHERN EUROPE.

XIII. The Kingdom of Leon.

255. Extent and Principal Cities.—The kingdom of Leon was, in the tenth century, one of the four Christian states which had formed themselves in the north of the Spanish peninsula. It occupied the northwestern angle of Spain, and extended along the Durius (Duero) eastward to the Piscorica (Pisuerga), a tributary of that river, and the eastern frontier toward Castile. North of the Asturian ridge the border ran west of the Deba to the promontory San Prieto, on the Gulf of Biscay, *Mare Cantabricum*. The southern frontier was very unsettled, on account of the continual wars with the Saracens; the banks of the Duero were protected by numerous castles, and the

[79] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his lively description of their country, which he calls *Patzinakia*, mentions the barbarous names of their tribes, such as *Bulat-zospon*, *Giazi-chopon*, *Syrukalpei*, and *Gyla*, between the Danube and the Don, and defines their frontiers as bordering westward on the *Turks* (Hungarians), north on the Slavic tribes of the *Lenzenii*, *Derblenians* (Drewliani), and *Russians*, and east on the Kumani and Uzi in Chazaria, beyond the *Atil* (Volga), and on the *Alans* still residing in the plains on the Kuban north of Mount Caucasus.

Christian knights extended their conquests south to the Mondego, nay, they reached even the Tagus; they occupied temporarily Lissabon, and descended the Djebal Scharrat (Guadarama) to the plain of *Medchellet* (Magerita), now Madrid, then a small Arabian town; but they could not get any firm footing, and the uncertainty of the occupation caused this region to be called *extrema Durii*, which is the origin of the present appellation of Estremadura. The descendants of Pelayo had transferred their capital from Gijon on the seacoast to Oviedo (217). Their small territory extended with their victories, and under the valiant Ordoño II., the fourteenth king of Gothia, Leon became, in 918, the royal residence. During this period Gallicia, Asturia, Leon, and Old Castile became united; but the danger of the approaching storm roused the Arabs to renewed activity. Al Manzor, the vizier of Caliph Hashem II. entered the mountains, in 990, with a numerous army; the city of Leon and even the venerated shrine of Santiago de Compostela were burnt to the ground, and the Moors planted their crescent-banner on the Asturian coast. But this effort of the Mohammedans was the last; they were totally routed in the chivalrous battles of Kula'at-Anosor in 998, and at Osma in 1001; and the subsequent union of the kingdom of Leon with the independent county of Castile in 1038, by the marriage of Don Fernando of Castile with Doña Sancha, the sister of King Bermudo III. of Leon, secured henceforth the frontier line of the Duero. Ovetum (Oviedo), the ancient capital, on a steep hill that rises in the midst of an undulating plain between the Nora and the Nalon. *Cangas de Onis*, on the Cella, stands at a short distance from the Abbey of our Lady of Cavadonga, which occupies the site where Pelayo in 712 first planted the standard of independence. *Santiago de Compostela*, with its magnificent cathedral, its saints, treasury, pilgrimages, and superstition. *Asturica* (Astorga). Braga. *Zamora* on the northern bank of the Duero, where, on the *Campi Gothici*, north of the city, so many bloody battles were fought between Christians and Moslems during the tenth century. *Carrion*, on the river of the same name, where King Bermudo III. fell in battle against his brother-in-law, Don Fernando of Castile, in 1037. The ancient Visigothic institutions were still preserved in their antiquated forms, although the frequent wars had given extension to the royal authority, The diets continued to be assembled in Oviedo; the habits of the people were still austere and warlike, yet a chivalrous character was perceptible, which communicated itself to the Saracens on the frontiers, and produced the most romantic instances of brilliant valor, tender love, and religious fanaticism.

XIV. County of Castile.

256. Origin, Extent, and Cities.—Castile is said to have been so called from the great number of castles—*castillos*—which were its means of defence against the Moors, and the residences of petty princes whom ambition armed against one another. Many Goths had retreated into the mountains north of the Tagus, where, in the beginning of the tenth century, the Counts of Burgos extended their power, and though they, for a while, acknowledged the supremacy of the neighboring Kings of Leon, they soon after their victories over the Moors, declared themselves independent. King Ordoño II. assassinated the haughty Count Nuño Fernandez of Castile, but this criminal act produced a revolution among the Castilians, who, in 933, maintained their independence. The wars with the Moors continued; the Duero became the permanent frontier, and in 1038, Castile was united with Leon to the great advantage of both. *Burgos*, a dark, old-fashioned city, abounding in convents and sanctuaries; the cathedral is one of the oldest and most elegant Gothic churches in Spain. *Oxima* (Osma) and *Kula'at-Anosor*, celebrated by victories which the Christians here gained over the Moslems.

XV. Kingdom of Navarra.

257. Origin, Extent, and Division.—The realm of *Navarra* or Pampiluna, which comprised *Biscaya* (Viscaya), on the north, and *Aragon* on the east, extended along the Gulf of Biscay and the Pyrenees, somewhat south of the sources of the Ebro, to those of the river Aragon, a tributary of the former. Though the Arabs, at the time of their settlement in Spain, did not succeed in subduing the Visigoths in their northwestern strongholds of the Asturian mountains, they soon appeared on the Ebro, occupied *Cæsaraugusta* (Zaragoza), and forcing the northeastern defiles of the Pyrenees invaded France, and settled in Septimania (158). Yet the Saracen *walis* or governors, in their rebellions against the Ommiyad emirs of Cordova, called to their assistance the victorious arms of Pepin-le-Bref and Charlemagne, who, as we have seen (184), formed the border province of the Spanish marches south of the mountains. It consisted of the *Marca Navarrensis*, the *Comitatus Jaccensis* (Jaca), *Ripacurciæ* (Ribagorza), and *Barcionæ* (Barcelona), which did not extend south to the valley of the Ebro, still in the possession of the Arabs. During the disorders which disturbed the Carlovingian empire in the ninth century, the border counts in the Pyrenees made themselves independent of the French crown. Garsias Arista took, about 850, the royal title; his successors ruled until the year 1000, and in successful wars against the Moors, they extended their territory over the greater part of Aragon. Sancho III., *el Mayor*, an excellent chief, divided his kingdom between his four sons in 1033; and we find at that time the following provinces under the crown of Navarra:

I. The kingdom of Pampiluna (Pamplona, with Cantabria (Najara, Rioja), south, on the Ebro. Pamplona, on the Arga, was the capital. *Logroño*, on the Ebro. II. The county of Aragon on the east, with the strong city of *Jaca* commanding the plains. III. Sobrarbe, farther east, under the highest pinnacles of the Pyrenees. IV. Ribagorza, with the county of Pallars, which had been wrested from the French. V. Viscaya (Vascongadas), on the west of Navarra, divided into the three Basque provinces, Biscaya, Alava, and Ipuscoa, (Guipuzcoa). This was the rugged home of the old *Cantabri*, who made such a gallant stand against the Romans, and preserved their independence until the time of Augustus. Their descendants, the Basques, are still distinguished by their activity and bravery, and have found in their unfruitful soil the palladium of their liberty. Victoria (Vitoria), the capital, was the place where King Sancho defeated the Arabs; it lies in a fertile plain surrounded by magnificent scenery. The Vascongadas and Rioja fell to Castile in 1200.

The Counts of Barcelona in *Catalonia* (Gotholaunia) had become independent of France toward the close of the ninth century. The Catalonians were early distinguished by commerce and warlike adventures through the whole Mediterranean Sea; their history is very interesting, and they became a powerful nation when their Count Raymond Berengar obtained by marriage the throne of Aragon, A. D. 1137.

XVI. Caliphate of Cordova.

258. Extent, Division, and Principal Cities.—Since the establishment of the emirate of Cordova by the Ommiyad, Abd-er-Raman, in 755, the Arabs had suffered many defeats by the Asturian heroes; but they soon recovered the lost ter-

ritory, and during the whole of the ninth century, the Duero and the valley of the Ebro remained the contested frontier line between the two races. Nineteen caliphs of the Ommiyad dynasty ruled in Spain (Andalos) from 755 to 1038, when that family became extinct on the death of Hashem IV. It was the most brilliant period in the annals of the Arabian nation, and the Spanish cities were then adorned with those master works of Saracenic architecture, mosques, alcazars, aqueducts, baths, and other public buildings, the ruins of which are still the admiration of the present day. The reign of Abder-Rhaman III. (912–961) is the period of the highest development of Arabian civilization, literature, and art in Spain; and the Caliph was as distinguished for his brilliant valor against the Gothic princes in the battles at Zamora on the Duero, as for the amiable qualities of his mind and heart. His worthy son, Al-Hakim II., followed (961–976) in the steps of his father; with him the enthusiasm for books, science, poetry, history, and natural philosophy, became a violent passion. We read with astonishment in Conde of the seventy libraries, seventeen Mohammedan universities and high schools of learning; of the six large and flourishing capitals of the Walis: *Korthoba* (Cordova), *Elbira* (Grenada), *Ischbilia* (Seville), *Tholaithala* (Toledo), *Sarakostha* (Zaragoza), and *Djesh-Shukar* (Valencia); of eighty cities of a second rank; of the three hundred smaller towns, and the twelve thousand hamlets situated on the charming banks of the Guadalquiver alone. In Korthoba were six hundred mosques, fifty hospitals for benevolent purposes, nine hundred public baths; the yearly revenues of the caliphate amounted to twelve millions of gold pieces without the contributions of the *alcabala* and *almojarifazgo*. Agriculture, irrigation, and gardening progressed equally with the literature and philosophical cultivation of that period. The bravery, piety, and romantic amours of the Spanish knights excited the noblest emulation among the Moslem cavaliers, vanquished the prejudices of the Koran, and raised the Saracen woman to a standard of esteem and admiration which she never enjoyed in the East. It was during this period, when were called forth those warlike virtues which will ever glitter in its beautiful ballads and romances, that on the frontiers of the contending Christian and Mohammedan nations, two singular races of men arose—the Moslem *Rabites* and the Christian *Almugavares*. They were warriors (guerillas) or borderers, who lived by the sword as wardens of the frontiers, and, in their armature, tactics, and manners, formed the most curious contrast. During their alternate hostility and friendly intercourse with each other, those fantastical ideas of politics, religion, and customs originated, which we, a century later, meet again on the shores of Palestine among the crusading Templars, the Syrian Pulani, and the Circassian Mamlooks.

XVII. Emirate of Sicily and the Smaller Islands.

259. The Aglabid Dynasty on the Islands.—At the beginning of the ninth century, most of the larger islands of the Mediterranean were occupied by Saracen corsairs—Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Sardinia, the Baleares, Corsica, fell into their power—yet none became so flourishing as Sikiliah (Sicily), which, in 826, was invaded by the Aglabid king, Ziade-tallah I., of Magrab, in northern Africa, and remained under the sway of the Fatimid dynasty, which succeeded in 940, until the conquest of the island by Count Roger, the Norman, in 1069. Sicily had already for a long time been exposed to the piratical descents of the Arabs, before they were invited as auxiliaries of the Greek general, Empedocles, in the year 826, during his rebellion against the Emperor Michael the Stammerer. The Arabs answered readily to the appeal. Hassan-Ben-el-Térath landed on the island, and a bloody war commenced, which continued for many years, and terminated with the conquest of Palermo and Syracuse by the Aglabid warriors of Tunis, who changed the whole splendid island into an Arabian emirate;[80] yet the inhabitants retained their old rights and privileges, and soon acquired an affection for their Moslem conquerors on account of their just and creditable government and unusual liberal views in religious matters. Beneath the mild sway of the Aglabids and Fatimid chiefs (caliphs), a multitude of Arabic cities and castles rose in the island; splendid manufactures were established, and the rich soil was carefully cultivated. The sugar-cane was transplanted from Egypt, manna from Persia, and cotton from Asia Minor. The olive-tree was sedulously tended, and propagated all over the island; commerce flourished; numbers of merchant vessels daily arrived or departed from the different Sicilian ports laden with rich cargoes. The objects of magnificence and luxury which commerce brought together, served in part to embellish the Saracenic castles, which were besides enriched with the treasures and precious booty carried home by the Arabic corsairs from their predatory excursions on all the Italian coasts.

Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands were at the same time occupied by the Zeirites, who had formed another powerful empire—A. D. 960—ruling the extensive coasts of Africa, after the concentration of the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo in Egypt.

XVIII. Kingdom of Croatia.

260. Extent and Principal Cities.—The Sclavonic nation of the Chrobats (Croats) had occupied the coast lands of Dalmatia in 628 (196), where they, under their Zupanies or chiefs, recognized the sovereignty of Charlemagne (187). But about the year 970, during the reign of the emperor Otho the Great, they suddenly appear as a powerful nation, under the sway of a *Weliki Zupan* or Grand Duke, who could muster 150,000 horse and foot in the field, and extended his conquests along the coast and the numerous isles of the Adriatic Gulf. Every Croat was a born soldier. Christianity soon spread among them, and brought them into friendly relations with the islanders. Yet the great Croatian kingdom did not maintain itself; the different Croatian tribes quarrelled among themselves. The sly and active Venetian republicans planted the banner of Saint Marc on the towers of Yadra (Zara), Sebenigo, and other cities; they made Spalatro their commercial emporium, and when King Koloman appeared with his Hungarian cavalry in 1102, the Croatians were speedily brought to that

[80] Of the capture of Syracuse we have an interesting account from an eye-witness (A. D. 880): "Theodosius, the monk, sends his salutation to Leo, the archdeacon. We have held out ten months, during which time we have fought often by day and many times by night, by water, by land, and under the ground. The grass which grows upon the roofs was our food, and we caused the bones of animals to be powdered, in order to use them for meat. At length children were eaten, and terrible diseases were the consequence of famine. Confiding in the security of our towers, we hoped to hold out until we received succor; the strongest of our towers was overthrown, and we still resisted for three weeks. In an instant when, exhausted by heat, our warriors took respite, a general storm was made on a sudden by the Maugrebin, and the town was taken. We fled into the church of St. Salvator; the enemy followed us, and bathed his sword in the blood of our magistrates, priests, monks, old men, women, and children; a thousand in number were put to death before the town; the governor, Nicetas of Tarsus, was tortured; the houses were burnt, the acropolis destroyed. On the day when they celebrated Abraham's sacrifice (Baïram), the monsters wished to burn us with the bishop; but an old emir of great authority saved us. This is written at Palermo, fourteen feet under ground, among innumerable captives—Jews, Africans, Lombards, Christian and unchristian people, whites and Moors."

subjection under the Magyar rod, from which we have seen them make a desperate effort to deliver themselves, so late as 1848.

The great *Zupanate* of Croatia comprised the regions situated between the coast of the Adriatic Gulf, the Drave, and the Danube, until its junction with the Save. Posega in Sclavonia, and Dresnec southwest, were the most important cities. Narenta, on the coast, was inhabited by a band of independent corsairs, who, in the earlier period, made their name feared all along the coasts of the Adriatic.

XIX. Byzantine Empire.

261. Extent, Imperial Court, and Administration.—The latter years of the reign of Otho the Great—963–973—present some of the most brilliant pages in the annals of the eastern Roman empire. The warlike Nicephorus Phocas had crossed Mount Taurus, and reconquered Antioch and northern Syria from the Arabs in 968, and his murderer and successor, the crafty, but talented John Tzimisces, vanquished the Russians, reduced the powerful kingdom of Bulgaria to a dependent province of the empire, and led his victorious army beyond the Euphrates, to the distant plains of Mesopotamia, while the helpless Caliph fled trembling to his sanctuaries in Bagdad. The greater part of these extensive conquests were soon lost after the return of the mighty warrior; but Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isles of Cyprus and Crete, remained a permanent and important accession to the Roman Empire. We find its frontiers, A. D. 973, almost the same as in the second period, on the accession of Justinian in 527: on the north the Euxine Sea, the Danube, the Save, and the Drinus; on the west and south the Mediterranean; and on the east the upper Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and Mount Caucasus; thus embracing within the eastern Roman frontiers part of northern Syria, part of Mesopotamia, Great Armenia, Iberia, Lazica, and the coast lands of Mount Caucasus. Constantinople had passed through the most frightful vicissitudes since we left her toward the close of the sixth century. She had seen the immense armies of the Persian Chosroes encamped along the Bosphorus in 616–621; she had heroically repelled the Saracens from her walls in 668–675, and burnt their entire armada with her Greek fire in 716. Her sufferings had been increased by the internal disturbances between the fanatic *image-worshippers*—εἰκονοδοῦλοι—and *image-breakers*—εἰκονοκλάσται, and by the loss of nearly all her European provinces through the continual invasions of the Sclavonian and Tartaric hordes from the Danube; while the bigotry and arrogance of her hierarchy, the sloth or incapacity of several of her emperors, and the general luxury and degeneracy of her inhabitants at different periods, would, to a distant observer, have seemed to forebode a speedy catastrophe. Yet her splendid position and impregnable walls, the wonderful pliancy and vitality of the Greek race, and the many distinguished minds which successively appeared in the moment of danger, carried her victoriously through all these vicissitudes. Brighter days began to dawn on the venerable metropolis of the civilized world, on the accession of Basilius the Macedonian, in 867. During the sway of the Macedonian dynasty—867–1056—active and enlightened monarchs, brave and daring generals, and intelligent statesmen, restored and strengthened the sinking empire. The ancient Roman ideas, language, and institutions have now vanished; the Byzantine-Greek period has begun, and a general amelioration, a greater activity in the administration, a stricter economy in the treasury, a better organization of the army, and a more liberal diplomacy with foreign states, becomes distinctly perceptible. Friendly embassies are sent to Charlemagne and the great caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid in Bagdad. Byzantine princesses are given in marriage to foreign princes; Theophania, the daughter of the Emperor Romanus II., marries Otho II. of Germany; and her sister Anna, as the wife of the Grand-Duke Wladimir, carries civilization to Russia. All the Sclavonian tribes, which, during the storms of the seventh and eighth centuries, had settled in Greece—in the peninsula of Peloponnesus (Morea), and in Northern Hellas—have been christianized, hellenized, and brought to the allegiance of the empire (198); and so have the Bulgarians in Macedonia, and the Servians in western Illyricum. Treaties of commerce are contracted with the flourishing cities in Italy; the Sclavonic nations on the Danube carry the precious Byzantine silk and wool manufactures to the markets of Germany, while Cherson, on the Taurian peninsula, becomes the great emporium for the exports of the south to Russia and the distant countries on the Baltic.

262. Constantinople was still the most magnificent city in Christendom; she still possessed the civilization and wealth of the ancient Roman Empire, and was the great emporium of eastern commerce.[81] The influence of the Greek Church, and of the Justinian legislation had, however, rendered the imperial government a perfect despotism. The emperor had the title of αὐτοκράτωρ; the princes or co-regents were called *Augusti*, or σεβαστοί. The imperial costume was splendid—purple and gold; the entire court officials were dressed in white. The senate had lost its prerogatives and power; οἱ λογάδες, or the elect, formed a committee of its members, sometimes called together on pompous occasions. The imperial council, *consistorium principis*, or in the corrupt Greek of that period, τὸ βασιλικὸν Σεκρέτον, was arbitrarily nominated by the emperor among his confidential friends and favorites. The strictest etiquette was observed among the courtiers and officials in their different subordinate ranks. The sons-in-law of the emperor had the supervision of the numerous imperial palaces, as *curopalates*, or ἐπίτροποι; thirty *silentiarii* took care of the internal order, in which they were assisted by the loathsome eunuchs—οἱ καρτζιμάδες—who already had obtained so baneful an influence, that they ranked among the patricians—οἱ πατρίκιοι εὐνοῦχοι, and aspired to the highest dignities in the state; nay, these wretches even entered the church, they became patriarchs, and the eunuch monks paraded as πρωτοψάλται, or choristers, at the pompous religious festivals. The emperors were fettered down to the most ridiculous ceremonial, which necessarily must have crushed their noblest dispositions and talents; but it was only by thus shrouding themselves from the mass of the people, and making a pompous show of their wealth and power to the foreign nations, that they still could be regarded as the legitimate rulers of the civilized world.[82] Charlemagne they recognized as Emperor of

[81] Benjamin de Tudela, the celebrated Jewish traveller, who visited Constantinople in the twelfth century, bursts forth in rapture at the display of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," he says, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Eastern Empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious deposits of silk, purple, and gold. It is here that the sovereign every day receives twenty thousand gold pieces, which are levied on the stores, taverns, and bazaars, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the brilliant capital by sea and land."

[82] The ceremony of the reception of foreign ambassadors, took place in the gorgeous hall of the Chrysotrielinium, forming part of the great Augusteum palace, between the Cathedral of Sancta Sophia and the Hippodrome. There, the emperor, on his golden throne, in his snow-white tunic, purple mantle, and purple buskins, receives the foreign ambassadors, who, passing through endless files of body guards and household officers, all dressed in the most brilliant variety of armor and court-dresses, beneath colonnades, hung with trophies, embroidered drapery and waving banners, on a road covered with Persian carpets, or strown over with roses, myrtle, and oleander, at last enter the golden palace of the Empress and imperial princesses. Sweet perfumes breathe

the West; but Otho the Great they treated disdainfully, as a barbarian usurper, until the German sword swept away their possessions in Italy. The support of such a court required the most exorbitant taxation; and, indeed, never was a government known so ingeniously to oppress the poor toiling nation as the Byzantine, with its tolls, collections, gifts, duties, customs, house-taxes — τὸ καπνικόν — income-assessments — περισσοπράκτια—stamp duties—χαρτιατικόν, and fifty others. The gold byzants—ὑπέρπερα—*byzantini*—ruled the world then, as a century ago, the Spanish *doubloons*, and at the present day, the American *eagles*. The financial administration seems to have been the most complex and important branch of the public service. The emperors always reserved to themselves the immediate direction of this department; but they did not omit to give their full attention to the army, as is proved by the interesting work of Leo VI. on that subject. Many reforms had been undertaken in the organization of the Greek armies, since the time of Belisarius and Narses under Justinian I. The most select bodies of troops consisted of the imperial life-guards, the celebrated bands of the northern warriors: the *Varanghi* (226), to whose care the person of the emperor, and the guard of the palace and treasury were intrusted.[83] Then followed in rank the *Persarmenian*, *Chazar*, and *Avar* guards, all in their national costume and armor. The throne being thus protected by foreign swords, the Byzantine army itself was organized for the defence of the frontiers of the empire. The native troops raised in the provinces were formed into one hundred and thirty-two legions or *themes*—θέματα—each of a thousand or fifteen hundred men. The most celebrated of the European themes were the Thracian, Macedonian, and Illyrian, whose ranks were filled with Sclavonian, Wallachian, Bulgarian, and Albanian mountaineers. The Greek cavalry which had adopted the armature of the Avars (149) was numerous, on account of the continual equestrian warfare with the Tartars on the Danube, and with the Saracens in the east. The Byzantine commanders and officers had pompous and barbarous titles; generals, στρατεγοί—colonels, μοιράρχαι, δρουγγάριοι—ensigns, or dragon-bearers, δρακοντειοφόροι—*draconarii*. The foot was marshalled in eight lines, the horse in four; their flanks were covered with rear-guards—πλαγιοφύλακες; squadrons of light horse—ὑπερκεράσται—were sent round to outflank the enemy; skirmishers—κουρσόρες, and spies—σκουλκατόρες—were scouring the environs of the camp. The baggage was called τούλδον; the pay, ῥόγα; their exercises and manœuvres were superintended by the *magnus drungarius*. Constantinople had excellent manufactures of arms, and the crusaders, two centuries later, were astonished at the pomp of the Byzantine armies; but the weapons of the Greek warriors were of a better temper than their courage.[84] The high admiral of the fleet, the grand duke—ὁ μέγας δοῦξ—commanded the numerous divisions of battle ships and galleys—ἀγράρια, and δρομόνες—which were distributed in the magnificent ports on the Euxine, the Bosphorus, and the islands of the Mediterranean.[85] Yet the greatest art, ingenuity, and excellence did the Byzantine Greeks display in their fortifications, and the artillery or engines by which they were defended. It was the terrible Greek fire—τὸ ὑγρὸν πῦρ—the invention of the Syrian engineer, Kallinikos, which in 668, and 718, had saved Constantinople, during the sieges of the fanatic Saracens. This naphtha, or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil, mingled with sulphur and pitch, they launched through iron tubes, from the walls or ships, with the most destructive effect, on the works or shipping of the terrified enemy. That invention has perished with the middle ages, but we still admire at the present day the solid and magnificent walls, towers, sally-gates and subterraneous passages, aqueducts, and cisterns, reared on hundreds of columns, in Constantinople, Antioch, and many other places.

263. Military Division of the Provinces and Frontiers of the Empire.—The changes which the Byzantine government had undergone since the times of Justinian, rendered a new provincial division necessary; and we find in the tenth century the empire divided into twenty-nine districts, *themes*—Θέματα—with regard to administration and military defence. The exact period when the ancient Roman præfectures and provinces were superseded by the themes, is not known; yet it appears certain that these existed in part already in the seventh century, during the reign of Heraclius (610–641). The emperor Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus (914–959), an author like his father, Leo VI. Philosophus (886–911), describes that institution as having already long existed, and undergone several changes, before his own times. Every theme was governed by a *strategos*, who held the civil government and the command of the troops in the district somewhat similar to that of an ancient Roman proconsul, though placed in a smaller province. He enjoyed the first rank in the seven classes of the Byzantine court-dignitaries, and was assisted in his functions by subordinate officers, such as the border-wardens—κλεισουράρχαι—the commanders of the cavalry—ἰλάρχαι—τουρμάρχαι, and many others. Every theme contributed to the defence by a national guard, by contributions of horses, arms, and provisions for the imperial army. We shall now give a short description of the themes, in the order in which we find them mentioned by the emperor.[86]

fragrance around; and when the astonished barbarians ascend the last marble stairs of the audience hall, and at the signal of the master of ceremonies the curtains and hangings disappear on high, and they behold the handsome emperor and his beautiful queen, surrounded by a glittering court, they almost involuntarily kneel down in admiration. But a new surprise awaits them. The silver and golden lions, gigantic beasts, adorning the flanks of the throne, spring forward on their hind legs, and begin to roar furiously, while thousands of artificial birds of various colors and plumage flit about on the branches of an immense golden palm-tree overshadowing the imperial throne, and mingle their songs with the clangor of the trumpets and the roaring of the lions.

The poor barbarians, Tartars, Sclavonians or Chazars, lie now prostrate on their faces, and have entirely lost their wits. Even the bold German knights, who hitherto have despised all the pomp, begin to tremble, and what is worse, *forget their speeches*. How the merry empress and her lively Greek court ladies enjoy the embarrassment and awkward superstition of those barbarians, who, if not kept at bay by the tricks, the ingenuity, and superior civilization of Constantinople, might arise in their might, and with one blow dash the whole fragile vessel of the empire into a thousand fragments.

[83] The Varanghians, who were the leading corps of the imperial guards, suffered none but Scandinavians in their ranks; while the less favored corps were composed promiscuously, of Franks, Russians, and other Sclavonians. It was not until after the battle of Hastings, in 1066, and the subjection of England under the iron rod of William the Conqueror, that numbers of Anglo-Saxons, fleeing the oppression at home, emigrated to Constantinople, where they, as brethren of the Northmen, were permitted to enter the ranks of the Varanghi.

[84] In spite of all the show and glitter of their armies, the Greeks enjoyed but little credit with the knights of western Europe. The envoy of Otho the Great, Bishop Luitprand, of Cremona, who has left us an interesting description of his embassy to the Court of Nicephorus Phocas, says: "that the emperor was surrounded by dastard sycophants and parasites; that the whole city floated in voluptuousness; that the strength of the imperial government rested on the battle-axes of the Northmen of the body-guard; for I firmly believe," says the lively Bishop-Envoy, "that four hundred German knights, in the open field, would put the whole Greek army completely to flight."

[85] During the reign of Leo VI., the Byzantine fleet consisted of 60 *dromones*, each manned by 230 rowers and 70 warriors.

[86] Constantini Porphyrogeniti *de thematibus et de administrando imperio liber*, forms the 3d volume in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians. 1840. See interesting details by John W. Zinkeisen, in his excellent "Geschichte Griechenlands," Leipzig, 1832, vol. i. p. 791–803—the best work hitherto published on Mediæval Greece, though unhappily still unfinished.

A—Themes of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor.

264. I. Thema Anatolicum—Θέμα Ἀνατολικόν—embraced a portion of the ancient Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, and Pisidia, north of Mount Taurus. Iconium was perhaps the metropolis; other cities were the Phrygian *Antioch*, *Synnada*, and *Pessinus*.[87]

II. Thema Armeniacum—Θέμα Ἀρμενιακόν—north of the former, on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus, comprised part of the ancient Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Pontus, with the cities *Amasia*, *Neokaisarcia*, and *Sinope*. The emperors, in their vanity, gave this district the name of *Armenian*, at a time when the important border-province of the industrious and commercial Armenian Christians had been lost to the Saracens.

III. Thema Thracesiorum—Θέμα Θρακησίων—west of Anatolikon, consisted of the interior parts of Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia, on the rivers Maiandros, Hermos, and Kaikos, with the well-known cities of *Sardeis*, *Philadelphia*, *Aphrodisias*, *Alabanda*, *Thyatira*, *Kolossai* (Chonai), and *Laodikeia*. This district received its name from the Thracian legion quartered there. Thracian colonies were likewise settled in the interior.

IV. Thema Obsequium—Θέμα Ὀψίκιον—north of the former, took its name from the household officers or satellites, who surrounded the emperor. It extended from the Daskylaion promontory on the Propontis, eastward to the Sangarios, and south to Mounts Dindymon and Ida, thus embracing portions of ancient Troy, Mysia, Phrygia, and Bithynia. It was one of the richest and best cultivated provinces of the east, with ten flourishing cities. Nikaia was the metropolis; *Dorylaion*, *Midaion*, *Apameia*, *Myrleia*, *Prusa*, *Dragotha*, *Kydissos*, and *Apollonia*. After the defeat of the Bulgarians in 971, John Tzimisces transported large bodies of that people into Asia Minor, where they settled in the valley of Rhyndakos, near *Kotyaion* (Kutayah).

265. V. Thema Optimatum—Θέμα Ὀπτίματον—north of the former, is the ancient Bithynia, was governed by an officer called *domestikos*, who commanded a select body of Palatine troops—ἱκανάτοι. Nikomedia was the metropolis: *Helenopolis*, *Astakos*, and *Parthenopolis*. Justinian had built a magnificent bridge across the Sangarios.

VI. Thema Bucellariorum—Θέμα Βουκελλαρίων—received its curious name from the sutlers—βουκελλάριοι—of the Greek army, who furnished the soldiers with bread and provisions (βούκελλοι) during their campaigns. It was formed of the northern part of Bithynia and the western portion of Galatia, and extended to the river Halys. The metropolis was Ankyra; with *Herakleia* and *Teon* on the Pontus, *Klaudiopolis* and *Krateia* in the interior.

VII. Thema Paphlagonum—Θέμα Παφλαγόνων—the ancient province of that name, along the shores of the Black Sea, between the rivers Billakos and Halys. The Paphlagonians, like the Cappadocians and Cilicians, had a very bad reputation as scamps and charlatans. The metropolis was Gangra (Germanikopolis), on the mountains in the interior. *Sora*, *Dalibra*, *Jonopolis*, *Pompeiopolis*, and *Amastra*, were other cities on the sea-coast.

266. VIII. Thema Chaldiæ—Θέμα Χαλδίας—east of the Armenian thema, the ancient Pontus, all along the sea; it extended southeast to the upper valley of the Euphrates. Trapezus (Trebizond), was the metropolis; the Greek colonies on the coast were still commercial and flourishing. *Theodosiopolis* (Erzerum), on the western branch of the Euphrates, near the frontiers of Great Armenia.

[87] We follow here the Greek orthography.

IX. Thema Mesopotamiæ—Θέμα Μεσοποταμίας—the ancient Armenia Quarta, and the northwestern part of Sophene, lay south of Chaldia, and extended beyond the Euphrates. It was a small border province, which had been surrendered by the Armenian chief, Pangkratukas, and his brothers, together with their castles, to Leo VI., Philosophus. The emperor gave it the organization of a theme, and sent a *strategos* with troops for the defence of the defile—κλεισοῦρα—on the headspring of the Tigris, leading into the Saracenic province of Mesopotamia. The cities were *Kitharizon* on the eastern Euphrates, *Romanopolis*, *Asramosata*, *Mazara*, and *Kolchis*.

X. Thema Coloniæ—Θέμα Κολωνείας—northwest of the former, on the table-lands of Armenia, took its name from the strong fortress Koloneia, situated on a precipitous rock on the upper Lykos. Neokaisareia, on the lower Lykos, was the metropolis, and the birth-place of Gregorius, the great *thaumaturgos*, or miracle-worker. *Tephrike*—Τεφρική (now Divrigni)—in a deep valley between the towering mountain-ranges of Skoidises and Anti-Taurus, was the centre and principal stronghold of the early Protestants of the East—the calumniated and persecuted Paulicians—Παυλικιανοί. During the ninth century, Tephrike became the scene of the bloody wars which Michael III. and Basilius I., the Macedonian, waged against that enlightened and more philosophical sect, so hated and feared by the bigoted clergy of the Greek church. The Paulicians, maddened to despair by the cruel execution of the intolerant decrees of the Empress Theodora, rushed to arms; they fortified themselves in the impervious mountain-fastnesses of Tephrike and Koloneia. They received powerful support from the Saracens beyond the Euphrates—Unitarians like themselves—and under the command of Korbeas, their enthusiastic preacher and skilful general, they defeated in several battles the dastard Michael III., whom Theodora, the mother, had sent against them. Having thus organized their revolt, Chrysocheir, the successor of Korbeas, carried the arms of the eastern Protestants to the shores of the Ægean. Nicæa, Nicomedia, and Ankyra, were captured and pillaged. The Paulicians stabled their horses in the cathedral of Ephesus, and they vied with their auxiliaries, the Saracens, in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. At last Basilius the Macedonian led, in 873, all the forces of the empire against them. Chrysocheir was surprised and slain, and "with him the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered." The emperor penetrated through the Anti-Taurus; the impregnable Tephrike, deserted by its defenders, was levelled to the ground, and the Paulician republic destroyed; but the spirit of religious independence still survived in the mountains on the Euphrates.[88]

XI. Thema Sebastiæ—Θέμα Σεβαστείας—west of the former, in the ancient Armenia Prima and Secunda. It took its name from Julius Cæsar Augustus, or Sebastos. Its principal city, Sebasteia, lay on the Halys.

XII. Thema Lycandi—Θέμα Λυκανδοῦ—the frontier province on the western slope of Mount Taurus, had been almost entirely depopulated and devastated during the wars with the Arabs, but lately restored by Leo Philosophus, the father of Constantine VII., who sent the Armenian Melias with colonies

[88] John Tzimisces transported the Paulician sectarians from the Armenian frontiers to Thrace, where they settled in the valleys of Mount Hæmus. Their doctrines spread thence to Bulgaria and Italy, and they are supposed to have kindled the first spark of reformation among the Lombards and Albigenses in the twelfth century. Mosheim treats the Paulicians with severity; Gibbon has done them justice in the 54th chapter of his brilliant history. In spite of some mystical extravagancies, they were certainly a virtuous sect; their scriptures were pure; they condemned the idolatry of the Eastern Church, and manfully denounced the errors and crimes maliciously imputed to them by the Greeks.

of shepherds and flocks to the rich pasture lands of Mount Taurus. The theme embraced the ancient Melitene, and part of Armenia Tertia.

XIII. Thema Seleuciæ—Θέμα Σελευκείας—southeast, was formed of the ancient Cilicia and Isauria, on the Gulf of Issos, opposite to Cyprus. A border-count—Κλεισουράρχης—commanded here a colony of stout Bulgarians, who were settled on Mount Amanus, to defend the important defiles, and oppose the forays of the Saracens from the Euphrates. The memory of these colonists is still preserved in the modern name of the Cilician pass—*Bolghar-Dagh*. Leo VI. formed this thema, and made Seleukia, on the coast, its metropolis. *Tarsos*, *Aphrodisias*, *Dalisandros*, *Lauzados*, *Adana*, and other cities, enjoyed a splendid climate and a fertile soil, but were much exposed to the piratical landings of the Mohammedans.

267. XIV. Thema Cibyrræotarum—Θέμα Κιβυρραιωτῶν—west of the former, ran along the whole southern coast of Asia Minor, westward to Miletos on the Ægean. Protected by the snow-capped ridge of Mount Taurus on the north, it was the most smiling and cultivated portion of Asia Minor, with a great number of cities. It took its name from the small and poor town of Kibyrrha, as if in mockery, says Constantine. *Mylassa*, *Halikarnassos*, *Xanthos*, *Telmissos*, *Patara*, *Attaleia*, *Perge*, *Side*, *Selge*, and many others. Rhodes, and the smaller islands, *Kos*, *Kalymna*, *Nisyros*, and *Telos*, belonged likewise to this thema. The Saracens had invaded Rhodes in 651. The colossal statue of Phœbus Apollo, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world which adorned the entrance of the great port, had long ago been overthrown by an earthquake, but its massy trunk and heaps of fragments were still scattered about the mouth of the harbor, where they were gathered by the greedy children of the desert, and sold to a Jewish merchant from Edessa. The money-man got them shipped over to the continent, and the precious brass was then loaded on *eight hundred* camels, and carried away into Mesopotamia.

XV. Thema or Præfectura Cypri—Θέμα Κύπρου—the beautiful island of that name, which was governed by a consular—κονσολάριος. The metropolis was Konstantia, on the eastern coast. *Kition*, *Amathus*, *Paphos*, *Leukosia*, *Trimythos*, the birthplace of Saint Spyridon, and other towns, were still flourishing. The Saracens having invaded Cyprus in 805, under Haroun-ar-Raschid, were expelled again by Leo the Armenian in 816; but they yearned after that terrestrial paradise, and soon obtained possession of the island again. To the great regret of Constantine, "the infidel Hagareans" still occupied Cyprus in his day (950), but in 964, the brilliant Nicephorus Phocas finally recovered that gem of the eastern empire.

268. XVI. Thema Sami Insulæ—Θέμα Σάμου—consisted not only of that large island, whose city was the metropolis of the theme, but it extended along the Ionian coast from Jassos northward to the Adramyttian Gulf, with the beautiful cities *Ephesos*, *Smyrna*, *Magnesia*, *Miletos*, *Tralles*, *Pergamon*, *Lebedos*, and others. Its governor commanded the Thracian cavalry, which, on account of their quarters in that theme, were divided into the Ephesian and Adramyttian squadrons; the islands of the coast, such as *Patmos* and *Ikaros*, belonged likewise to the Samian theme.

XVII. Thema Ægeum Pelagus—Θέμα Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος—embraced all the islands of the Ægean, the Cyclades, and Sporades, together with the coast land of Troy, all along the Hellespont and Propontis, as far as the rivers Rhyndakos and Daskylion, north of Mount Olympus. Cities on the mainland were *Assos*, *Ilion*, *Dardanos*, *Abydos*, *Lampsakos*, *Parion*, *Kyzikos*, and the large island *Prokonnesos* on the Propontis.

Until the times of the crusades, we hear little about the inhabitants of the beautiful islands of the Ægean—Αἰγαιοπελαγῖται—as the Greeks call them; they suffered severely from the piratical expeditions of the Saracens. Earlier, they were fanatic image worshippers, and when Leo the Isaurian condemned the idolatry of the images, and ordered the churches in Constantinople and all the empire to be cleansed from that abomination, the fire of rebellion spread from Athens throughout the Ægean; the Greek islanders, arming a fleet, sailed to the Bosphorus under the command of Stephanos and Agellianos, with the intention to depose the iconoclastic emperor and raise the pious prophet Kosmas to the throne. But all their blustering terminated with their total defeat before the city; their fleet was burnt with the Greek fire; their fanatic leaders were captured, and suffered capital punishment.

XVIII. Eparchia Cretæ—Ἐπαρχία Κρήτης. This fertile and important isle is not mentioned by Constantine, because it was still in possession of the Saracens. During the period of their early enthusiasm, some daring bands of Spanish Arabs landed in open barks on the island, and after the most heroical exploits they succeeded, in 823, in subduing the Christian population, and the large island, in sight of the whole Greek empire. Crete became entirely Mohammedan, and it was not until the downfall of the creed and the virtue of the Arabs, that Nicephorus Phocas, in a brilliant campaign, A. D. 961, captured Candia and the other cities, subdued the island, and forced the Mohammedan population to accept baptism.

B.—Themes of the Byzantine Empire in Europe.

269. I. Thema Thracium—Θέμα Θρακῶον—embraced the greater portion of ancient Thrace, and reached northward to Mount Hæmus, at that time the frontier-line of the weakened empire. The country beyond the range toward the Danube was inhabited by Mavro-Bulgari, or Black Bulgarians, who were reduced to subjection in 971, by the arms of John Tzimisces. Westward, the theme did not extend beyond Mount Despotos and the river Strymon. Thrace was a fertile and beautiful region, but it had been sadly devastated during the Bulgarian wars, and was already inhabited by a mixed Sclavo-Grecian population. It was subdivided into five Eparchiæ: I. Europe, on the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and Propontis, with the cities *Arkadiopolis*, *Herakleia*, and *Kallipolis*, on the Thracian Chersonese. Constantinople, the Imperial capital, had its own government. II. Rhodope, west of Europe, in the mining district of Mount Pangkaion; cities were *Philippoi*, *Trajanopolis*, *Ainos*, *Serrai*, *Parthikopolis*, and others. III. Hæmimontis, on the north, at the base of the mountains, with *Adrianopolis* and *Anchialos*. IV. Thrakia, northwest, in the interior, with *Philippopolis*, *Beroe*, and says Constantine, the islands of *Thasos*, *Samothrake*, and *Imbros*. V. Mysia, by which the imperial geographer understands the lately conquered *Bulgaria*—the ancient Mœsia, north of Mount Hæmus, which had been transformed into the fifth eparchy of Thrace, with the cities *Tomis* and *Constantiana* on the Pontus; *Dionysopolis*, *Kapidaba*, *Istros*, and others, in the valley of the Danube. The frontier districts were governed by strategoi, and the others by consulars.

II. Thema Macedoniæ.—Θέμα Μακεδονίας—was inhabited by a great number of different Sclavonian tribes formerly under the sceptre of the Bulgarian kings; but after their defeat in 971 rendering homage to the Byzantine emperor. The more numerous tribes were the *Burdariotæ* in the upper regions of Mount Scardus, *Belegezitæ*, and *Sagudatæ*, in the plains of Macedonia, which already began to be called *Blachia*. More east, on the Strymon, sat another Sclavonic tribe, the *Drugu-*

bitæ; Byzantine officials were placed in the districts, but their power was nought; yet the vain and tasteless Emperor gives a pompous description of ancient Macedonia with her Philip and Alexander, but does not say a single syllable about the condition of that unhappy country during his own reign. The Thema was divided into three eparchiæ:

I. Consular Makedonia on the east, with *Edessa*, *Pella*, *Kelle*, *Apollonia*, *Ithapolis*, and *Amphipolis*. II. Hegemonic Makedonia, commanded by a military officer—ἡγεμών—with the cities *Stoloi*, *Pelagonia*, *Harmonia*, and *Zapara*. III. Thessalia, with the metropolis Neai Patrai, (Hypata), in the valley of the Sperchios, and the cities *Larissa* on the Peneus, *Trike*, *Pharsalos* and *Kaisareia*. *Demetrias*, on the Pagasetic Gulf, was a populous and flourishing commercial town in A. D. 896, when it was surprised, besieged, and captured by a Saracenic army, that slaughtered its inhabitants, and carried off its wealth, leaving nothing behind but smoking ruins and mouldering corpses. *Lamia*, on Mount Othrys, opposite to Thermopylæ; *Gomphi*, and the islands *Skiathos*, *Peparethos*, and *Skepila* (*Skopelos*).

III. Thema Strymonis—Θέμα Στρύμονος—in the upper valley of that river, beneath the highest peaks of Mount Scardus (35), was entirely occupied by Selavonian hordes, and governed by a border count, or *Klisuriarch*.

IV. Thema Thessalonice—Θέμα Θεσσαλονίκη—was circumscribed to the *Chalkidian* Chersonese. Its metropolis was Thessalonike (Saloniki), on the Thermaïc Gulf, the richest and most commercial city of the empire during the ninth century; but in 904 it was attacked by a numerous army of Arabs who carried the city by storm, and after having plundered it of its wealth, brought thousands of its unhappy citizens away for the slave markets of the East. Other towns in the peninsula were the celebrated *Olynthos*, *Kassandreia*, and *Stageira*. The magnificent promontory *Hagion Oros* (Athos), called the *Sacred Mount*, on account of the many monasteries splendidly situated on the slopes of the mountain. There thousands of monks and hermits were occupied in copying Greek manuscripts, and painting those Byzantine images that caused the violent religious commotions during the eighth century.

V. Thema Hellas—Θέμα Ἑλλας—embraced the ancient provinces, Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, as far as the defile of the Thermopylæ, at the base of Mount Oeta; farther Ætolia and Acarnania, north to the Ambracian Gulf, and the islands Eubœa and Ægina. Constantine gives Hellas seventy-nine cities, forty of which, however, seem to have belonged to the Peloponnesian theme. The only cities he mentions are, *Skarphia*, *Eleusis*, *Daulion*, *Chaironeia*, *Naupaktos*, *Delphi*, *Amphissa*, and *Chalkis*, on Eubœa.

VI. Thema Peloponnesus—Θέμα Πελοπόννησος—with the metropolis Korinthos; among its forty cities were *Sikyon*, *Argos*, and *Lakedaimonia* (Sparta). The greater part of the interior of the peninsula was inhabited by Selavonians, who, in 860, during the reign of Michael III., had been brought back to the allegiance of the Emperor (196). The only larger district that remained in the possession of the Greeks was the mountainous region of Mount Taygetos—the present *Mani* or Maïna. In that retired corner of Lakonia, a small remnant of the Greek race survived, living in a state of isolation, poverty, and barbarism. So completely had they been separated from all connection with the rest of the nation, and secluded from the influence of the Greek Church, that the rural population around the fortress of Maïna, on the western promontory of Tainaron, had remained pagans until the reign of Basilius I., the Macedonian, A. D. 861–886, when the Greek monks attended to their conversion. "These mountaineers are not Selavonians," says Constantine, "but descendants of the ancient Hellenes, who had sought refuge on the promontory, where they live in a barren region, difficult of access, without water, and producing nothing but olive trees."[89] In the time of the imperial historian, these Maniates paid to the royal treasury an annual tribute of four hundred gold Byzants. The Greeks likewise occupied the cities on the coast. The general who commanded the theme resided in Korinth; *Patræ* was a thriving city, which had gallantly beaten back an attack made in 807 by the forces of the Selavonian hordes in the interior, united with a Saracenic fleet, cutting off all communication between the peninsula and continental Greece. The beautiful plains of Elis and Messenia, the table-lands of Arkadia, with the large Selavonic settlements at *Nikli* and *Veligosti*, and the deep valley of Lakonia, remained for centuries in the possession of Selavini, Melingi, Ezeritæ, and other tribes. We shall find them there again two centuries later at the invasion of the Frank crusaders in 1205. And yet the Greek race has survived all these disasters; it has impressed its own powerful nationality on the barbarians who, numerous as they were, yielded to the higher genius of the *Hellenes;* and while, during the Middle Ages, the complete fusion of the Roman and Germanic races was effected in western Europe, the small Greek nation withstood the shock of the millions of Selavonians who oppressed them, and preserved their religion, language, and nationality. But they naturally enough adopted some Selavonic expressions, and terms in their language, and some of their customs and peculiarities. We therefore find a remarkable resemblance in the dress, habits, and even superstitions among the Greco-Slavic tribes of modern Turkey. The Wallachian and Servian are the herdsmen of the hill; the Bulgarian, the ploughman of the plain; the Albanian, the klepht and warrior of the mountain; and the Greek, the merchant, mechanic, and mariner of the coast and the island. The mild and spirited Wlach, the robust and laborious Bulgarian, the idle and fanciful Servian, the crafty and haughty Arnaut, the brilliant, ingenious, and bustling Greek—all mix together in their daily intercourse like countrymen and brethren; as co-religionists, they all alike hate and despise the stupid Turk. The same hope of independence and resurrection pervades them all, and if they did not succeed in uniting their noble exertions for liberty, it was the Russian giant who opposed a union so detrimental to his own ambitious views in the Levant.

270. VII. Thema Cephallenie—Θέμα Κεφαλληνίας—embraced the Ionian islands, *Kephallenia*, *Kerkyra* (Corfu), *Zakynthos* (Zante), *Leukas* (Santa Maura), *Ithaka*, *Kythera* (Cerigo), and others smaller.

VIII. Thema Nicopolis—Θέμα Νικόπολις—consisted of the ancient Epirus from the Ambracian Gulf northward to Apollonia on the river *Aous* (Laos); it had twelve cities, of which Nikopolis was the metropolis, and it was governed by a general.

IX. Thema Dyrrachium—Θέμα Δυρραχίου—was called *New Epirus*, and consisted nominally of the ancient Dacia, Dardania, and part of Illyria, with the metropolis Dyrrachium, the ancient Epidamnus. But only the southern part of the province belonged to the Byzantine Empire. The Servians

[89] Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ τοῦ κάστρου Μαΐνης οἰκήτορες οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῶν προρρηδέντων Σκλάβων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιοτέρων Ῥωμαίων οἵ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐντοπίων Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύονται διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς προπαλαιοῖς χρόνοις εἰδωλολάτρας εἶναι καὶ προσκυνητὰς τῶν εἰδώλων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἕλληνας. Constant. Porphyr. de administ. imper. cap. L. Bonnæ, 1840, page 224. This interesting passage gives us full evidence that the present *Maniatæ* (Mainotts), are the descendants of the ancient Lakonians, and not Selavonians, as has been stated by Chateaubriand and other superficial writers. See, moreover, Zinkeisen, vol. II. pages 769–771. Constantine confounds, however, the eastern promontory *Malea* with the western *Tainaron*, on which the castle of Maïna is situated; but this makes no difference as to the main historical fact, and the inferences drawn from it.

and Croats occupied the whole country north of the Drinus, and the Bulgarians were settled in the interior.

X. Thema Siciliæ—Θέμα Σικελίας—had been conquered by the Aglabid warriors from Africa during the years 826–88 (259), and was still in the possession of the Arab emirs.

XI. Thema Longobardiæ—Θέμα Λογγοβαρδίας—consisted of the last remnants of the Greek possessions in lower Italy. This theme embraced nominally four distinct parts, which were separated by the almost independent Lombard duchy of Beneventum, and the Arabic settlements on the Gulf of Tarentum. I. Longobardia, on the southeastern coast, extended from the river *Aufidus* (Ofanto), to the promontory of Otranto, and comprised the two provinces of *Capitanata*—Καπετανάτον—and *Basilicata*—ἐπαρχία Βασιλική—both east of Mount Apennine. Barium (Bari), a strongly fortified city on the coast, was the metropolis of the theme, and the residence of the Byzantine governor—Κατεπάνω. *Brundusium* (Brundisi), *Hydruntum* (Otranto), *Kallipolis* (Gallipoli), and *Tarentum* (Taranto), were important cities, with excellent ports, in constant communication with Constantinople. *Basantellum* (Basantello), west of Tarentum, on the small river Basentius, where the emperor, Otho II., in 982, suffered a signal defeat from the united Greeks and Arabs. The imperial troops rushed with the greatest impetuosity upon the Greeks, who fell back in good order, and allured the headlong German knights into an ambuscade of the Arabs, hitherto concealed behind the mountains. The heavy-armed Germans were speedily surrounded on every side by innumerable hordes of those swift horsemen. They were scattered and cut to pieces; the emperor galloped to the shore, and plunging into the sea, mounted as he was on his trusty steed, swam towards a Greek vessel. The greedy crew supposing the imperial fugitive to be a distinguished knight, sailed to the city of *Rossano*, the German head-quarters, in order to receive the proffered ransom. But the youthful German hero, springing boldly from the ship, swam ashore, to the amazement of the Greeks, and after safely reaching land, he entered the city, and was there joyfully received by his queen and retinue, 13th July, 982. II. Calabria, on the southwestern peninsula, opposite to Sicily, with the cities *Roscianum* (Rossano), *Squillatium* (Squillace), on the gulf of that name (130). *Regium* (Reggio), and *Bisinianum*, in the interior. The Saracens had taken *Brundusium* and *Bari*, and driven the Greeks into Mount Apennine; but by a great effort under the Emperor, Basilius I., and with the co-operation of Louis II. and his Franks, the invaders were defeated and expelled in 868, and the Greek *catapans* ruled the province until Robert Guiscard and his Normans, after the brilliant conquest of all lower Italy in the year 1071, besieged and took Bari, the last possession of the Greeks in Italy. III. Ducatus Neapolis—The duchy of Naples, with the flourishing cities, Neapolis (Naples), the metropolis, *Surrentum* Sorrento), *Nuceria* (Nocera), and *Amalphis* (Amalfi, Malfa). Naples, with its elective duke, who often was a bishop, its consuls, nobility, and popular assembly, had already become an independent republic, and stood only in distant relations to the Byzantine empire. Amalfi, consisting of the city of Amalfi, and quite a number of populous boroughs and castles, in strong and beautiful positions on the Gulf of Salerno, was then one of the most wealthy and enterprising maritime republics of Italy. The Amalfians, under their native dukes, made commercial treaties with the Saracens, who respected their flag: they occupied all the smaller islands in the Gulf of Naples, their merchant vessels visited the distant coasts of the East, whence they brought the Indian products to the ports of France and Spain. They were the rivals of the Venetians, and the pride of Italy, until their disastrous war with Pisa, and the capture and destruction of their city in the year 1137.

IV. Ducatus Cajetæ, the duchy of Gaëta, on its strongly fortified promontory, north of Naples, recognized the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor, but enjoyed a republican government, like the neighboring cities of Naples and Amalfi.

XII. Thema Chersonis—Θέμα Χερσῶνος—the twenty-ninth, and the last of the themes, composed the western part of the Taurian Chersonese (Crimea), and the opposite coast of the mainland, to the mouth of the Dnieper. The only cities in possession of the Greeks were *Cherson* and *Bosporus*, important on account of the commerce on the Don, Volga, and the Caspian. Some few wrecks of the great Chazaric nation were still settled in the eastern part of Crimea; but the northern shores of the Black Sea, westward to the Danube, formed then the Chanate of the horrible Petcheneges, who gave so great an anxiety to the Greek emperors, during the later period of the tenth century.

271. Ducatus Beneventi—The Lombard duchy of Benevento, embracing the interior provinces of Lower Italy—had been divided into the principalities of *Benevento* and *Salerno*, and the county of *Capua*, under different dynasties of Lombard dukes, almost incessantly fighting against one another, but always recognizing the sovereignty either of the German emperor, when he was approaching at the head of his army, or of the Byzantine empire, when her *catapan* had received reinforcements from the East, and defeated the Saracens. These fluctuating politics continued until Duke Pandulph, Iron-Head, in 974, succeeded in uniting the entire duchy, and by his alliance with the Greeks, was enabled to defend himself against the invasions of the Sicilian emirs.

272. Ducatus Venetiæ—the duchy of Venice, together with the peninsula of Istria, and all the islands on the Dalmatian coast, belonged likewise nominally to the Eastern Empire; but the homage rendered by the *doges*, or dukes, consisted more[90] in some public ceremony than in any subjection to the imperial governor of the Italian provinces. Venice had maintained her independence under the administration of her *tribunes*, named by an assembly of the people in each of the separate isles. Yet powerful families began to influence the elections; jealousies arose in the small communities of the islands; the tribunes themselves disagreed. To put an end to these factions, the citizens of every island met in a single assembly at Heraclea, in 697, and elected a chief of maritime Venice, whom they, in imitation of the Greeks called Dux—*doge*—or duke, and who was considered as the lieutenant of the emperor of Constantinople. During the Lombardic wars in Italy, thousands of refugees found an asylum in the islands of the young republic. She began to extend her commerce and political importance. Pepin, king of Italy (187), attacked her with a large army in 809; and the Emperor Constantine gives a pleasant account of the awkward position of Pepin, who attempted in vain to invade the isles with his cavalry, by throwing beams across the narrow inlet of *Madamaucum* (Malamocco). Attacked on all sides by the Venetians from their ships, the son of Charlemagne was obliged to retire disgracefully, to the mainland, after a heavy loss.[91] The Venetians then made choice of the largest island, the Riva Alta—*Rialto*—in the centre of the Lagoons, where they had se-

[90] Genoa and Pisa preserved their relations with Constantinople, after they had been occupied by the Lombards. They sent every year a *pallium*, or silken banner to the emperors, in Constantinople, which was considered as a sort of tribute. Venice, Gaëta, Naples and Amalfi, advanced more openly to independence.

[91] Constantini Porphyr. *de Administrando Imp.* cap. xxviii., p. 124.

cured their families and wealth, and there they built the city of *Venice*, the capital of their republic. Some years later, they transported thither from Alexandria, in Egypt, the body of Saint Mark, the Evangelist, whom they chose patron of their state. His winged lion figured in their arms; and under his victorious banner they afterwards raised their great colonial empire of the East. Thus strengthened by devotion and union, the bold Venetians, in 997, set sail for the Dalmatian islands, where they were received with open arms by the Christian population. With their aid, they defeated the barbarous Croatian hordes who dared to descend on the coast, and the still more troublesome pirates of Narenta (260). Istria, and all the Dalmatian islands hoisted the banner of Saint Mark; they received their governors and judges from Venice, whose doge from that year—997—took the title of DUX VENETIÆ ET DALMATIÆ.

273. Such was the political and military organization of the Byzantine Empire, from the sixth to the thirteenth century, when the storms of the crusades swept away the empire and its institutions. Many of its provinces were then entirely lost; others were, together with the capital, reconquered by the Palæologi (1261), but the old divisions could not be renewed in a state which thenceforth was circumscribed almost to the walls and environs of Constantinople. With all the deficiencies of its government, Byzantium was still the best organized state of mediæval Europe. No state ever possessed such a long succession of able rulers, and of brave and skilful generals, competent to direct all branches of the administration, and to beat back the attacks of foreign invaders, as the Eastern Empire. The talents of the emperors, as well as the systematic order of the administration, held together their extensive dominions long after the tendencies of mediæval society had urged the different nationalities to separate. In Constantinople it was a constant object of the imperial attention to prevent too great an accumulation of power in the hands of any single official; and yet it was absolutely necessary to intrust the generals and provincial governors with extensive authority, for they were called upon incessantly to resist the barbarian invaders, and to quell internal insurrections. Never did sovereigns perform their complicated duties with such profound ability and perseverance as the Byzantine monarchs. No mayors of the palace ever circumscribed their power; no pope ever made them bow down in the dust; nor were they reduced to become the puppets of their mercenaries, like the caliphs of Bagdad.[32] A vivid and interesting picture of Byzantine politics and masterly statesmanship, we shall see exhibited by the emperors of the Comnenian dynasty during the following period of the crusades.

The Greek empire afforded during this period an asylum to the remains of literature and culture, preserved from the ages of antiquity, which were destined to afford abundant sources of investigation and research for the learned in after times. Cæsar Bardas, the brother of Theodora, kept the state in excellent order during the reign of his unworthy nephew, Michael III. (856–866), and raised Photius, a prelate of eminent talents and profound learning, to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Basilius I. began the revisal of the Justinian Code, which his son Leo VI. Philosophus, completed in the *Basilica*—ἡ ἑξηκοντάβιβλος τῶν Βασιλικῶν. Leo wrote an important work on Byzantine military science—τὰ τακτικά—and his son, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, entirely devoted to the works of classical antiquity, and the study of the constitution and political relations of the empire, has left us those valuable writings, from which we have gathered these pages on the Byzantine Geography of the tenth century.

[32] See for interesting details, chap. liii. in Gibbon: compare Zinkeisen and Finlay in their works on mediæval Greece, previously mentioned.

THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD IN ASIA AND AFRICA:

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY DURING THE TENTH CENTURY, UNTIL THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SELDJUKIAN TURKS. A. D. 809–1028.

A.—THE CALIPHATE OF THE ABBASIDS IN BAGDAD. A. D. 809–1258.

274. DISMEMBERMENT OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE.—The vast extent of countries which the first caliphs had united by the Koran and the scimitar of Mohammed, received no regular interior organization. The victorious Saracens permitted the vanquished nations to remain mostly in the same condition as they found them at the time of the conquest. They urged them to accept Islamism, but treated them generally with religious tolerance.

The caliphs considered themselves as the lord possessors of the soil. Extensive tracts of land were reserved for their domains; others were distributed among the Moslem conquerors, who paid only the tenth part of the produce—*aschr*—while the native population were taxed with the fifth, and even the third part of theirs for the lands they were suffered to retain. The Christian and Jewish inhabitants paid besides an onerous income tax—*ta 'adil*—and the degrading poll-tax—*charatch*. The revenues were in part leased out to the highest bidder; and the poor subjects became thus exposed to the avarice, and the arbitrary extortions of the tax-gatherers. Abd-el-Melek established the mint in the city of *Wasit*, on the Tigris, near Kufah (207), where *gold-dinars*—and *silver-dirrhems*—were coined (222), under the direction of the Jews, who were there quite in their own element. The Moslemin were exempted from all personal exactions, except military service. At their first appearance on the outskirts of the desert, the Arabs had astonished the world as much by the squalid aspect of their Bedouin hordes, as by the rapidity of their movements. Their cavalry was excellent; their foot, too, was numerous, and rode on camels during the march. The incredible activity of such an army, no less than their religious fanaticism, opened them the path to continual victory and conquest. A century later, we find the Saracens admirably armed with those flexible coats of mail, and peaked helmets, which the crusaders afterwards considered as superior to their own armature of Italian or French workmanship. The Saracenic scimitars, bucklers, and lances, were as well tempered as they were beautiful; and nowhere in the world could sword blades be brought to such a perfection of temper as among the Saracens, in Toledo, Damascus, or Persia. But after the conquest, the Arabs neglected their tactics. Their principal strength consisted only in cavalry and archers; their battle array was formed of large squares, in double lines, of which the archers occupied the first, and the horse the second; the numerous herds of cattle which they carried along with them, rendered their stay at one place impossible, and they were therefore in continual movement.

The splendor of the rapid conquest could not destroy the seeds of decay which the faith, ideas, and manners of the Arabs had sown in the lands under their dominion. The religious enthusiasm which had been so powerful an instrument of conquest, became a source of disorder when the victory was won. The same fanaticism and ambition which had built up the empire, were soon to destroy it again. Even under the

reign of Aaron the Just—*Haroun-ar-Raschid*—the happiest in the annals of the caliphate, rebellions had commenced in the West (214, 215), which showed the real weakness of so extensive a dominion, intrusted to the fidelity and devotion of military governors. Haroun was the last *Emir al Mumenim*, who performed in person the pilgrimage to the sacred cities, where Islamism had taken its rise. His successors, for the most part shut up and inaccessible in their palaces, were living surrounded by women and literary men, indifferent to the political affairs of their empire, which fell under the power of their viziers and court-favorites. Haroun, like Charlemagne, his contemporary, divided his realm between his sons in such a manner, that the oldest, Mohammed II. al-Amin, should possess the dignity of Caliph over the whole empire; while his younger brother, Al-Mamun, obtained the government over the provinces of the east, *Iran*, *Kerman*, *Khorasan*, *Tabaristan*, and the rest, as far as the frontiers of India—and his youngest brother, Mohammed III. Motassem was endowed with the provinces in the north, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Caucasus*, both with extensive powers; yet as *under-kings*, who were to obey the orders of the Caliph. Civil wars between the brothers immediately began to shake the empire; and a few years later, with Mohammed III. Motassem, the eighth caliph of the Abbasid family, the glory of that dynasty, and of the Arabic nation, expired for ever. The Saracens having spread throughout the splendid countries they had conquered, began to turn their attention to the quiet occupations of agriculture, commerce, and literature. "The courage of the South," says Gibbon, "is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valor is the hardy and spontaneous production." Motassem formed an army of fifty thousand Turks, from the warlike race of Tartars who lived beyond the Oxus and Iaxartes. With their powerful aid, he succeeded in quelling the rebellions which had sprung up around him, yet the weakness of a throne founded on opinion, and supported by foreign arms, was soon discovered by the proud Emirs who commanded the body-guard. The Turks stood in arms around the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the hostilities between the Arab population and the Turkish guards induced the Caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence, and the camp of his barbaric favorites, at *Asker-el-Serramenra* (207), on the Tigris, about twelve miles above the City of Peace. Yet new revolutions broke out among the walis of the east; new heresies sprung up in the south, while Bagdad herself, became the scene of the most terrible convulsions.

Five caliphs perished by assassination in the course of twenty-five years (846–870), and at the end of the ninth century a general insurrection of the Arabs of the desert—the *Karamathians*—gave the last blow to the authority of the Abbasid caliphs. Surrounded by rebellious lieutenants, fanatic heretics, and arrogant mercenaries, the unhappy Ahmed IV. Rhadi, in 940, placed his tottering throne under the protection of a more energetic authority, and conferred upon the valiant Mohammed Abu-Bekr-Ebn-Raik the dignity of an *Emir-al-Omrah* or Emir of the Emirs. This important office embraced all the military and executive power as the mayordom of the palace among the Franks (118). The chief emir, whose name was inserted in the public prayers, obscured entirely the reputation of the caliphs. He was thus stripped of all his political influence, and nothing was left him but an empty religious supremacy as a *pensioned high-priest of the mosque*. Thus from the year 940 the caliphs disappear as political chiefs; and the different leaders of influential families now begin the contest about the dignity of the *emirate* (154). Mighty dynasties had in the mean time arisen throughout the broad lands of the Abbasid empire, whose frontiers soon became circumscribed within the walls of the city of Bagdad. The powerful chief of the Buids, Emed-ed-Daula (pillar of the empire), secured the dignity in his family; but during the quarrel of the mock caliph, Abdallah V. Kaim-Beamrillah (watching the will of God), with his great emir, Malek-al-Rahim (compassionate prince), in 1035, the former called to his assistance the Seldjukian chief, Togrul Beï, who, at the head of his Turkomans, destroyed the dynasty of the Buids, and, as Turkish sultan, soon swept away all the countries west of the Euphrates. A new and terrible power thus arose in the East, that of the Seldjukian Turks; yet the poor Abbasid caliphs of Bagdad breathed more freely; the conquering sultans cared little about the domestic administration, the pomp and prayers in Bagdad; and the spiritual commanders of the faithful were now relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence of their own arrogant servants, the Buids. Thus the Abbasids, succeeding from father to son, lingered on obscurely in seraglio and mosque, during the eventful period of the crusades on the shores of Syria, until the Mongolic invasion of Hulagu in 1258, buried the last miserable caliph, Abdallah Mostassem Billah (guiltless through God), under the smoking ruins of his capital.

B.—Mohammedan Dynasties in Central Asia.

275. I. The Taherites—813–872. Smaller dynasties arose early in the fertile Mawar-al-Nahr, beyond the Oxus (212), Sedjestan, so rich by her mines of gold ore, and in Khorasan. The founders of these dynasties pretended to be descendants of the Sassanid kings of old, and they obtained a great influence on the inhabitants who continued to speak some dialect of the Persian language, and still secretly adhered to the fire-worship of the Magi. Thus Taher, a brave general of Al-Mamun, the second son of Haroun-ar-Raschid, who had defeated the older brother, the caliph, Mohammed-al-Amin, received as a reward for his services, the hereditary government of Khorasan. There he made himself independent of Bagdad, and his sons ruled in *Nischabuhr* till the year 872.

II. The Soffarids—908. Yacub-Ben-Leith, the son of a coppersmith—*soffârs*[93]—a notorious robber captain, increased his victorious bands, and occupying Balkh in Tokharestan, and Cabul in Zabulistan (Afghanistan), captured the last prince of the Taherite dynasty, Mohammed, in 872, and marched directly against Bagdad at the head of a large army. Death surprised him on the road, and his brother Amru succeeded to the government, but was overthrown in 900 by the Samanids. His nephew, Taher, who was elected chief by the leaders of the nation, perished in 908, and with him the family of the Soffarids. The Arabian language and literature extended rapidly throughout the East. At Nischabuhr, there were flourishing schools and colleges, where celebrated editions of the Koran were published.

III. The Samanids—1004. Samans was a wealthy chief of Khorasan. His son Ismael, the governor of Mawr-al-Nahr, made himself independent; and after his victory over the Soffarids, he obtained the title of *Padisha*. The dynasty resided in *Bokhara;* they soon lost their energy and virtue among the delights of the harem; they left the direction of the state affairs in the hands of their Emir-al-Omrah; and the tenth

[93] The descendants of Yacub were therefore called Soffarids.

prince, Montasser, perished in 1004 under the sabres of the advancing Turks.

IV. The Ghasnavids—1184.—A young Turk, Sebec-Thegin, in Ghasna in Zabulistan, was raised to the throne in 977, and his son, Mohammed Yemin-ed-Daula (the support of the realm), penetrated into *Hindostan*, took *Kanodsche*, on the Djumna, and amassed an immense booty from the ancient and wealthy Indian temples. Great exertions were made to convert the Hindoos to the Mohammedan faith, and the whole splendid and highly civilized country, as far as the Ganges, remained under the sway of the flourishing dynasty of the Ghasnavids. But the Brahmins were watching the events in Ghasna; and when, in 1152, the Mohammedan princes were defeated in their homes by the Seldjuk Turks, the fanatical priests of Brahma called the Hindoos to arms, and drove the Arabs out of the country. Surrounded by enemies on all sides, the last Ghasnavid sultan, Bahram, fell, and was succeeded by the powerful and popular family of the *Ghorids*. The princes of the Ghasnavid dynasty were friends of art and literature, and the celebrated Persian poet, Ferdusi, the author of the admired epic poem, "The Kings"—*Shahname*—was an honored guest at the court.

V. The Ghorids—1212.—In the *Ghor*, that is, the *plain* or southwestern lowlands of Balkh, some vassals of the Ghasnavids had become popular as supposed descendants of the Sassanid kings of Persia. Bahram, the Ghasnavid, resolved their destruction. But Hussein defeated him in a pitched battle, took and destroyed Ghasna, and raised a new empire on the ruins of the *Ghasnavids*. Seif-ed-Din crossed the Indus and captured Delhi. He conquered Khorasan, and ruled by the Koran and the sabre. The empire of the Ghorids consisted of *Ghasna* (Afghanistan), *Multan* (Lahore), on the Indus, and *Delhi* (Hindostan Proper), on the Ganges; but civil wars soon breaking out among his successors, the race of the Ghorids expired with Mohammed III.;[94] the Ghorid governors in India made themselves independent, and the Khowaresmian swarms invaded and occupied their western possessions.

276. VI. The Khowaresmids—1231.—The southwestern portion of the ancient Turkistan or the vast region between the Caspian Sea, the Oxus, and the lake Aral, was called *Khowaresm* or Chorasmia (212). This country is in some places of an exuberant fertility, but encircled with deserts on all sides, and of difficult access. The eastern shores of the Caspian Sea present nothing but long gloomy chains of arid downs and rocks; the plains at the base of the mountains, and the valleys through which the Ossa and other rivers flow toward the sea, seem condemned to aridity and solitude. The sea of Aral (sea of eagles) or lake of Khowaresm on the east, contains, like the Caspian, sturgeons and seals (193), though its waters have some saline impregnation. The shores of the lake are marshy, and an elevated ridge of dreary and rocky hills separates it from the Caspian. And yet was Khowaresm one of the most important regions of central Asia on account of its position between the Oxus and those large inland seas. The great route of Indian and Persian commerce passed on the Oxus through Khowaresm to the Caspian, and thence by the Volga to Novgorod and the Baltic, and by the Don to Crimea, Constantinople, and the Mediterranean. Flourishing emporiums rose early in the dreary desert. *Senfaya*, *Taheria*, *Khowaresm*, *Kiptshak*, on the Oxus. Kurkendsh—*Korkatch*—(Alturgens), on the small lakes southwest of Aral, became the capital and great emporium for the transport across the desert to the Caspian. Among the native tribes of Turkomans were the Seldjuk Turks, whose emirs early obtained a supremacy over the other hordes; yet, during their conquests in western Asia, Kothb-ed-Din, the great Shah of Khowaresm, founded the dynasty of the celebrated *Khowaresmids* in 1096, and extended his conquests toward Buchara, Khorasan, Cabul, nay, even into the heart of Persia and Irak themselves. The Ghorids on the east mustered their Indian forces to avert the rising storm, but they were swept away, and the Khowaresm empire remained the most brilliant in central Asia by its commerce, wealth, and military power, until the irruption of Genghis-Khan and his hundred thousand of Mongols in A. D. 1219. After a most tremendous war, and the destruction of millions of men, the Khowaresmian power was annihilated by that savage conqueror. The good Shah, Mohammed, perished on his flight in a desert island of the Caspian Sea; his valiant son, Djelal-ed-Din Mankberní, one of the glorified heroes of Oriental poetry, surrounded by his faithful Khowaresmians, cut his way from the Indus to the Euphrates. Here he fell beneath the dagger of a Kurd assassin; but his warlike bands, pursuing rapidly their march to Palestine, prostrated Saracens and Mamlooks, Templars and Crusaders, burnt and destroyed Jerusalem and her sacred sepulchre in 1244, and carried their destroying arms to the frontiers of Egypt. There they dispersed; their chiefs, as mercenary *condottieri*, took service among the small princes of the Seldjukian Turks, on the Euphrates, and in Asia Minor, and the terrible name of Khowaresmian vanished from the page of history. They were devout Mohammedans; their cavalry was unsurpassed; and they cherished that peculiar affection for their steeds which is the general characteristic of all the nations of the steppes.

277. VII. The Dilemids or *Ziads*—1080.—The lands south of the Caspian Sea, *Mazanderan* (Tabarestan) and *Ghilan*, were, from remote antiquity, celebrated for their fertility and beauty, and the martial character of their inhabitants—the Mardi, Hyrcanians, and Parthians. The high mountain ridges of *Caspius* and *Labuta*, on the south, protected them from the Arabian conquerors; the fleeing Magi, as well as the persecuted Alite heretics, found a refuge on the secluded shores of that inland sea. Later, when the country had recognized the sovereignty of the caliphs, the Saracen governors did not tarry to declare themselves independent. Merdavidsch extended his dominion over *Ghilan*, *Kohestan*, across the Median plains to *Irak* and *Fars* in A. D. 927, and in order to appear as the genuine descendant of the ancient Persian great-kings, he imitated their splendid court and their luxury, and supported his dignity by the Turkish mercenary bands, who flocked to his banner. Order and tranquillity revived in that remote and happy region, under the sway of four princes of the Dilemid dynasty; their residence was *Scheristan* in Dilem, on the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea; science, literature, and commerce flourished under their protection; their young princes enjoyed the most careful education, a memorial of which is the curious book of Kiekawus: *the mirror of the worthy sovereign*. Kabus Shemsil-al-Mali (sun of highness), was both poet and historian, but his natural ferocity and his relations to his powerful neighbors, the Buids, continually entangled him in wars. After his death by the hand of a Turkish soldier, the realm of the Dilemids was conquered by the Seldjuks and the Ismaelites, who divided the spoils.

VIII. The Buids—1056.—This remarkable dynasty took its origin from the warlike sons of the fisherman Bujah-Ben-

[94] Mohammed fell beneath the daggers of the banditti of Lahore, the *Giekers*, in 1212. The fanaticism of the Brahmins, who formed the priesthood and nobility of the Hindoos, frustrated all the attempts of the Mohammedan chiefs of the different dynasties to make Islamism the ruling religion in India; nor did the Saracens ever succeed in intermixing with the native races; the ancient divisions of castes prohibited the amalgamation. The Afghans became later the ruling nation in India.

Shetsa—Ali, Hassan, and Ahmed, who had served in the army of Merdavidsch of Dilem. Ali raised the banner of revolt in Kertch, and with the assistance of his brothers he soon subjected *Kom*, *Kasbin*, and *Ray* (Rhagae), the important defile toward Khorasan (210), and ruled over all Persia. His capital was SCHIRAS, situate in one of the most delightful valleys of the world.[95] The caliph of Bagdad recognized his independence and sought his alliance, and already the third Buid sovereign, Ahmed Moez-ed-Daula (arm of the realm), had become so powerful that the intimidated caliph was forced to nominate him *Emir-al-Omrah*. The Buids extended their sway victoriously over all Persia, and ruled from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Khorasan, where they came in hostile contact with the Ghasnavids by whom they were repelled in 1039. But in Bagdad they maintained their dignity as great emirs and viziers of the caliphs, until, weakened by their own violent family feuds, they became, in 1056, an easy prey to the Sultans of the Seldjuk Turks.

C.—Mohammedan Dynasties in Syria.

278. IX. The Hamadanids, Kelabids, and Okailids—1086—from the tribe of Thaleb, formed, in 892, their petty dynasties in Mesopotamia and Syria. The former were divided into two lines, the *Hamadanids* of Mossul (A. D. 892–978), and those of *Haleb*, who were vanquished by the Kelabids in 1014. The realm of the latter, on the Tigris and Euphrates, was overthrown seventy years afterwards (in 1084), by the Okailids, who had already possessed themselves of Mossul in 996. These small Mohammedan dynasties are more interesting to us on account of the flourishing state of Arabian literature at their courts, than from the influence they exerted on the political events of the times. Several of these princes, such as Seif-ed Daula of Mossul, were themselves poets or philosophers, and they united around their thrones the most distinguished men in every branch of art and science, at that time more appreciated by the Arabs, than among the hunting and fighting princes of Christian Europe.

D.—Sects of Mohammedan Heretics.

279. X. The Karamathians in Arabia.—The early heretical sects which sprung up in the Mohammedan creed, differ in their character entirely from those which disturbed the Christian church after its recognition by Constantine in the beginning of the fourth century, because they were not dogmatical, but political; they arose about the legitimate succession of the Prophet, without touching on the main doctrines or tenets of the Koran itself. The great schism in the East began as early as the election of Abu-Bekr instead of Ali, the husband of Fatima the daughter of Mohammed, in 632. Later, some sectarians claimed the succession for Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali—the *Seidijé*—others recognized only the third son of Ali as successor —the *Kaissanié*. The Mohammedan mystics—the *Ghullat* —attributed divine qualities to Ali, and pretended that he stood in the relation to God—*Allah*—"*as a son to the father;*" others again, and those were the most dangerous, believed in a second advent of the Prophet, intended to restore virtue, peace and happiness on earth; these were the terrible *Karamathians*, from the Arabian desert. Babek-Churrami preached the reform in Syria during the first half of the ninth century. The masses flocked around the enthusiastic preacher; the most horrible cruelties were committed; more than twenty thousand human beings perished in tortures, and the whole country was strewn with corpses and ruins. The fanatical spirit having once been excited, Al-Faradsh-Ebn-Osman-al-Karmath[96] appeared in 890 as the representative of Mohammed, preaching the advent of a seventh and last prophet, Ismael-Ebn-Djafer, in whom all divine secrets would be deposited. He gave a mystic interpretation to the Koran, and employed a most effectual and cunning deceit by initiated *Dais*, to spread his fantastical doctrines. These missionaries soon formed in the interior of Arabia a numerous band of followers—the Karamathians—who, victorious in the eastern province of Bahrain, advanced, sword in hand, to the gates of Bagdad, where the caliph sat trembling on his throne. *Raca*, *Ba'albek*, *Bassra*, *Kufah*, were laid in ashes; in 929, Mecca shared the same fate. Thirty thousand people were butchered during the defence; the *Beit-Allah* was desecrated; the black stone carried off in triumph, and not brought back to Mecca until in 950. After having spread devastation and murder over the Oriental world for nearly a century, the Karamathians were at last exterminated in 985, by Samsam-ed-Daula, but their bloody sect revived later in the Ismailiyeh or *Ismaelites*, on Mount Lebanon in Syria, and the still more terrible Assassins, at Rudbar and Lamsir in Dilem, on the shores of the Caspian Sea.

E.—Mohammedan Dynasties in Africa.

280. XI. The Tulunids in Egypt.—The governor of *Dejar-Messr*, or Egypt, Ahmed-Ben-Tulun, declared himself independent of the caliph in 868. He took the title of Sultan, and repelled all the attacks of the Abbasids; but his successors became weakened by their internal quarrels, and in the year 905, Egypt fell back to the caliphate.

XII. Mohammed-al-Ikhschid, however, imitated the example of the Tulunids in 935; all was again rebellion and confusion. Abul-Kasem and Abul-Hassan-Ali succeeded him; but the Ikhschids were defeated and expelled in 969, by the intelligent and brave Moez-Ledin-Illah, the Fatimid.

XIII. The Fatimids pretended to descend from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, and Ali, his faithful vizier. They had destroyed the Aglabid chiefs of *Kaïrouan* in Magreb-al-Ausah. Moez engaged an army of Berbers, and (213) marched upon Egypt. The defenceless country fell into his power; he established himself at *Kahira* (Caïro), on the Nile, and took the proud title of Caliph and Emir of the faithful. His successors maintained themselves by shrewd politics, against the Abbasids; they penetrated into Syria, and took possession of Jerusalem. Hakem Beamrillah, the third caliph, became the venerated founder of the religious sect of the Druses, though he appears to us a madman. Prompted by some sus-

[95] Shiraz in Farsistan, thirty miles southeast of the celebrated Persepolis (now in ruins), has a splendid climate, abundant crops of rice, wheat, and barley, the finest fruits, larger in size and more delicate in taste than those of Europe; the grapes, oranges, and apricots of Shiraz are the pride of the Persians. In spring the air is mild, and perfumed with the odor of the finest flowers, and the eye delights in the rich and varied colors that, like a carpet, cover hill and dale. The garden nightingale (the bûl-bûl), the goldfinch, and the linnet, unite at this season their melodious accents. Nor is the beauty and elegance of the Shiraz women less celebrated than the politeness and honesty of its citizens. With so many attractions, Shiraz has become the most desirable residence in Persia, and the favored retreat of its poets—a Hafiz, a Sa'ady, or a Diamy, who have sung its praise in their tender and harmonious strains.

[96] Al Faradsh took his name from the small town of *Karmath*, near Kufah, in Al-Batayeh on the Euphrates, and assumed the lofty title of *the Guide, the Director, the Demonstration, the Word, the Holy Ghost, the Camel, the Herald, and the Forerunner of the Prophet and of the Angel Gabriel.*

picion against the Christians, he ordered the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem to be demolished in 1010—an order which was carried into execution by the governor of Ramleh. The building was razed to the foundations, and much labor was expended to deface and destroy every trace of the sepulchre of the Saviour itself.[97] His laws against *women* were as absurd as his lectures in his temple of wisdom. Every Monday and Wednesday the members of the wisdom-society assembled for theological disputations. They formed a university partaking strongly of Ismaelitic sectarianism. The *house of wisdom* was built in Cairo, and furnished with libraries, mathematical instruments, professors, and other officers. All persons were allowed access to the literary treasures stored therein. The caliphs often presided at the lectures; the faculties were divided into logic, mathematics, medicine, and law, and the Mohammedan professors donned their doctorial mantles, as did their Christian brethren in the mediæval universities of Europe two centuries later. The successors of Hakem hid themselves in the seraglio; they lost all influence, and on the death of the eleventh Fatimid, Ahded-Ledin-Illah, in 1171, the great Kurd, Sala-ed-Din—the son of Ejub, mounted the throne of Egypt.

The first Arabian conquerors treated that country with barbarity; they did not spare the magnificent monuments of antiquity, and employed the stones of the pyramids for their buildings. The Fatimids, on the contrary, protected art and literature. Cairo was by them adorned with those beautiful mosques which we still admire at the present day. Their sepulchral monuments, likewise, were reared in the noblest style of Saracenic architecture. The last caliph, Ahded, possessed the largest library that ever had been collected in any Mohammedan country. Astronomy and chemistry flourished at the court of *Hakem*, whose name has been given to the astronomical tables of the great Arab astronomer, Ebn-Yunes. Egypt was then the home of wealth and prosperity, by the fertility of its soil, by its flourishing industry, and its extensive commerce with India.[98] Thus, then, we find toward the middle of the eleventh century, the Mohammedan world broken up into quite a number of smaller dynasties in Asia and Africa, while the two contending high priests, the Abbasid[98] in Bagdad, and the Fatimid in Cairo, have lost their spiritual and secular power; and Islam would perhaps already have gone to ruins, if its followers had not been roused to a new and more violent enthusiasm, by the gigantic invasion of the Christian arms from the West.

Such was the state of the East when the rapid conquests of the Turkish Sultans in Asia Minor began to threaten the existence of the Byzantine empire; and their occupation of Syria and Palestine at once roused the indignation of the warlike and pious Christian nations of Europe, and brought on those migrations and expeditions to the Holy Land, which for almost two centuries—1096–1291, changed the geographical position of nearly all the leading nations in Orient and Occident.

The following chapter, and the accompanying map, will serve to exhibit these changes.

[97] See Professor Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. ii., p. 46. A cruel and senseless act, which at that time of religious veneration for the sanctuaries in Palestine, excited the highest indignation, and the deepest grief all over Europe, and began to prepare the minds for the armed occupation of the Holy Land—the crusades.

[98] The shrewd merchants of Egypt kept all knowledge about India a secret among themselves, and answered to the inquiries of the Venetians that the wind wafted the precious spices and incense from the trees of the earthly paradise; that the Nile carried them along from his unknown springs, and that it required deep mystical lore, and a particular art, to fish them out of the water!

CHAPTER VII.

EUROPE, WESTERN ASIA, AND NORTHERN AFRICA;

THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY DURING THE TIMES OF THE CRUSADES—A. D. 1096–1291.

Condition of the Christian and Mohammedan World before the First Crusade.

281. Division.—At this important period in the world's history, when the great religious movement in the West precipitated Europe upon Asia, we find twenty-six principal and independent states and nations in Europe and the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa, the greater part of which participated more or less ardently in those events. Of these states, eight were situated in Northern Europe. I. The kingdom of *Ireland;* II. that of *Scotland;* III. that of *England;* IV. that of *Denmark;* V. that of *Slavinia*, or *Vendland;* VI. that of *Norway;* VII. that of *Sweden;* and VIII. the Grand Duchy of *Russia.* Five of these had, at the beginning of the eleventh century, belonged to the empire of Canute the Great, and they took, with the exception of England, no part in the first crusade. In central Europe we find five states, in some of which the movement was responded to with enthusiasm; they were, IX. the kingdom of *France;* X. the *Romano-Germanic Empire;* XI. the kingdom of *Poland;* XII. that of *Hungary;* and XIII. the Chanates of the *Uzi* and *Kumani*, or *Polovtzi.* In Southern Europe we behold six states, all with fanaticism, armed against the Mohammedans of the East and South: these were: XIV. the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile;* XV. that of *Aragon* and *Navarra;* XVI. the small kingdom of *Valencia*, all in Spain; XVII. the Norman duchy of *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily;* XVIII. the *Italian* republics; and XIX. the *Byzantine* empire. In Western Asia, four states, or groups of states had been formed on the ruins of the caliphate of Bagdad; they were, XX. the sultanate of *Rum*, in Asia Minor; XXI. the sultanates of the *Ortokids* in *Mardin* and *Diarbekir*; XXII. the states of the *Atabeks* in Al-Djesirah and Persia, and XXIII. the *Turkish* principalities of *Antioch*, *Halep* and *Damascus*, in Syria. In Northern Africa and Southern Spain, we find three powerful Mohammedan empires; they were, XXIV. the caliphate of the *Fatimids* in Egypt; XXV. the kingdom of *Kairouan* (Mahadia), and XXVI. the empire of the *Almoravids*, in Magrab-al-Aksa and Andalos (Spain).

I. NORTHERN EUROPE BETWEEN 973 AND 1096.

The Empire of Canute the Great, A. D. 1016–1035.

282. Denmark, England (Bretland), and Norway were, in the beginning of the eleventh century, united under the sceptre of Knud Swendson or Canute the Great. *Swedes*, *Welsh*, and *Scots* rendered homage to that active and successful monarch, who seemed destined to lay the foundation of a mighty empire in the North. Yet a point of concentration was wanting; the different nations of the empire were situated too far off from one another, and a reign of nineteen years was not sufficiently long to accomplish the amalgamation. Nor did King Knud leave any enterprising and talented prince be-

hind him to continue and fully to carry through the great idea of union. A speedy separation therefore took place on the death of the Danish monarch in 1035. But the political and social consequences of this temporary union of all the Northmen under the raven banner of Denmark was nevertheless of great importance. The desolating piracies of the Danish and Norwegian Vi-kings terminated for ever with the conquest of England, and the well-organized government of an enlightened Christian King, and the final introduction of Christianity and civilization among the half barbarous Northmen, was then most auspiciously accomplished by the strenuous exertions of the English bishops and missionaries, who were by King Knud promoted to the episcopal sees in his states.[89] We shall now give a short description of the geographical and political position of the northern regions during the eleventh century, before the beginning of the great crusade to the East, and the military expeditions of the Danish kings for the conversion of the Sclavonian and Lettic nations on the southern coasts of the Baltic.

I. Kingdom of Ireland.

283. Internal Feuds, Expulsion of the Danes, and Conquest of Henry II.—The internal history of the five kingdoms of Ireland (219), during the tenth and eleventh centuries, is better known than that of Scotland during the same period. It presents, however, nothing but wars among the clans, invasions of the coasts by the *East-men*, or confederacies of the Irish princes against those foreigners who already possessed the whole eastern and southern portions of the island. In the year 1014, Brian Boru, who stands recorded in the annals of Ireland as a model of royal virtues, a valiant hero, and a consummate statesman, raised himself to the sovereignty of the whole island. He then gathered the native forces, and advancing upon *Dublin*, the capital of the Danes, defeated them totally in the bloody battle at *Clontarf*, where they lost their thousand celebrated *mail-men*, and after another rout of the Dublin Danes in 1072, the Northmen were driven from their last stronghold, and expelled from the island. Brian himself fell, and the civil wars among the Canfinnies flashed up more violently than ever. The moral and social condition of the Irish people during the latter half of the eleventh century, was "as wretched," says Thomas Moore, in his history of Ireland, "as can almost be conceived;" and it appears that even the austere discipline of the Church gave way in this general degeneration and confusion. All these disorders made a national synod necessary. It came together at *Kells* in Meath in 1152, under the presidence of a Romish Cardinal. Tithes were here introduced for the support of the clergy, and archiepiscopal palls distributed to the Bishops of *Dublin*, *Cashel*, and *Tuam* under the archiepiscopal chair of *Armagh*. The ecclesiastical revolution thus tranquilly and speedily effected, was followed by another of a political nature, which might have had beneficial consequences for the Irish nation. Roderic O'Connor, the king of Connaught, was elected sovereign king at the great convention of *Athboy* in 1167. There, besides the heads of the church, the Canfinnies and their vassals met to the number of thirty thousand horse and foot, and swore allegiance to their king-elect. Yet the Irish people was not destined to progress by its national development to civilization and happiness. Dermod M'Morchad, king of Leinster, who, on account of an atrocious breach of hospitality and his unchained passions, had been driven from the island, fled to England, and applied to Henry II. to replace him on his throne, offering to hold his kingdom under the English monarch as the price of his restoration. Richard de Clare (Strongbow) and other warlike English nobles, at the head of their knights and archers, then landed on the coast of Leinster in 1169, and by their superior Norman armature and tactics, defeated the Irish in every battle. Though only some few hundreds, the Norman-English stormed and took Wexford and Dublin, and routing King Roderic and his unwieldy masses in a great battle, Strongbow remained the master in eastern Ireland. In 1172, King Henry came himself to Ireland with a splendid train of noblemen and troops, and the English thus secured a firm footing in Leinster and Munster, where they built *Carrick*, *Kilkenny*, and other castles. The petty chieftains did homage to Henry, and received him in Dublin with all the pomp of a sovereign. The Pope Adrian had earlier (1154) granted the English king the sovereignty over Ireland, on the condition of reducing it completely under the spiritual authority of the Roman see, and paying the Peter's pence. This title had lain dormant during the troubles with France; but the ecclesiastical council held at Cashel near Tipperary, now at once recognized the bull and the Papal donation. Large tracts of lands were then portioned out among the principal English knights and warriors, the system of the English feudal laws and tenures was introduced, and a commencement thus formed for establishing the British dominion throughout the island. During this period the portion of the island subject to the English laws was called *Pale;* it extended over the southeastern part of Munster, Leinster, and the east coast of Ulster, and was divided into twelve counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Kildare*, *Uriel* (Louth), *Catherlough* (Carlow), *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Kilkenny*, *Kerry*, *Limerick*, and *Tipperary*. Yet the tranquillity thus effected by the sword of a foreign invader was more nominal than real. The English barons themselves soon split into two contending factions—English by *blood* and English by *birth*—the old conquerors and their descendants who, by intermarriages with the native Celts, had acquired the Irish customs, habits, and prejudices; and the proud barons from England, who later came over to the island, with the hope of obtaining grants of castles and lucrative situations under the royal government. The former gathered their Irish vassals under their banner, and all was again dissension and civil war. The horrors of this state of internal anarchy in Ireland continued throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were still increased by the Scottish invasion of Robert Bruce, who after his glorious victory over Edward II. at Bannockburn in 1314, sent his brother, Edward Bruce, to make a diversion against the English in Ireland. The brilliant Edward for three years kept the field victoriously against his mortal foes, but perished in 1318, in the battle on the *Faughard* near Dundalk, and with him the hopes of a union with Scotland.

II. Kingdom of Scotland.

284. Internal Organization and Relations to England.—The history of Scotland remains still enveloped in darkness after the union of the Picts and the Scots or Dalriads, as the Gaelic tribes of the Highlands were called by Beda. The successors of Kenneth II. availed themselves of the confusion

[89] Canute conferred many bishoprics on English prelates in Skaane, Sealand, and Fyen. St. Olaf of Norway, and King Olaf Skötkonning of Sweden, also invited priests and monks from England for the conversion of their subjects, as Sigefried, Siegeward, Wulfried, Rodulf, and others. The consecration of these bishops was performed by Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, who strove with all his might to obtain for the English Church the supremacy over that of the north. The Archiepiscopal See of Hamburg, powerfully supported by Rome with investitures, and by the Benedictine Order with devotion and learning, was then zealously engaged in the extirpation of heathenism in the north. See the excellent history of the Anglo-Saxon Kings by Dr. J. M. Lappenberg. London, 1845. Vol. II., page 204 *et seq.*

which the Danish wars occasioned in England to extend their dominion over the south. Canute entered Scotland with an army in the year 1031, and advancing through the Lowlands, forced King Malcolm II. to acknowledge him as his liege lord. Malcolm III., Kenmore, in the subsequent period, gave shelter to the Anglo-Saxon refugees who had escaped the Norman sword at Hastings. He married the sister of Edgar Ætheling, and supported the English in their repeated attempts at insurrection against their Norman oppressors. But when William the Conqueror crossed the Tweed, in 1073, and devastated the Lowlands with fire and sword, the Scot became so terrified, that he met the invader, and rendered him homage as his vassal and liegeman. The proud William retired, satisfied with this humiliation; he fortified *Newcastle* and *Carlisle*, but permitted his Scottish vassal to retain *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and the northern portion of *Northumberland*, as fiefs of the English crown.

The Scots bore this vassalage with impatience; they often invaded the northern districts of England, and many an obstinate battle was fought with the Normans on the border. The Scottish kings continued to protect all emigrants, both outlawed Saxons and dissatisfied Norman knights, and gave them estates within the kingdom and important places in their council. The alliance of Malcolm with the Saxon princess, and the establishment of the English patriots on the border, were events of the highest importance for the consolidation of the Scottish kingdom. The amalgamation of the Saxons and Normans with the native Pictish population was easy, and thus arose that warlike *border-knighthood* which for centuries became the bulwark of the independence of Scotland. These fierce warriors—the *moss-troopers*—built their towers or castles in the strongest positions of the Cheviot hills, or in the pathless moors; there they gathered their tenants around their strongholds, and were always in arms, and prepared for forays into the country of the enemy, or for the defence of their own (258). The borderers, high and low, the knights and their tenants, composed small communities, united by military discipline; the common danger brought together the lord of the castle and the peasant of the hamlet—the crested cavalier and the humble pedestrian boor, to whom the spur and the lance were forbidden in England and Germany (245). In Scotland they did not form separate nationalities. Each warrior was armed as he best could be, in complete armor or in a lined doublet; each mounted his war-steed or his pony. The peasant, whom the arrogant Norman disdainfully called *villain*, was in Scotland styled *gude-man;* and the same language was then spoken in the castle, the town, and the cottage. The Lowlands having thus been divided among military chiefs, the feudal system was introduced in its severity; and the power of the king would have been very circumscribed, if the barons had not been continually engaged in private feuds with one another. A second cause of disorder arose from the hostility of the Gaelic inhabitants of the Highlands. The *Celts*, or ancient Scots, had vanquished the *Picts* (220); but their native kings since Kenneth II. had allied themselves with the Gothic race, and taken their residence among them. The proud Highlander despised the men of the plain, and called them indiscriminately *Sassanach*, because they spoke the Saxon or Scandinavian dialect. The Gaelic considered their hostile descents and their levying *black-mail* in the Lowlands merely as reprisals of what had belonged to their forefathers. Yet this internal hostility between the two races in Scotland, ceased at once when the blazing beacon-fires on the border-heights announced the approaching invasion of the Anglo-Normans. The Highland clans then gathered with enthusiasm, and descending with claymore and target, joyfully joined the mail-clad barons of the plain, in every expedition against the common enemy.[100]

285. Political and Ecclesiastical Division.—The removal of the royal government to the Lowlands was followed by results disastrous to the future prosperity of the Highlands. The Gaels soon sunk into poverty and neglect; the administration of the laws in the hills became inoperative, or was so feebly enforced, that the Highlanders gave themselves up to violence and turbulence, and took justice into their own hands for those injuries which the laws of the land could no longer redress. It was then that they formed themselves into *clans* and *tribes*, which elected their chiefs, and became almost entirely independent of the crown. The power of these patriarchal chiefs was very extensive; they acted as judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their retainers and clansmen; and, being supported by their tribe, they mocked at the royal authority. The most powerful clans in the west were the *Cambells*, the *Camerons*, the *Macdeans*, on the peninsula of *Morven* and in the island of *Mull;* the *Macdougalls* of *Lorn*, the *Macdonalds* of *Glencarry*, the *Stewarts*, *Mackenzies*, and others. On the eastern slope of the Grampian hills resided the *Stewarts* of *Athol*, with the *Robertsons*, the *Ferguesons*, the *Gordons*, the *Grants*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Rosses*, and others. The *Sinclairs* were situated on the northern promontory; and along the lakes in the interior, the *Frazers*, *Macphersons*, and the *Macgregors*. All the tribes scattered on the western coast of Scotland, from the Mull of *Cantire* to the northern cape, and in the Hebrides—*Innisgail*, or the Isles of the Gaels—recognized as their supreme chief the Lord of the Isles, who resided at the castle of *Dunstaffnage*, in a strong position on the western coast of Argyle, the ancient abode of the Celtic kings. Sometimes he dwelt in the castle of *Artornish*, on the strait of Mull, or in the isle of *Yla* (Isla), the finest and best cultivated of the Hebrides. There were held the courts of judicature, the members of which, like the ancient Areopagites on the Mars hill at Athens, sat on seats cut out in the living rock. There, too, the chiefs of the island-clans and those of the adjacent coast presented their sovereign prince with the sword of command, while the bishop of Argyle anointed him with pompous ceremonies. The sovereign power of the Lord of the Isles, however, was more nominal than real; it did not extend over the Hebrides, because he acknowledged the king of Norway as his superior, and the bishop of that see, who resided at *Iona* (I-colm-kill), was suffragan of the ecclesiastical province of *Nidaros* in Norway (223).

The national aversion of the Highlanders for the Scots of the Lowlands, tended to maintain this purely *Gaelic royalty:* and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Lords or Kings of the Isles, of the family of the MacDonalds, treated with the kings of Scotland as independent potentates;—their rivals in ordinary times, but their faithful allies against the Norman dynasty of England, as they proved later, in 1314, when Angus-Og MacDonald, then the Lord of the Isles, fought so bravely by the side of Robert Bruce in the battle at Bannockburn.[101]

On the eastern coast lands lay the counties of *Buguhan*, *Marr*, *Angus*, *Strathern*, *Fife*, and the viscounty of *Mernis*. The southern Lowlands were likewise divided among many powerful feudatories, and every hill was crowned with a frown-

[100] For interesting sketches of the life and manners of the Scottish border-knights or moss-troopers during the middle ages, see *the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and *the Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*, by Walter Scott, and likewise his admirable poems and tales. In ballad poetry all the other nations of Europe must yield to the Scots, the Scandinavians, and the Spaniards.

[101] See the notes to Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, and Augustin Thierry's *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans*. London, 1825. Vol. II., page 274, et seq.

ing castle. The eastern county of *March* belonged to the *Stewarts;* the county of *Douglass*, the viscounty of *Teviotdale*, and the seigniory of Galloway to the *Douglasses;* the county of *Carrick* on the western coast, and the viscounty of *Annandale* on the Scottish border to the *Bruces;* the viscounty of *Tweedale* to the *Hays* and others.

The ecclesiastical division of Scotland consisted in two archiepiscopacies: I. Provincia Sancti Andreæ, with the dioceses of *Catanensis* (Caithness), *Rossensis* (Ross), and *Moraviensis* (Murray), and the suffragans of *Aberdonia* (Aberdeen), *Brechinum* (Brechin), with the splendid monastery of *Aberbrothoc;* *Dunkelden* on the Tay, and *Dunblan* on the Teith. II. Provincia Glascuensis, embracing the western Highlands, and the Lowlands, from the Frith of Forth to the Scottish border, with the single suffragan of *Candida casa*, Hwiterne, Wigton, in Galloway.

286. Cities, Castles, and Historical Sites.—Stirling, in the plain of Carse, on the Forth, at the western extremity of a high precipitous rock, crowned by the celebrated Stirling Castle, became an important town from its central situation, its strong fortress, and its commanding the passage over the Forth. The Scottish kings therefore often chose it for their residence, and it was the scene of several of the most thrilling events in the history of Scotland. The view from the battlements of Stirling Castle, is, in point of extent, variety, and magnificence, unequalled by any other in Britain. *Edin* or *Edwynesburgh*[102] (Edinburgh) was still a small unimportant borough. The first parliament was held there by Alexander II., in 1215, and it did not become the permanent capital of the kingdom until 1456. *Perth*, on the Tay, was, like Stirling, the royal residence in the earlier times, and the seat of a considerable trade, which the burgesses carried on in their own vessels with Flanders, and the Hanse towns on the Baltic. *Fanum Sancti Reguli—Sanct. Andreas* (St. Andrews) was built by Saint Rule, a Greek missionary from Patrae in Peloponnesus, on a lofty cliff on the coast of Fife, the archiepiscopal see for eastern Scotland, with magnificent churches and monasteries. *Glascua* (Glasgow), on the Clyde, early a populous and flourishing city, was the archiepiscopal see for western Scotland. Its jurisdiction and revenues extended over the counties of *Lanark*, *Renfrew*, *Dumbarton*, *Ayr*, *Dumfries*, *Galloway*, and the western Highlands. *Melrose Abbey*, on the Tweed, was founded by King David I. in 1136, and richly endowed with lands and privileges; it became one of the most magnificent monasteries of Scotland, though much exposed to the border forays of the English, and burnt down by Edward II. in 1316. Its beautiful ruins, in the purest Gothic style of architecture, still attract the traveller, not less than the neighboring Abbotsford, the late residence of the great Scottish novelist. *Berwyc* (Berwick), on the Tweed, the bulwark of the border, often captured by the English and retaken by the Scots, was frequently the residence of the Scottish kings, in times of danger. Celebrated border-castles and strongholds of the Scottish moss-troopers during this and the following period were: *Roxburgh* and *Jedburgh*, on the Teviot; *Seafort*, *Fernihurst* and *Eggerstaine* castles on the Cheviot hills; *Branxholm* and *Buccleuch*, in strong positions, in the upper Teviot-dale; *Langholm* and *Arkinkolm*, protecting the Eskdale; *Hoddom Castle* in Annandale, and *Dumfries* in Niddesdale.

The manners of the Scots continued barbarous. They had few enjoyments of life. David I. collected the hitherto unwritten laws into a regular code, called *Regiam Majestatem*, from the initial words of the text. Many regulations regarding marriage and the *wehrgeld*, or compensation for manslaughter (called *cro* in the ancient Scottish dialect), were savage. King David placed the cities under a particular law; the royal officers, the *morlairs*, or mayors, had the rank and influence of the counts in the states of the continent; they were called thanes, and held the hereditary jurisdiction in their thanedoms; later, they adopted the English title of barons and viscounts. The ruling dynasty became extinct in 1288, with Alexander III. His only son had died, and he nominated his niece, Margareth of Norway, Queen of Scotland with the consent of the States. Her death during the passage in 1291, brought on that contention about the succession between the many pretenders to the crown, which forwarded the ambitious views of King Edward I. of England, and the victorious reign of Robert Bruce in our next period.

[102] This name appears for the first time in the Charter of Foundation by King David I., given to the Abbey of Holyrood House in 1128, in which he calls the city "*Burgum meum de Edwinesburgh.*"

III. Kingdom of England.

287. The Danish Conquest.—Far more important are the political and social changes in England since our last visit to that island during the reign of King Edgar (221). The great Ælfred had vanquished the Northumbrian Danes, and secured the tranquillity of the country; and the permanent settlement of the Northmen in Neustria (France) in 912, gave a happy respite of nearly a century to the Anglo-Saxons in England. That fertile country was then flourishing like a garden. Yet the Saxons, nobles and commoners, living retired on their estates and farms, neglected the military institutions of Ælfred, and gave themselves up to the peaceful occupations of agriculture, and the rearing of cattle on a larger scale; and thus the Danes, on the renewal of their invasions toward the close of the tenth century, found no armed opposition; but every where plenty of provisions, and herds of excellent steeds, with which those indefatigable warriors, as skilful horsemen upon the land, as daring sailors on the sea, rapidly organized their cavalry, and scoured the country in every direction. They took possession of Northumberland, Mercia, and East Anglia; and so sadly had the military spirit sunk among the Anglo-Saxon kings, that, instead of gathering the strength of the nation for defence, they now raised the oppressive tribute called *Dana-gelt*, to satisfy the rapacity of the invaders. The Wätlinga street (221) became again the frontier-line between the two hostile nationalities. Yet the Danish sea-kings had left the coast with their fleets under the treaty with King Æthelred II. the Unready, in 996; and only small bands of northern warriors were settled in the ceded districts on the east. Many of the Yarls lived there as guests on the estates of the English thanes, when suddenly, on the morning of Saint Brice's Day, the 13th of November, 1002, the whole Anglo-Saxon people rose in arms against their unsuspecting enemies. The dastard Æthelred had plotted a general massacre of the Danes; the most ruthless crimes were perpetrated all over the island by a nation professing Christian faith and integrity. Taken by surprise, the Danish Yarls and warriors, their families, merchants, young and old, men and women, were cowardly assaulted by the multitude of revengeful Saxons, and put to the sword, after the most heroical defence. No place of refuge proved then a sanctuary to the doomed Danes. Thousands perished; the Princess Gunhilde, sister to King Swend Fork-Beard, was dragged into the square and beheaded, with her whole family. In the awful moment of the execution the courageous lady exclaimed, in prophetic spirit, "that the slaughter of her children would cost the heart-blood of all England;" and her word proved true. The most terrible revenge was taken by her brother; for fourteen years England was desolated by King Swend, and his more celebrated son *Knud* (Canute), who, at, last, in 1016, after the total defeat of the Saxons at *Assington*, made a treaty with the brave, but unhappy Prince Eadmund Ironside, according to which the kingdom was divi-

ded between them. *Wessex*, *East Anglia*, *Essex*, including *London*, remained to Eadmund, while King Knud obtained *Mercia*, and all the north. The sovereignty was preserved to the Saxon. But after the murder of King Eadmund by the traitor Eadric, Knud of Denmark was acknowledged supreme king of all England. The Danish dynasty ruled the island for twenty-six years; and on the death of King Hardiknud, in 1042, Edward the Confessor occupied the throne of his forefathers. Knud divided England into four large provinces: *Wessex* he reserved for his own rule; *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, were awarded to his chiefs. He was a man of great talent, benevolence, and justice, who speedily took the proper measures for healing the wounds of the bloody war. The people became soon reconciled to the new master, and felt more happy under the equitable and energetic rule of the Dane, than they had been under their native sovereigns. Knud undertook no change in the old Saxon constitution; and his splendid army of regular household troops—the celebrated *huus-karle*—brilliantly equipped in gilt armor, and mounted on magnificent steeds, somewhat in the style of imperial *Væringer*, in Constantinople (227, 262), secured the tranquillity of the island.

288. Political Institutions of the Anglo-Saxons.—The old Anglo-Saxon kings had sprung from *Woden* (Odin), and were originally only the *heretogas* or army-leaders (79), who had conquered the island. They were elected by the nobles, but became *hereditary cynings* (kings), though the succession sometimes passed to the brothers of the deceased king, to the exclusion of his sons. The powers of the German princes were limited; yet they gradually gained authority, being strongly supported by the Roman clergy, who always secured the influence to their church through that of the monarch. The manners of the Saxon court were extremely plain; the cyning was surrounded by his *folgoth—gefolge*—or train of military retainers. The *bower thane* (chamberlain) was at the same time *hordere* (royal treasurer). The next officer of rank was the *disc-thegn*, who presented the plates at the royal board, and the *mund-skenk* (cup-bearer), who filled the drinking-horn. The *stallere* or *horse-thegn* was often both marshal and banner-bearer. The *aethlings* or nobles (79) consisted of the descendants of the old sea-kings, among whom the lands had been distributed with military tenure. The provinces were governed by an earl or yarl, as in Denmark. The *ealdorman* was the judge and count or military commander of the county. His office was not hereditary; he received his horse and armor from the king as his sworn officer, and they were sent back to the king on his death. The inferior nobles were the *thanes* or knights, who served in mail-armor on horseback; they were distinguished from the simple freeman, and possessed estates of from four to forty hides of land; they were thus the predecessors of the Norman barons after the conquest in 1066. The squires, or half-freemen of the thanes were called *drenge* (boys) in Danish, but had in Anglo-Saxon the unpleasant, though still harmless name of *knaves*. These drenge or shield-boys were bound to render military service to the proprietors of the chief manors; they were much employed as border-wardens on the Welsh and Scottish frontiers. The simple freeman was called *ceorl* (churl, villain), or *frigman* when living in the country; and *burghess* when established as a mechanic or tradesman in a town. The last class were the serfs, called *thieves*, whose forefathers had been British prisoners of war, or who themselves had lost their liberty as criminals. They were few, however, for we find not more than twenty-five thousand thieves in England at the time of the Norman conquest. The poor serfs were better treated by the Anglo-Saxons, than the similar class, the *tralle*, in Denmark; for they had their special *wehr-geld* for their protection. The annual assembly of the "wise and wealthy men," or *Witena-gemot*, consisted of the great vassals from Wales and Cumberland, the numerous clergy, the earls, the kings' thanes possessing forty hides of land, and the chosen citizens from London called *lith-men*. The smaller thanes, the knaves and churls, and the whole mass of the nation, were not called to the diet—yet they crowded the doors and the lower end of the hall; they filled the environs with their multitude; and though they had no *vote*, they still expressed effectively the *public opinion*. They too had their influence, and often was the crowned king, with his mitred prelates and high-capped earls, obliged to shape his counsel or conform his sentence according to the roaring shouts of applause or disapproval from the Anglo-Saxon masses outside. Woman had in England as high a standing as in Denmark, though the Saxon women did not appear with shield and lance like their sisters—the shield-maidens—from the Baltic (194). The petty kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Essex, Surrey, Anglia, and the conquered Welsh and Cambrian districts, were early formed into *scirs* or shires (counties) and *hundreds*, similar to the *syssels* and *herreds* of Denmark (222). Ælfred reduced them to an equal portion in extent, mostly corresponding to the ecclesiastical division. The executive officer of the ealdorman and the count was the *scir-gerefa* or sheriff; he likewise levied taxes and contributions. The Saxon laws were mild; the high administration of justice was lodged with the king and the Witena-gemot; the former was continually journeying through the country to compose differences among the quarrelsome warriors and thanes. In the cities *guilds* were constituted for mutual protection. Several portions of England, such as Norfolk, Suffolk, and Ely, were beautifully cultivated.[105] Anglo-Saxon commerce extended to France, Flanders, and the North; the English vessels visited Iceland on account of the whale-fishing. Saxon merchants travelled to Italy; the staple commodity of England was wool, which was exported to Flanders and Germany. The rich and happy farmer lived retired on his estate, surrounded by his *geburs* or peasants, his flocks and cattle, when the clangor of the Norman trumpets on the battle-field of Hastings, proclaimed the impending change in the political and social relations of England.

289. Interesting Cities and Historical Places.—*Lun den wyc* (London) and *Southwark* extended already on the banks of the Thames, and were united by the famous old wooden bridge, the scene of so many a skirmish during the Danish war. The city was strongly fortified by walls and towers, erected on the ancient Roman foundations, and the *Fleet-ditch* filled the moat. Above the low-timbered houses of merchants and mechanics rose still, here and there, the huge remains of Roman aqueducts and temples, and the rude, spireless churches of St. Paul, Saint Martin-le-Grand, and many others. High-walled, gloomy monasteries and nunneries were located in every ward of the town. The *Tower* of Constantine, on the east, was still standing; while another castle (now Temple-bar) protected the mouth of the Fleet-ditch on the west. The roofs of the dwellings were thatched and reeded; the windows had no glass panes, but were closed by linen blinds. The streets were unpaved and muddy. Large squares opened in the interior, planted with clusters of trees, and divided by low palisades, where the motley and picturesque crowds of skin-clad Scandinavians, turbaned and caftaned Saracens, Lombard bankers in silken gowns, tight-dressed Germans, mail-clad Normans, and eagle-eyed and eagle-beaked Jews in

[103] Gardening occurs among the occupations of the Anglo-Saxons. Like the Danes, they called a garden *ort-geard*, in Danish *urte-gaard* or herb-court, that is, orchard. Vineyards were flourishing in Gloucestershire and other southern counties; they were attached to every monastic establishment.

flowing oriental drapery—all jostling one another—all intent upon business and traffic, already began to foreshadow the future mart of the world's commerce. West of the city, on the Thames, rose the huge cathedral of Westminster, built in the Saxon style by Edward the Confessor; beautiful vineyards covered Holborn hill and Smithfields; and the monks were not only remarkably expert in working their vine-gardens, but they even knew how to season their sour harvest with pigment, honey, and odoriferous spices, and they thus produced a very palatable beverage. The most interesting place in "Old Lunnen" was the *guild-hall*, where the burgesses and the neighboring thanes and knights, under the presidence of their *caldormen*, formed their brotherhood—the *guild-brothers*—who in those lawless times gave full security to the lives and property of that industrious and enterprising corporation. The London burgesses ruled there like sovereigns, and were exempted from the jurisdiction of the king's *gerefas* or palatine counts. The jolly guild-brothers, with their broadswords at the baldric, assembled in their hall to feast, to receive their foreign guests, to form their funeral processions, and to discuss the measures for the conservation of peace and order among the members.[104]—*Otford*, in Kent, where King Eadmund Ironside vanquished Canute in a pitched battle, and might have destroyed the Danish army but for the treachery of Eadric, who by his wiles induced the victor to desist from the pursuit of the retiring enemy.—*Sceorstane* (Sherston), in Wiltshire, where, the year before the former battle, 1013, Eadric already by his treachery had occasioned the defeat of Edmund and the Anglo-Saxon army. In the heat of the struggle, when the Danes began to give way, the yarl struck off the head of one of his own men, who in features and complexion bore resemblance to King Eadmund, and lifting it on his lance in sight of his warriors, called aloud that the king had fallen, and that they were to save their lives by speedy flight.—*Assandun* (Assingdon), on the *Sture*, in Essex, was the battle-field of that last great conflict between Canute and Eadmund, where the Saxons stood their ground till sundown, and continued fighting even by moonlight, when they, at last, were surrounded by the Danes and dispersed in all directions.—*Olney*, a small island in the Severn, where the two kings met after the battle of Assingdon, in 1016, and divided the country between them;—*Shaftesbury*, in Dorsetshire, where King Canute died, in 1035; and *Winchester*, eastward, in Hampshire, where his body was deposited in the burial-vault of the West-Saxon kings;—*Stamford-Bridge*, on the Dervent, east of York, the place where Harold Godwinson, the last Saxon king, vanquished in battle his rebellious brother Tostig and King Harald Haardraade of Norway; who both perished by the sword in 1066, eight days before the battle at Hastings;—*Senlac*, near Hastings, in Sussex, on the southern coast. There, on the hilly ridge of *Battle*, where in later times stood the *Battle-Abbey*, took place the most sanguinary and eventful struggle in British history, on the 16th October, 1066, in which Harold Godwinson and the flower of the Anglo-Saxon chiefs and warriors perished, and William the Conqueror and his Norman knights with one blow overthrew the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

290. Acquisitions of the Saxon and Danish Kings, from Eadgar to William of Normandy.—King Eadgar (959–975) had already armed large fleets, with which he reduced the Danish sea-kings in Ireland by the conquest of Dublin (219). The Britons were driven out of *Cumberland* and *Strath-Clyde*, and both provinces became Scottish principalities under English suzerainty (103). Eadgar granted King Kenneth of Scotland the enfeoffment of Lothian, which afterwards led to the permanent incorporation of the Scoto-Saxon Lowlands with the Scoto-Gaelic kingdom. *Edin* (Edinburgh) had already been evacuated by the Saxons, and fallen into the possession of the Scottish king Ingulf. Canute not only received the homage of the Welsh princes, but he undertook in his old age a successful campaign into Scotland, and brought speedily King Malcolm and the petty dynasts, Mælbathe (Macbeth) and Jehmarc, under his sovereign authority. Edward the Confessor maintained his dignity in the north by the heavy sword of Earl Siward of Northumberland; and Harold Godwinson gained his knightly spurs in his brilliant battles against the Welsh invaders of the Saxon plains. In 1063 he subdued North Wales; Griffith, the native prince, fell, and every Welshman who appeared in arms on the east border of *Offa's Trench* was to be punished with the loss of his sword-hand. William of Normandy left the Scottish king in possession of Cumberland, but he built the strong fortress of *Carlisle*, on the Eden, as a testimony of his supremacy. The Welsh had, however, during the Norman war thrown off the yoke, and remained armed and independent behind the bulwark of their mountains.

291. The Norman Conquest, and Political Reform.—While the other Germanic nations of continental Europe advanced with giant steps toward a higher civilization, the Anglo-Saxon people had remained stationary. England, with her weak, priest-ridden kings, her indolent and wrangling wittan-gemote, her mass-singing monks and bluff-faced aethlings, had abolished the military institutions of Canute the Dane, without substituting any national defence, even against the light-footed mountaineers of Wales, who, in spite of the heroic exertions of Harold Godwinson, from their western strongholds, ravaged the cultivated fields of the Saxons. A peaceful, religious king and a cattle-breeding nation, without army, fleets, or fortresses, were for thirty years witnessing the astounding activity of their warlike neighbors, the Normans, beyond the Channel. Edward the Confessor died in 1042, leaving the contested succession to the brave and talented Harold Godwinson; who, however, was unable to stem the torrent of events. The battle of Hastings decided the downfall of the old Saxon kingdom, by the destruction of thousands and the misery of millions of good-natured Saxons beneath the sword of the foreign invader. For their time had passed, and a new era, of Norman superiority in politics, ideas, arms, and civilization had sprung up. Young nations, brilliant with vigor and enterprise, are always irresistible. So were in antiquity the Greeks, so the Romans—so is in our own day the young American republic; though the influence of religion and civilization always will decide the character and the means by which the sweeping dominion is exerted.—The Normans had long ago burnt their piratical dragon-ships (236); they had mounted their war-steeds, and, for the first time, they now brandished the lance of chivalry. That institution had sprung from the spirit of the age; it was hailed with enthusiasm by all the Germanic races of Europe. But it was still juvenile and inexperienced—it had not yet gained its golden spurs;—it was on the gory battle-field of Hastings, among heaps of slaughtered thanes and aethlings, knaves and churls, who with the ponderous battle-axe of barbarism made the vain attempt to stay the rush of time—it was there that chivalry was dubbed, strengthened, and consolidated, by the foundation of feudality in its severest forms in conquered England.

The fall of King Harold, the dispersion of the dismayed Anglo-Saxons, and the surrender of London, at once secured the conquest of England. William of Normandy was the man for so great an undertaking; he was as prudent a statesman as he was a bold and successful warrior. Though he flattered the English, he riveted their chains by the introduction of the feu-

[104] London had then likewise a chief municipal tribunal from the times of King Canute, which was called with a Danish name, *huus-thing*, or jury-assembly of sworn citizens; from this is derived our modern *hustings*.

dal military system of Normandy. He undertook no change in the internal division of the country; the *shires* and their *hundreds*, the *dioceses* of the church, and the general administration of the cities, remained Anglo-Saxon, as they had been under the Danish and Saxon kings. But he distributed domains, castles, villages, and even entire towns to his Norman barons and knights, while their vassals were again rewarded with smaller portions. Towers and fortified castles arose in every direction. To overawe the city of London, the conqueror took up his abode in the Tower, which he enlarged and strengthened. Here he raised his dreaded banner, bearing the three lions; and similar menacing ensigns floated over several new castles on the west of the capital. In the organization of his government, and, as his power depended on the sword alone, all grants and fiefs awarded to laymen and ecclesiastics were burdened with the condition of furnishing, whenever required, a certain number of horsemen, completely armed; and by this regulation, called *Knights'* service, the king was enabled to raise, in a brief space, an army of sixty thousand cavalry. The tenants of the crown exacted a similar and proportional service from their dependents, and thus the feudal chain was linked, and held the whole system together. The count or governor of the province stood next in rank to the king; then followed the viscount, the baron, the knight, the squire, and the sergeant-at-arms,—all considered as nobles, and each one of them by his feudal estate dependent on his immediate liege-lord, whose banner or summons he followed. A general survey, *terrier*, or rent-roll, was made of all territory in England, as far north as the province of York, the particulars of which were inserted in the great roll of Winchester, by the Saxons called the book of the last judgment—the celebrated *Doomsday-Book*—perhaps because it contained their irrevocable sentence of ex-propriation. From this minute document we learn that seven hundred large estates were awarded to the leaders of the Norman army, the Barons; their estates were again subdivided into sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen *mesne-fiefs*, held by their *valvasors* (vavasors) with military tenure; of these, no less than twenty-eight thousand and fifteen belonged to the church. The smaller and less important estates were, by special favor, left in the possession of the Saxons; and few were those who continued to be free proprietors, or *tenants-in-chief*, ranging directly under the crown. All the rest of the dispersed Saxons were found only in the lowest rank. Some names of Anglo-Saxon extraction belonged to farmers settled on the domains of Norman barons, knights, or servants-at-arms.[105] Thus William the Conqueror commanded the service of a large feudal army at its own expense; but he, like Charlemagne, knew the advantage of having bodies of *household troops* of his own (167), in whom he might put greater trust, and of whose services he could permanently dispose. By the allurement of high pay, William therefore gathered adventurous warriors from every part of France, Flanders, and Brittany, even from Germany and Spain, under his lion-banner; and he quartered them upon the poor suffering Saxons, according to the proportion of their possessions. With an army so completely organized, William was enabled to crush every attempt at insurrection among the down-trodden English, and he could even venture to punish any encroachment of his own arrogant chiefs from Normandy. Many of the latter, supposing themselves ill-rewarded for their services, fled to Scotland, where we have seen them well received, and afterwards forming together with the English exiles, the body of the vigilant Scottish moss-troopers, or border wardens (284).

The spoliation and taxation inflicted on the towns and boroughs was as great as that put upon the Saxon thanes, and other landed proprietors; and it is only in the next period, during the crusades, that we can discover the slow development and final emancipation of the cities. A large tract of country, extending for thirty miles, between Salisbury in Wiltshire and the sea, was laid waste, and converted into wood by the conqueror. This was the *nova foresta*, or new forest, which did not only serve as a royal chase, but had the special object of insuring the Norman recruits a safe place of disembarkation on their arrival on the coast of England from the continent, where no Saxon enemy could molest them. William secured his northern frontiers by fortifying the cities of Newcastle and Carlisle; but he was too much occupied in England and Normandy to molest the Welsh behind their mountains. Having thus laid the sound foundation of his dominion in England, William died in 1087, and his successors, William Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen of Blois, ruled England and Normandy until the year 1154, when the Plantagenet dynasty (1154–1272) mounted the throne with Henry II. No remarkable geographical changes took place during this period, until the marriage of Eleanor of Poitiers with Henry the Second at once transferred the finest provinces of France to the crown of England, and gave rise to those pretensions which for three centuries kept the two rival nations in almost continual hostility towards each other.

IV. Kingdom of Denmark.

292. Dynasties, Constitution and Manners.—We are now approaching the most brilliant period in the mediæval history of Denmark. The union of the mainland of Jutland, the islands, and Skaane (222) under the sceptre of King Gorm the Old, in 883, and the introduction of Christianity under his son, Harald Bluetooth, were auspicious events, which, during the reign of King Knud the Great, caused a remarkable change in the ideas, manners, and institutions of the warlike Danish nation. Knud, while occupied in conquering England and Norway, gave his most zealous encouragement to the propagation of the Christian faith at home, and it soon supplanted the ancient superstition. One half of the nation had still adhered to the worship of Odin, but churches and monasteries were then erected, and filled with English and German priests and monks. Knud himself went to Rome in 1027, and was magnificently received both by the German Emperor and the Pope. Piracy had ceased with the more regular expeditions to England; the Northmen began to turn their attention to agriculture and the arts of peace. Knud introduced a certain splendor into his court and army, and the comforts of civilized

[105] By this cruel and arbitrary decree, the entire body of the Norman conquerors, though scattered and distributed over the vast territory of the vanquished Saxons, remained still united by the link of duty and military discipline, and, as it were, marshalled in the same battle-array as on the field of Hastings. The subaltern warrior owed faith and service to his military superior; and the knight who held lands from the baron was bound to vault into the saddle at his summons. But this singular division did not stop here; the knight himself gave a portion of his tenure to his squires, and these again to their servants-at-arms (sergeants), the lowest order of horsemen; nay, even to their *valets*, or grooms, who attended to the baggage, or served on foot as light infantry and bowmen. The rank of the king's vassals, in the language of the times, ran: *duke, count, viscount, baron, chevalier, esquire, sergeant* and *valet*. William the Conqueror himself stood as Duke of Normandy immediately under the crown of France, but in England he was a sovereign prince by the sword. During a period of war and spoliation, the most extraordinary fluctuations would necessarily take place in rank and fortune. Talents and bravery, or the chances of war, would carry the warrior rapidly from the lowest grade to the highest. Many a poor adventurer, who crossed the channel in his quilted cassock, with a bow in his hand, would afterwards appear to his countrymen, who came over after him, mounted on his war-steed, and brandishing the knightly lance. Nay, this system of obedience served even to control the haughty bearing of the churchmen themselves, because they likewise held their estates with military tenure, which would be forfeited if they refused to send their vassals to the army.

life penetrated from the south into the north, among the still rude Scandinavians. The Danes excelled in shipbuilding; their war-ships, or *dragons*, brilliantly painted and gilded, answered the double purpose of swift-sailing vessels and towering fortresses. For the purpose of organizing the naval force of the kingdom, all the coasts of the islands were divided into districts, each of which furnished a certain number of ships, that were manned by maritime conscription. Yet the conquests of that period were of no lasting advantage to Denmark; the extensive dominions of Knud the Great were, on his death, in 1035, partitioned among his sons. The crown of Norway was soon lost to the brave Magnus the Good, the son of Saint Olaf. England, after the short reigns of his sons Harald Harefod (light-footed), and Horda-Knud, fell back to Edward the Confessor, of the old Saxon dynasty of Æthelred, while the national diet in Denmark elected Svend Estridson, son of a sister of Knud, whose dynasty, under many vicissitudes and civil wars, occupied the Danish throne from 1035 to 1412. The ancient sea-kings and rovers had now become *Jarls*, or governors, and *Hirdmænd*, or royal court-officers, who, although without any hereditary rights, began to form an aspiring aristocracy. The clergy, too, exerted that powerful influence, which later developed itself in a truly hierarchical despotism. They supported the royal authority under the unstable and quarrelling sons of Svend Estridson, whose powers were yet very limited. All public transactions were decided at the general or provincial diets—*Rigsmöder* or *Landsthing*—held in different parts of the kingdom. These numerous assemblies consisted of the clergy, the Hirdmænd, and the free landholders, or *Bönder* (222)—a fine, independent class of men, who, with shield and broadsword, or battle-axe, surrounded the throne. The king presided, and the mass of the free population, by acclamation, resolved on peace or war, on taxes, and other leading questions of legislation and executive power. Thus we distinctly perceive that the German and Norman-French *feudal system*, with its crested barons, prancing on their barbed coursers, and disdainfully looking down on the *Bönder*, whom they had reduced to *villains* and *serfs*, that pernicious change in the institutions of Central Europe, did not extend to Denmark before the middle of the twelfth century, after the feudal chains had been riveted for more than a century over every other part of Western Europe; nor did it ever advance farther north than Sweden, and it never got a firm footing on the rock-bound coast of Norway (223). The first written laws of Denmark were the celebrated *Vitherlags-Ret*, by Knud, given to the Huuskarle of his regular army. The old laws and observances of *Skaane* were collected and published in the beginning of the thirteenth century; those of *Sealand* and *Jutland* appeared under King Waldemar II.; the latter on the diet of Vordingborg in 1244. Several parts of Denmark, such as Skaane, Sealand, and Fyen, were highly cultivated. Mechanics and artists were called in from Germany; young Danes already visited the newly established universities of Italy and France. The *Guild*, or Brotherhood of *Roeskilde*, secured the coasts against the Vendish pirates; that of *Schleswig* served as a model for those later granted to the rising cities of Jutland and the islands. Commerce was flourishing in the earlier period; but during the civil wars of King Niels and his successors, the neglect of the naval establishments permitted the *Vendish* pirates to annihilate the commerce of Denmark, and to desolate its coasts. Yet the chivalrous race of the Waldemars (1157–1243) soon stimulated the nation to the greatest exertions; and, carrying the banner of the Cross—the *Danebrog*—victoriously to Vendland, raised the Danish nation to the highest pitch of conquest and prosperity.[106]

293. Extent, Provinces, and Cities.—In the middle of the twelfth century, Denmark extended from the frontiers of Smaaland, in Sweden, across the islands to the river Eider, which separated it from Germany. It embraced a surface of nearly eight thousand square miles, and was inhabited by a more scattered population than at the present day, for it did not amount to a million of souls. I. Skaane, with *Halland* and *Blekinge* (222), was separated from Sweden by lakes, and gloomy forests of pine and fir, where roamed the bear and the wolf, and the still fiercer robbers and outlaws, who, having found a refuge in the wilderness, waged a continual border-war similar to that of the moss-riders, on the moors of Scotland (284, 286), or the Spaniards and Saracens on the banks of the Duero (258), though not softened by the romantic and chivalrous manners of the South. Skaane was as distinguished by its splendid beech-woods, fertile soil, and high cultivation, as by its warlike and industrious inhabitants, the *Skaaningers*, who, however, from their love of liberty, were always ready to rise in arms, and involve the kingdom in dangerous rebellions. The spirit of the times, the age of church-dominion and crusades, had at last pervaded the North; more than three hundred churches, monasteries, and chapels, adorned the hills and valleys of Skaane; and in *Lundegaard*, the northern Vatican, close to the magnificent cathedral of Sancti Laurentii, in the city of *Lund*, sat the proud Archbishop of Denmark, who styled himself, "*by grace of God the primas and legate of Saint Peter over Denmark and Sweden.*" Surrounded by his steel-clad vassals and numerous clergy, he vied in splendor and power with royalty itself. Catholic enthusiasm had at once superseded the wild fanaticism for Odin and the joys of Valhalla. New towns and villages arose around the sanctuaries of piety and peace. The white-cloaked Cistercians, and the black-hooded Benedictines, built their monasteries on the banks of the lakes; they opened their schools; they protected the peasantry that crowded around them, for the staff of the Bishop had now become a more powerful protection than the sword of the Yarl; nay, the impulse of religion even sought refuge in the depth of the forests, where the solitary bell of the hermitage assembled the wild hunters, whalers, and fishermen, to the worship of the Virgin. *Fodevig*, on the western coast, became the celebrated battle-field during the civil wars in 1034, where King Niels was defeated, and his treacherous son Prince Magnus perished, together with sixty-five bishops and prelates, who were found in full armor among the heaps of the slain. II. Sealand (222), with *Bornholm*, *Laaland*, *Falster*, *Möen*, and the smaller islands, was then the centre of the kingdom. *Roeskilde*, the populous and open capital of Denmark, extended through gardens, fields, and hedges, along the shores of the *Issefjord*. The interior was occupied by the royal castle—*Kongsgaard*—fortified with moats and towers, and the splendid cathedral of *Sancti Lucii*, built in 1084 by Anglo-Saxon architects, in the earlier Gothic style of architecture. In order to defend the city against the expeditions of the Vendish pirates, it was surrounded by walls and moats in 1151, and protected by the Castle of *Haraldsborg*, on a promontory in the frith. In the neighboring forest of *Haraldsskov*, Prince Magnus of Denmark assassinated the noble-minded Knud Lavard, the father of Waldemar I., and first Duke of Schleswig, in 1131; and in the royal hall took place the terrific scene of the murder of the innocent King Knud V. by his rival, Svend Grathe, which caused the union of all Denmark under the sceptre of

[106] During this period the Danish kings began to exact *toll* of the foreign ships which passed through *OEresund*, or the Sound, into the Baltic. The origin of this impost is unknown, but it seems that it began to be levied as early as the twelfth century, when the Danes, being masters of *both shores*, swept the Baltic with their crusading fleets, and probably chose this way to declare their pre-eminence. In the fifteenth century their exaction was already considered to rest upon a very ancient custom. See the Geography of Maltebrun, Book 149.

the great Waldemar I. in 1157. Sealand had already several thriving commercial cities: *Kvogen*, (Elsinore), on the Sound, *Kallundborg*, *Skjelskjör*, *Wordingborg*, *Ringsted* (190), *Nestved*. *Axelhuus*, a strong fortress on the Sound, was built in 1168 by Archbishop Axel Absalon, for the protection of the merchants' ships in the Baltic. A small town having rapidly grown up around the fortress, it was called Kjöbmans Havn, or *Merchant's Haven*, from which, by contraction, *Kiöbenhavn* (Copenhagen), the later capital of Denmark. Sealand had more than two hundred churches; and its wealthy monasteries, *Esrom*, on the banks of a beautiful lake in the north of the island, *Anverskov* and *Soröe*, in the interior, were as celebrated for the elegance of their architecture, as for the learning and piety of the monks.

III. Fyen, with *Langeland*, *Tuasinge*, and its group of smaller islands, was called the garden of the North; on the sunny shores of *Svendborg*, the monks contrived to rear the vine; hops and fruit-trees covered the valleys; splendid forests of beech and oak, the hills; the Fyenboer were fiery and sensual, like the Italians. The neighboring islands became dreadfully exposed to the incursions of the Vendes, during the civil feuds, and many Sclavonic names on the islands of Falster and Sealand, such as *Korselitze*, *Kramitze*, *Herritze*, *Kuditze*, seem to indicate their permanent settlement there. *Odense* (222), a handsome, populous city, with the cathedral of *Saint Albanus*. It was here that King Knud IV., while equipping an expedition, in 1086, against William the Conqueror, for the recovery of England, was assailed by the discontented multitude, and killed by a stone thrown into the church. By the influence of the clergy, the cruel, but devout king became canonized as martyr and saint, and the miracles performed at Saint Knud's shrine raised him to the rank of patron-saint of Denmark.

294. IV. Nörre Jylland—*North Jutland*—the home of the Longobards and the Jutes (80, 222), was a dreary region, covered with heath and swamps in the interior; its western coast was sandy, and its navigation dangerous because of reefs and shoals; but the deep friths on the east were smiling in beauty and fertility, and thickly inhabited, while the more open coast on the *Kattegat* and the *Baltic* remained deserted from fear of the Vendish pirates. Splendid cathedrals were built at *Viborg*, *Aarhuus*, *Ribe* and *Borgland*, the four dioceses of Jutland, and many a monastery, such as *Vitæ Schola* and *Oxholm* on the Liimfjord, *Asmild* and *Clara Insula*, in the interior, transformed the dreary wilderness into an oasis of cultivation and wealth.

V. Syd-Jylland—*South-Jutland*, or Duchy of *Sleswig* (Schleswig).—*Ducatus Jutiæ*—was more fertile, better cultivated, and more densely inhabited than North Jutland, from which it was separated by the brook *Konge-aa* (King river). Its inhabitants were the Angles (82), who in the northern part of the province spoke the Danish, and in the south the *Low German*, or Saxon dialect.[107] Canute had obtained the cession of the German margraviate of Schleswig (222, 247), from the German emperor Conrad the Salian, during his travels to Rome in 1027; and thus the Eider once more formed the boundary between Denmark and the Romano-Germanic Empire.[108] Yet the feuds on the borders with the Vendes and Saxons rendered it necessary for the Danish kings to place a commander in South Jutland, who, with full powers and a strong body of troops, could secure the tranquil possession of the frontiers. The noble-minded Knud Lavard (Lord), the son of King Eric the Good, was therefore by his father created *dux* or *hertug* of South Jutland in 1102. Crossing the Eider, Duke Knud, in many successful campaigns, vanquished and conquered the heathen *Vagrians*, *Obotrites* and *Vendes*, who elected him their king. This title was recognized by the dukes of Saxony and the counts of Holstein, and soon gave a new direction to the energy of the Waldemars, who for nearly a century became engaged in crusading expeditions and conquests on the southern coast of the Baltic. Schleswig, on the *Schley*, was then a very flourishing commercial city, which sent her ships to Sweden, Russia, and England. In this city the brotherhood of Saint Knud massacred the murderer of their beloved Knud Lavard, King Niels of Denmark, who in 1134, after his defeat at Fodevig, haughtily entered the guild-hall with the words—"*I do not fear those wretched skinners and shoemakers!*" On the Schley Duke Abel caused his brother, King Eric, the successor of Waldemar II., to be beheaded in 1250. *Flensborg* on the north, and *Tondern* on the west, became thriving towns. *Locus Dei* (Lygum) and *Guldholm* were celebrated convents. On the western coast the *North Frisians* still preserved their independence, and beat back all the attempts of the Danish kings to reduce them to subjection.

V. Kingdom of Slavia or Vendland.

295. Extent, Division and Cities.—Regnum Slaviniæ, or *Slavia*, extended from the river Eider, near Schleswig, on the west, along the southern coast of the Baltic eastward to the Oder, and in the interior, to the river Spree and the lakes of Brandenburg. It was inhabited by the powerful Sclavonic nation of the Vendes (91, 188, 227), which was subdivided into three principal tribes, on the west, the *Obotrites* and *Vagrians*, the neighbors of the Danes, the *Wiltzes* or *Welatabes* (195), on the Elbe, south toward Magdeburg, and the *Pomeranians*, on the east beyond the Oder toward the Vistula, where they bordered on the savage *Borussi* or Prussians. The dukes of Saxony began early to wage desolating wars against the Vendes, and erected some bishoprics for the introduction of Christianity among them, but without any great success. A valiant Obotrite, Prince Gottschalk, placed himself in 1042 at the head of the nation as king of the Vendes, and extended his kingdom eastward to the Vistula. Gottschalk was a very remarkable man; he had received his education in Denmark, where he married a Danish princess. He promoted the introduction of Christianity by means of Danish and Saxon missionaries, but the violence of his reforms excited the native Sclavonian chiefs against him, and he fell the victim of a conspiracy plotted in 1066 by his own relative, Plusso. The Vendes now rose in a furious insurrection against priests and monks, who were ruthlessly slaughtered or driven out of the country. Prince Henry, the son of King Gottschalk entered Slavia with an army of *German crusaders*, and succeeded by mildness and prudence, to restore order and religion. He built the city of Lübeck on the Trave, and encouraged agriculture and commerce; but his death in 1121 brought on those intestine feuds among the Sclavonian chiefs, which in 1168–1173 terminated with the conquest of Vendland by the kings of Denmark.

The Vendes and the Prussians were the wildest of the Sclavonian nations. They lived in miserable huts; their

[107] In 1837 Danish was spoken unmixed in 116 parishes, with 113,256 inhabitants, situated in the central and northern parts of the duchy. In 36 parishes, with 45,460 inhabitants, the Danish is generally spoken, but German is used in school and church. The former language is likewise spoken and understood in Tondern, Flensborg and the dioceses of Gottorp and Bredsted, with 36,000 souls—so that *Danish* is still the mother-tongue for 194,700 Schleswigers, among the 350,000 who inhabit the duchy, thus forming a decided majority.

[108] This cession by the German Emperor is confirmed by an ancient inscription—*Eidora Romani terminus imperii*, which for centuries stood over the old Holstein gate of Rendsborg. That town was then the border-fortress of Denmark, which possessed all the tolls and duties on the Eider. In the fourteenth century Rendsborg was ceded to the counts of Holstein.

dress was squalid; among the nobles polygamy was frequent, and they were the only people among the Sclavonians who treated their women with scorn and cruelty. They were equally savage in their wars, and defended their villages with rude inclosures and ditches. Their religion was a kind of Sabaism, mixed up with superstitions from the north. They adored the sun, but their principal deity was the horrible monster *Svantevit* (188), with four heads turned toward the four quarters of the world, like the Hindoo Brama. Their priesthood constituted a separate order, of great political influence, and they maintained a splendid worship in the great temple of Arcona. Their peculiar rage was directed against the Danish churches and monasteries, which they every where, during their piratical expeditions, devoted to the flames, ravaging the coasts, and carrying the wretched inhabitants away into slavery. The Vendes themselves excited that enthusiastic crusading spirit among the Danes in the 12th century, which at once swept idolatry and barbarism from the shores of the Baltic. Lubecca (Lübeck) was their capital, which afterwards became an Episcopal see, and a flourishing commercial city. Arcona, on the beautiful island of Rügen, was the central sanctuary of Svantevit, with its priestly palaces, and immense treasures, which were carried in triumph to Denmark. The whole island remained afterward annexed to the Episcopal see of Roeskilde. *Wollin* (Julin), on the large island *Jom* (Wollinische Werder), at the mouth of the *Oder*, was another large city of the Vendes. On the south-eastern promontory of the island, the Danish Viking Palnatoke,[109] so celebrated in the traditions of the north, had established in 960 the singular Republic of Jomsborg. Palnatoke built his robber's nest upon the severest model of ancient Spartan discipline; the virtues of valor and contempt of death were exalted above all other qualities—above the very laws of nature. The endearing ties of love, and the society of woman, were sternly forbidden. Corsairs from every part of the north hurried to Jomsborg to enlist among its indomitable Vikings. Thus the bravest warriors and the fleetest and best-armed galleys obeyed the command of the pitiless chieftain, and this bold creation of the 10th century continued to flourish, to strengthen itself, and remain the scourge of all the neighboring coasts until the close of the 12th century, when it was finally extirpated by King Waldemar I. and his Danish chivalry in the year 1170.[110]

VI. Kingdom of Norway.

296. Vicissitudes and Constitution.—The most tumultuous period of Norway is that from the accession of King Magnus the Good, the son of St. Olaf, in 1035, to the death of Hakon Hakonson and the conquest of Iceland in 1263,—an epoch rich in extraordinary events, which are beautifully recorded in the Heimskringla of Snorro Sturleson, the Icelandic historian, and by his continuators. St. Olaf had in the battle of Stickelstad in 1030 sealed his faith with his blood (223). His son Magnus the Good succeeded in the final introduction of Christianity, and the Norse soon became as zealous worshippers of the true God as they formerly had been of the false. They likewise took an enthusiastic part in the crusades, both in Spain and Palestine, and their heroical king, Harald Haardraade, as prince or general of the Scandinavian Varanghians at Constantinople (226, 262), filled the sagas and songs of his time with his renown.[111]

Harald the Stern perished in the battle of Stamford-Bridge, against Harald Godwinson of England, in 1066. His son, Olaf Kyrre (the Pacific), attended to the cultivation and comfort of the wild mountaineers. He introduced chimneys and glass-windows; he established a commercial emporium at Bergen, and founded several *guilds* or fraternities of arts and trades, which ultimately ripened into municipal corporations. He also promulgated laws to facilitate the emancipation of the wretched *trælle* or serfs, and every *fylke* or district was obliged to set free annually a certain number of bondsmen.

Yet the irregular election of the Norwegian princes, supported by their parties, kindled the most destructive civil wars, which stained the soil with blood, and produced a general demoralization and ferocity of manners at the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, when we remark with satisfaction in other countries a more steady progress toward the higher civilization and humanity of our modern era. The history of the daring and intelligent King Sverre, the natural son of King Sigurd II. (1136–1155), who, at the head of the warrior faction of the *Birkebener*,[112] after the most astonishing alternations of victory and defeat, was raised to the throne (1186–1202), is in the highest degree exciting and romantic. Sverre, with all his cruelty and craft, is well worthy to figure with his illustrious contemporaries, Frederik Barbarossa and Waldemar the Great, and had he acted upon the larger theatres of France, Germany or England, he might have become one of the most renowned monarchs of the middle ages. The wild band who with their swords opened his path to the throne, consisted of the outcasts of the nation; but by their daring and valor, and the terrible vicissitudes of suffering and war, they became ennobled, and transformed into a body of chivalrous and high-minded warriors, well deserving of the love and veneration of the Norwegian nation; and having thus thrown off the ignominy of the robber, their heroical deeds were immortalized in the songs of the Skjalds.[113] Sverre strenuously opposed the encroachments of the Romish Pontiff in his supreme power, even at the risk of a general excommunication: the prelates possessed extravagant privileges; they coined money, and rode surrounded by numerous bodies of men-at-arms. The royal council was composed of the chancellor and treasurer—both prelates, together with the constable, *staller*, the seneschal, *mundskiænk*, who were lay-nobles, and other gran

[109] Palnatoke is one of the fiercest characters of the heathen Vikings standing on the verge of time when Christianity began to throw its light into the north. His history forms an exact counterpart of that of William Tell in Switzerland. According to Saxo Grammaticus, Palnatoke was ordered, by King Harald Bluetooth, to shoot an apple off his son's head. The daring archer succeeded under circumstances similar to those of Tell, and afterwards took revenge by shooting King Harald, A. D. 991, while crossing a dense forest in Sealand. Saxo wrote in 1204, and Tell appeared in Helvetia 1307—a century later; both events may be true. The Danish story is the subject of Œhlenschlæger's magnificent tragedy of Palnatoke.

[110] The spirit of the times had exerted their influence even on the Vikings of Jomsborg, which at the period of its final demolition had become a celebrated commercial mart, frequented by the different traders of the Baltic. Its spacious harbor was filled with the ships of every nation in Europe. Danes, Swedes, Saxons, Vendes and Russians had their separate quarters for residence and business. Yet the naval power of the masked pirates was still too dangerous to Denmark, and King Waldemar therefore determined to extirpate this nest of heathen freebooters. On the arrival of the formidable armament, the Jomsborgers became so terrified that they abandoned their capital in despair. Its ramparts and other fortifications were levelled, the greater part of its edifices were laid in ashes; and from this calamity it never recovered, but gradually sunk into the obscure and inconsiderable town of Wollin.

[111] See the Saga of King Harald Haardraade, by Laing, and the tragedy of Œhlenschlæger: *Væringerne i Myklegard.*

[112] These fierce warriors were called Birkebener from the *birch bark* which they, destitute and miserable as they were, swathed around their legs. Their opponents, the *Baglers*, got their nick-name from their heavy *clubs*, bagle, *baculum.*

[113] See the highly interesting *King Sverrer's Saga*, written by Karl Jansen, abbot of Thingöre monastery in Iceland, who visited Norway in 1185, and collected his materials from communications of King Sverrer himself. 3d Vol. of Jacob Aal's translation of Snorro Sturleson. Christiania, 1839–40.

dees of the kingdom. The old national aristocracy of the *Jarls* and *Hærsers* gradually sank into oblivion, and gave place to the feudal titles of dukes, barons, and knights. The Norwegian kings and their *hirdmænd* in complete armor, "glittering like ice," attempted to imitate the chivalrous manners of southern Europe; the officials in their various ranks obtained fiefs with military tenure, but without any hereditary rights. The stout Norse yeomanry, the *Odels-Bönder* (223), maintained their entire independence long after it had been lost by their brethren in Denmark, and they, together with the clergy and chiefs, took part in all the political transactions of the national chiefs. Every man who possessed six marcs and a bear-skin cloak was required to appear in arms at the military gatherings; the booty was equitably divided, and the king himself received only his portion, according to his skill and bravery.

297. Divisions and Remarkable Cities.—Norway had become divided into four larger provinces, each of which possessed its own laws and jurisdictions. I. Trondhjem, in the north with its *Frostathing*. II. Bergen, on the western coast, with its *Gulathing*. III. Viken, on the east, with its own *Vikenske-Lov:* and, IV. Agde, south, with its *Handsiva-Lov*. From these codes Magnus Lagabœter (Law-mender) compiled a general body of civil and criminal jurisprudence for the entire realm in 1274—the *Hirdskraa*. A *Law-Thing* was annually held at Bergen and the other chief cities of the kingdom, at which the appointed number of jurors were summoned to attend. Trial by battle and other appeals "to the judgment of God," had already been abolished. The succession had become hereditary, and many useful regulations for the maritime defence were re-established. The proud Archbishop of Nidaros (223) ruled the church with ecclesiastic despotism. Scientific cultivation was still very circumscribed in Norway, even among the clergy. One of the few literary monuments of this period is the King's Mirror—*Kongespeilet*—written with excellent spirit, luminous reasoning, and a noble aim, by King Sverre himself, to combat the encroachments of the hierarchy. *Trondhjem*, *Bergen* and *Tönsberg* were the most thriving commercial cities of Norway, and the great emporiums of its export of salt fish for southern Europe. The active trade was entirely in the hands of the German confederative Republic of the Hanseatic towns, which enjoyed the most extensive privileges, exemption from customs and tolls, and kept the whole kingdom, during the fourteenth century, under the most tyrannical mercantile subjection, by their powerful fleets and fortified factories in Bergen and other cities on the coast. *Eidskog* and the *Sevo* mountains, on the frontiers of Sweden, *Gaularos* near Trondhjem, the King's Path, the valley of Sverre, and the environs of *Bergen* and *Tönsberg*, are celebrated scenes of the valor of King Sverre, and his hardy and faithful Birkebener.

298. Iceland, having been inhabited in 874, during the reign of Harald the Fairhaired (224), by Norse exiles, formed since 928 an independent republic. The whole island was divided into wards, each with three meeting places or tribunals, a heathen temple and its priests, *godar*. The turbulent warriors of Norway formed the aristocracy of the island, while the later emigrants, Danes, Swedes, and even many Scots and Irish, entered into subordinate relations as tenants or serfs to the rich *Odels Bönder*, here the yeomanry or gentry, who had divided the lands on the first discovery. The natural consequence of such a progressive colonization, under feudal tenure, would be frequent contentions and feuds between the old Norwegian settlers and the new comers. To obviate the dangers of a civil war, a chief, *Lagman*, was named, under whose guidance the national diet, *Althing*, assembled every year on the Law-rock, *Lovfjeldet*. Thirteen other provincial tribunals, with presidents and jurymen, assembled in the different districts of the island. The introduction of Christianity into Norway was a work of the greatest difficulty, for there every valley, every rock was dedicated to its spirit or god, and idolatry was thus deeply rooted in the localities of the country and in the traditions of the people. Not so in Iceland; the emigrants had left Odin and Trigga behind them on the fells of Norway, and they did not recognize the voice of Thor in the thunders of Hecla. Irish and Scottish missionaries found, therefore, a fertile soil, and Christianity was unanimously received as the Althing in A. D. 1000, though the violent priest Thangbrand, whom Olaf Tryggveson had sent the year before, by his cruelty and arrogance had been forced to flee for his life, and return to Norway. This happy state of liberty, though occasionally interrupted by civil feuds, of which the life of the great Icelandic historian, Snorro Sturleson, gives us a highly remarkable instance, continued in Iceland for nearly four hundred years. During this period not only commerce, fishery and colonization in Greenland and Viinland (America), but general education, literature, and the refinements of poetical fancy flourished among the active and spirited Icelanders, and nearly all the most beautiful sagas, or tales, and epics of the middle ages, were penned and sung by the Icelanders, before their decline in the fourteenth century. After the murder of Snorro in 1242, the civil war flashed up fiercer than ever, when, in 1262, Hakon IV. with his Norwegian fleet forced the wrangling Icelanders to swear allegiance to the Norse kings; yet it was not until the island had been laid waste by a dreadful eruption of Mount Hecla, in the year 1300, that the rough republicans submitted to do homage to Hakon VII. of Norway, as their feudal sovereign. Their ancient institutions, however, remained untouched; their celebrated Law-book, the graygoose—*graa-gaasen*—was still in use, but the muse of history fled southward to Spain and Italy, and seldom returned for a short visit among the volcanoes of Iceland.

299. Division and Settlements.—Iceland was by nature herself divided into four wards or *fjordungar*, separated by snow-capped mountains and deep friths. I. Austfirdinga or *East-friths;* II. Sunnlendinga, or *Ranga* (Southland); III. Nordlendinga, or *Eyafjord* (Northland); and, IV. Vestfirdinga, or *Breidfjord*, the deeply indented and more thickly inhabited coast on the west. In the southern ward lay *Thingvellir*, where the general assembly—Althing—was held until the year 1800, when it was abolished by the king of Denmark.[114] *Holum*, in the north, and *Skalholt* in the south, were Episcopal sees. *Reikiavik*, *Bessestadir*, *Melastadir*, and *Stiklesholm*, were emporia and commercial towns on the western coast. *Hram*, in the westward, where the great historian Snorro Sturleson was born in 1178. *Reikjaholt*, the castle of Snorro, in a beautiful region at a short distance from Mount Hecla. Here he was assassinated by his dissatisfied relatives on the 22d Sept. 1241. In the neighborhood are still seen the hot baths of Snorro—*Snorralaug*—cut out in the living rock, an interesting monument of his taste and wealth, and of the skilful workmanship of those times.

300. During this period the kings of Norway possessed Greenland, the Færœer, the Orkneys, the Shetland islands, the Hebrides, the island of Man and Anglesea. Greenland, like the other tributary possessions, belonged to the Royal domains, and foreign traffic was prohibited; thus the navigation between Norway and the other northern nations decreased gradually, until it at last stopped entirely, in the year 1481, when the last Norsemen, who were acquainted with the navigation to Greenland, were assassinated in Bergen by foreign

[114] The Althing has been restored by King Frederick VII. in 1848, when Denmark became a constitutional kingdom.

merchants.[115] The Hebrides and the island of Man were, by King Magnus Lagabœter, ceded to Scotland in 1266, for the sum of four thousand marcs sterling. The Orkneys and Shetland Islands were mortgaged to Scotland by King Christian I. for the dower of his daughter Margaret, who married King James III. Stuart, in 1468.

VII. Kingdom of Sweden.

301. Extent and Conquests in Finnland.—Sweden, still divided between the two races of *Goths* and *Sviars*, or Swedes, was the most insignificant of the Scandinavian nations, and exerted no influence on the politics of Europe. "The Swedes," says the celebrated Adam, Bishop of Bremen, "are a sober and modest people, addicted to no vice except that of having each *three wives;* the rich and great have even more, all the children being regarded as legitimate. They are distinguished above all the Northmen for their hospitality; and the Christian missionaries are received and cherished by them with affection. The bishops assist at the popular assemblies, or *Thing*. The Swedes are a numerous people, brave and warlike, abounding in cavalry and ships. At home they are all equal, but in military expeditions they yield obedience to their king and leaders."[116]

The succession of the Folkungar to the throne (1250–1389), marks a new period in Swedish history (225). King Waldemar I. Birgerson, was an energetic ruler, who did much to secure the prosperity of his country. He built and fortified Stockholm, the capital; he gave new privileges to the Swedish cities, and revised the *Lands Lag*, or the code containing the old statutes of the kingdom. No change had taken place in the internal division of the Swedish provinces. More interesting are the crusades of Saint Eric against the Finns and Quains. He carried Swedish colonies across the Bothnian Gulf, and flourishing settlements soon arose on the western and southern shores of Finnland in 1156–1293. *Tavaste-Hus*, on the lakes in the interior, was built by Jarl Birger, in 1249, and the eastern regions, *Kyrialand* (Karelia), were occupied. The Kyriales possessed all the countries on the north of the lakes Ladoga and Onega, from the Finnic Gulf to the White Sea. The Finns were a simple and rude people who seldom cultivated their fields, and subsisted by hunting, fishing, and rearing cattle. The heads of families exercised a despotic authority, and the women were treated as slaves. They had some mechanical arts; among others, that of working metals; and the most ancient mines in Scandinavia were discovered by the Finns. Their mythology was wild and fanciful. Finnland was believed to be the country of giants, gnome-like spirits, and supernatural beings that haunted the deserts, murmured in the waterfall, raged in the tempest, and allured the traveller and the hunter by a thousand fantastic forms. Magic was connected with the worship and manners of the people, and cunningly fostered by the deceitful priests and wizards. Music, too, was a powerful instrument in the old superstition. The divine minstrel, seized by the power of his magic, fell into ecstasies, and his audience partook of his raptures. The Finnic language is the most sonorous, and best adapted for poetry, of any in Europe. It has affinity with the Hungarian. The three leading tribes were the *Quains*, in the north, bordering on Lapland; the *Ymes* (Jemes), in the lake district of Finnland Proper; and the *Kyriales*, in the east. The old Finnlanders offered an obstinate resistance to the crusading Swedes, and the war lasted from 1156 to 1293. The inhabitants in after times still retained the grave, intrepid, and independent character of their forefathers. They were capable of enduring the severest privations; but their perseverance was little removed from obstinacy, and their attachment to their national name, customs, and language, rendered them incapable of appreciating the blessings of civilization, which the Swedes were anxious to diffuse among them. The principal Swedish colonies on the coast of Finnland were *Korsholm*, *Björneborg*, *Nystad*, *Aabo*, the Episcopal see, *Wiborg* and *Kexholm* on the Lake Ladoga.

The Swedish nobility had obtained an all-powerful influence; the Seneshal and the Drost divided the place of the Jarl of the Realm (225). Chivalrous institutions were introduced into Sweden: service on horseback and military tenures with exemption from taxes. Every province, Ostgothland, Westgothland, Södermannaland, Westmannaland, Helsingaland, and Dalarne, had their particular laws and customs. King Birger attempted, in 1295, to introduce the Uplandic Law into all the States of the realm. Slavery continued until the 14th century. The centre of Swedish commerce was the flourishing city of *Wisby*, on the western coast of the island of Gothland; it was a German colony, and formed at a later time a part of the great Hanseatic Confederacy of Maritime Republics.[117]

VIII. Grand Duchy of Russia.

302. Extent and Divisions in the Eleventh Century.—The dominions of Russia (226) were by the victories of the Grand-Duke Wladimir the Great (98–1015), extended westward along the shores of the Baltic into *Lithuania* and *Poland;* southward along the shores of the Euxine, so as to include part of the Crimea and of the Bulgarian territories, whilst on the east they reached to the Oka, the Don, and the Volga. Wladimir resided in Kiew; he encouraged the building of new cities, and peopled the waste districts of his immense empire with prisoners whom he had taken in the wars. He not only conducted himself as a sovereign who consulted the welfare of his dominions, but displayed many benevolent and amiable qualities, that highly endeared him to his subjects. Yet the establishment of the Greek Church throughout the Russian dominions forms the most prominent feature in his reign, and gives that truly worthy monarch a juster claim to the title of *Great* than his numerous victories. The improvement which Russia owed to this prince was great and permanent. With the Christian religion he introduced the arts and language of Constantinople, which began to flourish in the Russian monasteries. But the ill-judged division of his empire among his sons in 1015 caused a series of the most bloody civil wars between his successors. Yaroslaf at last obtained possession of his father's dominions, but followed most indiscreetly his example by a new division of his territories among his sons in 1054, which remained standing for centuries. Russia embraced then the following six territories:

I. The Grand Duchy of Kijow (Kiew), with the sovereign title, and the beautiful and populous capital of that name on the Dnieper (226). The province extended northward, and comprised the Duchy or Republic of *Novgorod* and the principalities of *Pskov* and *Wiätka*, and in the south all the territory from the eastern Carpathians to the waterfalls of the *Dnieper*, where it touched the frontier of the wild *Polovtzi* or *Kumani*.

II. The Principality of Tchernigov contained the eastern part of Russia from the Dnieper to the Don and the Oka, the latter of which separated it from the roving Finnic tribes

[115] See the Ancient Geography of the Arctic Lands of America, from the writings of the Northmen, by Prof. Charles Chr. Rafn. Copenhagen, 1845.

[116] Adam Bremensis. De Situ Daniæ. cap. CCVIII–CCXX. and CCXXIX.

[117] See, for important details, Geijer's History of the Swedes, in the English translation. Vol. I.

of the *Mordwins* and *Muromens* (226.) The southern principality of *Tmutarakan*, which the Grand-Duke Swärtoslav in 972 had united to the empire, belonged likewise to this principality, but it was lost in 1050, on the advance of the Kumanic hordes towards the Euxine.

III. The Principality of Perejaslavl extended southward from the frontiers of Tchernigov, along the Dnieper and the Donjetz to the steppes of the *Petcheneges* (254.) On the east it touched the civilized and pacific *Kamic Bulgarians*, on the Volga, and the Kliasma, where the concentrated power of Russia later arose on the downfall of Kiew.

IV. The Principality of Smolensk, on the northwest, between Pskov and Tchernigov, was continually exposed to the invasions of the Poles.

V. The Principality of Polotzk, was situated between the Duena, Niemen and Dnieper. Its princes obtained the sovereignty over the *Lethic* and *Finnic* tribes on the shores of the Baltic, but in spite of all their exertions they were repelled by the Prussians (227.) That nation, the fiercest of all the Sclavonian tribes of the north, maintained their independence until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they yielded to the sword of the Teutonic knights and German civilization, in the building of Riga, and other cities on the coast.

VI. The southern Principality of Wlodomirz, in the present Volhynia, extended south toward the upper Vistula and the Principality of *Halitch* (Gallicia).

303. During the twelfth century, several princes of the Russian dynasty formed a powerful state in the southwestern parts of the Grand Duchy of Kiew, which, A. D. 1158, became almost entirely independent; it was *Halitch* or *Gallicia*, in *Malo-Russia*, on the northern slope of the Carpathian range, the home of Russinians or Ruthenians (Russniaks), whose prince Roman vanquished the southern Kumani, and rendered them tributary. There were in Russia during this period not fewer than seventeen smaller principalities, though they at length became absorbed into seven, viz.: those of *Kiew*, *Novgorod*, *Smolensk*, *Wladimir*, *Tver*, *Halitch*, and *Moskou*. Novgorod and Kiew maintained a certain superiority over the others until toward the beginning of the thirteenth century, immediately before the Mongol invasion, the northeastern principality of *Susdal* or *Wladimir* took the lead with the two last mentioned states.[118]

304. Novgorod, on the banks of the Ilmen-Lake, was the glory of Russia during the middle ages, with its strong walls, its 250 churches and convents glittering with gilt cupolas, and its 300,000 active citizens, who soon threw off the yoke of the wrangling Russian princes, and constituted themselves into the celebrated republic. Later (after 1240), it entered the confederacy of the Hanseatic cities, and became the great emporium of Indian commerce for the north of Europe. At the head of its executive government stood the Maire, *posadnik*, with extensive power, but changing every year. He had a lieutenant, *tysaskoi*, and a council of senators, *boyars*, consisting of the wealthy patricians. The merchants, storekeepers, mechanics, and common people formed the popular assembly, that gathered in the large market-place at the deep sound of the clock, the *witschnei-kolokol*. All the citizens were splendidly armed, and marshalled under the city banners, according to the five quarters of the town, and the five districts of the territory. The grand duke possessed a palace in the city, but his bailiff or count was obliged to show the citizens the most flattering politeness, and he had no real power. The city had its own laws and courts of justice; the manners were still barbarous—revenge for bloodshed, ordeal by fire, awful servitude, and burning of witches. Russia had yet no coined money; commerce was conducted by barter, and skins of squirrels and foxes were used instead of silver and copper money. Thousands of boats were plying on the lake Ilmen, and shipping the rich products of the east on the *Wolkof* River to the Ladoga, where the vessels from the Baltic embarked their cargoes. The produce of the north, on the contrary, was conducted by armed citizens over the low hills to the river beds of the Don, Dneister or Volga, and thence through the whole continent to the Caspian Sea, the Euxine, and Constantinople. During winter thousands of adorned sleighs and sledges were seen sliding rapidly over the hard and level surface of boundless snows and frozen lakes. Novgorod with its free democratic institutions, its active and warlike population, its commercial wealth—then the centre of the world's traffic—was the New-York or New Orleans of the middle ages, and made good the proverb: "*Who can resist God and the great Novgorod?*" Such was the state of this remarkable city from the 11th to the close of the 15th century. Novgorod was the terminus of the pilgrims as well as Jerusalem; it was the rendezvous of the fashionable traveller and the covetous trader. Artists and jugglers, Danes and Dutch, Portuguese Jews and Chinese mandarins, Tartars and Moors, were thronging its glittering bazaars, each of which belonged to a separate nation—with its national tribunals, its churches or mosques, its store-houses and armed guardians. Here all the enjoyments of the east and west concentrated—nay, the ideas of the luxury and hospitality of the Novgorodian citizens, the splendor of the Russian princes and boyars, and the wealth to be earned there, were quite extravagant. Art and science, literature and poetry, always follow in the wake of liberty and commerce; we may, therefore, readily believe the Russian historians, in their descriptions of the magnificent buildings of Novgorod and Kiew, built in the Byzantine and Gothic style by Greek and German architects, and of the church paintings and decorations in Mosaic by Saint Olympius, a highly talented monk, a native Russian, whose brilliant creations are still admired at the present day. Learning, too, had been introduced from Constantinople, and found an encouraging asylum in the numerous monasteries, where Russian friars were engaged in copying and adorning those elegant manuscripts of the Scriptures and the fathers which remain a testimony of their skill and industry. Russian ecclesiastics, in the seclusion of the convent or hermitage, devoted themselves to astronomy and chemistry; others, returning from their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, imparted their knowledge of the East, and the venerable Nestor, from the depth of his cavern at Kiew, collected the early traditions of the nation, for his annals of the Russian empire; while many other monks wrote the lives of the saints, and the chronicles of their convents, in the native Russian dialect.[119] *Moskow*, on the Moskwa, a tributary of the Oka,

[118] In the supremacy of these principalities can be traced the division of Russia into *Great Russia* (the duchy of Novgorod), *Little Russia* (South Russia), as far as the Crimea, *White Russia* (Wladimir), on the east, and *Red Russia* (Halitch), on the southwest.

[119] The Russians, like all the Sclavonian tribes, delighted in social assemblies, in music, dancing and national songs. Some few of their ancient ballads have survived the storms of time, and give us a favorable opinion of the poetical genius of Boïan, and other early bards; but the greater part have perished in the general destruction of cities and convents during the Mongolian invasion. Only a single larger poem, of exquisite beauty, on the deeds and the death of *Igor the Brave*, has been preserved as an interesting monument of the ancient Russian language. In glowing verses it describes the military expeditions of Igor, the prince of the Seversky, against the Polovtzi barbarians; he attacks their camp on the banks of the Don, but after a brilliant action, the Russians are surrounded by thousands of enemies. "The steppe of Stribog is all stained with gore, and strown over with the dying and the dead: Polovtzi and Russians engage in fierce embrace. On the third aurora our banners sink into the dust before the shouting myriads of savage foes; for there is not a drop of blood left to be shed. Bold Igor and his generous Russians have perished on the battle-field; they have

was a small summer residence of the princes of Susdal, when Yury (George) Dolgoruki of Susdal, in 1147, laid the foundations of a large city, which soon became the capital of the grand duchy of Wladimir, and the centre from which the Russian czars afterwards extended their conquests.

During the intestine broils which attended the dismemberment of the Russian monarchy, the neighboring nations, Polovtzi, Hungarians and Poles, availed themselves of the weakness of those small principalities, and the party spirit of their chiefs, to take side with the one against the other, or to ravage the country, to burn down the cities, and carry off thousands of captives into slavery. At last, in 1223, when the three sovereigns of Wladimir, Kiew, and Halitch had formed a confederacy and driven back the Poles and Magyars; when Novgorod was extending her commerce, and consolidating her republican institutions, the innumerable swarms of *Mongol* and *Tartar* horsemen from the upper table lands of central Asia, under Ginghis-Chan marched westward, and pouring in through the defile of Dervend on the Caspian (96), inundated all the lands of the Kuban, and drove the Polovtzi or Kumani in the wildest flight against the Russian frontiers. All the princes now armed; but the terrible battle on the banks of the *Kalka*, on the 31st of May, 1224, decided the fate of the Russian nation. Batu-Chan defeated them totally; myriads perished in the river; Kiew, Moskow and other cities were laid in ashes, and the greater part of Russia for more than two centuries and a half—1224–1487—remained subjected to the degrading yoke of the great Chans of the Mongolian empire.

305. The Chudish, Lettic and Lithuanian tribes, on the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic, were still wild heathens and barbarians. The *Eisths* and the *Lives* were Chudish or Finnic tribes; they inhabited the present Esthland and Livonia (Livland) on the Finnic or Rigaïc Gulf, and extended eastward to the lake of Peïpus and the Düna. West and south of these lived the *Lotwani*, *Letti*, *Kouri* or *Korsi* (Kourshani), in the present Kourland; the *Semgalli*, *Samogitians*, *Syamaiti*, *Lithuanians* and *Prussians*, all kindred to the Sclavonian nation. These tribes resembled one another in their institutions, dialects, arms and manners. They had the same sanctuaries, where they met to offer sacrifices to their gods; at *Romove* in Natanga (near Königsberg), was the seat of their pontiff and chief judge—the *Kriwe*;—different classes of priests were subordinate to him. Many and horrible were their idols; they had human sacrifices, and consecrated woods, lakes and springs. They lived entirely independent, occupied with cattle-breeding, hunting and fishing: their agriculture was insignificant; they fed on meat, and drank mares' milk and mead; their weapons were clubs and maces, which they launched with deadly aim at a great distance; they were abhorred by the Germans, and ruthlessly put down with the sword, or kept in the most cruel bondage. Merchants from Bremen, who were driven on their inhospitable coast in 1158, founded the first commercial emporium at Riga, and attempted to introduce Christianity among the Lives; but the Pagans burnt the wooden chapels, slaughtered or expelled the priests, and it was only the sword of the Danish crusaders in Esthland, and that of the knights of Christ, or *Sword-brothers*, in Livonia, who at last succeeded, after many battles, in building castles and converting the natives. The Lithuanians, extending from the Memel to the Düna, were too powerful a nation, and too strongly situated in the interior, to yield to the missionary attempts of the German knights. Their native chiefs recognized the supremacy of the Russian grand-dukes, but, taking advantage of the partitions and internal feuds among the princes of that nation, they soon threw off their allegiance, and conquered, in several campaigns, from 1082–1221, the principality of Polotzk, east of the Düna, New-Grodek and all Severia, as far south as the swampy region of the Prypec and the Dnieper. This vast territory was divided among many chieftains; in 1235, however, the brave Ringold united all the small Lithuanian states, and took the title of grand prince, *veliki-knaz*. He maintained himself with brilliant success against Russians and Mongols, defeated the German Knights Sword-bearers (the successors of the Sword-brothers) in Livonia, and though still a heathen, made himself respected by all the Christian nations on his frontiers.

yielded their last breath for the salvation of their native country. O holy Russia, remember thy sons!"—See interesting details on the manners and institutions of the ancient Russians in N. M. Karamsin's *History of the Russian Empire*. French translation. Vols. I. and II., in many places.

II. Central Europe between 973 and 1096.

IX. Kingdom of France.

306. Condition of France; Domains, Feudal Sovereignties and Free Communes.—France had, during the eleventh century, preserved nearly the same limits which it had at the time of the extinction of the Carlovingian Dynasty (229). The Royal domains, however, had been enlarged by the accession of the most powerful feudatory, Hugh Capet, Duke of France (987–996), and by the slow, though prudent and persevering efforts of his successors[120] in the extension of their household power, their domains, and the enlargement of their royal prerogative. Several feudal territories had been united with the crown: 1. the county of *Sens* (234. XI.); 2. the county of *Vexin* (235. XV.); and 3. the viscounty of *Bourges* (238 XXVI). King Robert I. gave in 1031 the duchy of *Burgundy* (239. XXVIII.) to his youngest son Robert, who became the ancestor to the elder dynasty of Burgundy and to the kings of Portugal. These acquisitions before the crusades were insignificant, while, on the other hand, the number of the independent feudal seignories was increased by the erection of several baronies into *hereditary sovereignties*. These were, 1. The barony of Coucy, in Champagne;[121] 2. The barony of Montfort L'Amaury, in the duchy of Isle de France, southwest of Paris; 3. The county of Eu; 4. The county of Évreux, both in Normandy; and 5. The county of Foix (243), in Gascogne. This important duchy, which had been united to *Guyenne* and the county of *Rovergue* (243. LI.), was possessed by the still more independent Count of *Toulouse*. In general, the countries lying between the *Loire* and the *Pyrenees*, although they recognized nominally the sovereignty of the French monarch, were in strictness as alien from him as the kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles, or the duchy of Lorraine, which held of the German Emperor (246, 248). Thus, then, the real sovereign power of the Capetian kings extended *only* over *the Isle of France* and a part of *Orléanais*, and yet, small as this district was—in breadth ninety miles from east to west, and in length one hundred and twenty miles from north to south—it was far from being wholly subject to the crown, for even so late as the twelfth century Louis-le-Gros was arduously engaged during the greater part of his reign in reducing to obedience the petty counts of *Chaumont*, and of *Clermont*, the lords of *Montlhéry*, *Montfort l'Amaury*, *Coucy*, *Mont-*

[120] These Capetian monarchs were: Robert I., 996–1031. Henry I., 1060. Philip I., 1108. Louis-le-Gros (VI.), 1136. Louis-le-Jeune (VII.) 1180. Under Philip August (1180–1223) the French nation at last stands forth in its full development, consolidated into a mighty monarchy.

[121] The gigantic towers of the Château of Coucy present still some of the finest mediæval ruins in modern France. They had the proud inscription,

"Nor king, nor duke, nor prince, nor count am I,
I am the lord of Coucy."

morency, *Puiset*, and numerous other barons, who, within the precincts of the duchy of France and the royal demesnes—nay, in the very environs of Paris, the capital and residence of the king, refused all obedience to him![122] In the very heart of his domains the Capetian was supported only by the Church and by the rising and aspiring *bourgeoisie*—the cities;—all the rest, both strength and glory, belonged to the proud and wrangling feudatories.

307. Enfranchisement of the Communes or Republican Cities in France. The oppression of the nobility had become insupportable to the poor down-trodden people; insurrection among the peasantry broke out in different places; yet a few mail-clad knights, with their lances in rest, scoured the county, rode down and dispersed the disorderly bands of the *villains*, cut off their hands and feet, and the matter was forgotten. The peasantry had too little communication or union in the different provinces, so that all their *jacqueries* or turbulent risings failed during the middle ages; they were too degraded by slavery, and if they had been successful, they would have used their victory with brutish wildness and ferocity. It was in the populous burghs and towns which had risen round the castles, and particularly round the churches, and in the ancient *Roman* municipal cities, that the ideas of liberty long glimmering at last burst forth in the brightest flames (245, 250, 270). Population had been encouraged in the burghs by grants of land from their lay or ecclesiastical lords, who were anxious to increase their strength and the number of their vassals. The nobles would encourage the industry of the townspeople; they would allure skilful artisans, weavers, butchers, smiths, armorers, and concede them some privileges to keep them within their territory. Liberty, thus, had its beginning in the central towns of France—*the free communes*—which began by receiving some concessions, and terminated by extorting their franchises and immunities sword in hand. The greater part of these towns were under the jurisdiction of bishops or abbots, who wielded the sword of justice by their viscounts. Such were the episcopal cities of *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, *Laon*, and *St. Riquier;* in others the counts and the prelates divided the authority, and in their reciprocal rivalry sought to gain the assistance of the citizens against their antagonists by liberal concessions, as was the case in *Soissons* and *Amiens;* while in *St. Quentin* and *Abbeville* the counts alone exercised an absolute power. *Le Mans* is the earliest of the free communes (1070). *Cambrai* followed the example in 1076. Louis-le-Gros called the citizens to arms in his feud against the dukes of Normandy; they flocked to his feudal army under the banners of their respective parishes in 1119, and their demands rose with their military success. Church and nobility then vied with one another to sell the franchises to the citizens, who with hard labor found means to purchase them; to form their consular governments, to fortify their towns, and at once to display the activity and development of a high-minded democracy.[123] This revolution took place all over the kingdom under *a thousand different forms*, and with more or less disturbance; terrible was the struggle of the cities in Flanders and Belgium, where *Bruges*, with its thirty thousand armed citizens defeated counts and kings on the battle-field, and laid the solid foundations of the republican and commercial grandeur of the Low Countries in the following centuries.

308. In the mean time, the rumor spread throughout France and Europe that thousands of Christian pilgrims, princes, bishops, and abbesses, had been surrounded and ruthlessly slaughtered at *Ramla*, on the coast of Palestine, by the Turkish hordes, and that their sultan, Ortok, had taken possession of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre. Peter the Hermit then appeared in France; his eloquence contributed powerfully to heighten the general enthusiasm for the sacred war, and the masses began to move. At the Council in Clermont, in November 1095, Pope Urban II. preached the crusade, and the following spring large bodies of pilgrims, men and women, young and old, led on by Peter the Hermit and Gaultier—*Sans-avoir*—Walter the Penniless—crossed the Rhine on their march for Constantinople and Syria. In August of the same year the unwieldy armies of princes, barons, and knights, put themselves slowly in motion. No king, however, took part in the first crusade, but many feudatories more powerful than the kings. Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, departed at the head of ten thousand knights and seventy thousand foot, Lorrainers, Germans, and French, taking his route through Germany and Hungary. Another large crusading army was commanded by Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of King Philip of France, the wealthy Count Stephen of Blois, Robert Curt-Hose, duke of Normandy, and Count Robert of Flanders—all equals, none chief; they quarrelled on the road, and did but little honor to the crusade. A third army was formed by the enthusiastic French of the South, the Aquitanians, Gascons, Auvergnacs, and Provençals, under the banner of the old Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who traversed the Albanian Mountains under endless hardships and dangers, and met the other crusading companions at Constantinople in the spring of 1097. The Normans of Italy, with Count Bohemond of Tarant, and the handsome and noble-minded Tancred at their head, forced their way, sword in hand, through Epirus and Macedonia. Such was the march of the first crusading armies.

X. The Romano-Germanic Empire.

309. Extent, Change in the Constitution, Contest with Rome about the Investitures. Great changes had taken place in Germany since the times of Otho the Great, in 973. Conrad II. obtained possession of the kingdom of Burgundy (244), which at that time comprised the beautiful districts of the southeast of France, afterwards called *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, *Franche Comté* and *Lyons*, together with *Savoy*, and a portion of Switzerland. Germany was thus placed in connection with the Mediterranean by means of the important seaports of *Toulon* and *Marseilles;* an acquisition of great import, which, however, afterwards, in the times of intestine disturbances, became neglected, and fell into the power of the watchful and grasping kings of France. Nor did Germany take better care of her other frontier provinces. The margraviate of *Schleswig* was ceded to Denmark, and thus the Eider

[122] The king of France could not ride from Paris to his city of Orléans, being interrupted by the frowning towers of Montlhéry. When, therefore, the fierce lord of the castle, who had been defeated and humbled in the crusade, consented to give his daughter in marriage to the king's son, with his castle as her dowry, Philip said to his son, Louis-le-Gros: "Now, my son, keep heedful watch over this tower, the trouble caused me by which, has made my hairs gray with grief, and through whose craft and wickedness I have never known peace and quiet." What a picture of the times!

[123] It has been wrongly said that the crusades were the primitive cause of the enfranchisement of the cities, for we distinctly see that *Le Mans*, *Cambrai*, and others, obtained their charters long before the commencement of that movement, though the readiness of the Crusaders to sell their estates and rights afterwards, served powerfully to promote the release of the cities. Nor was King Louis-le-Gros the founder of them, but rather the reverse; for it was the brave citizens of the towns who established the king; without them he would not have beaten off the Normans, and these conquerors of England would probably have conquered France too. See, for highly entertaining details on the history of the communes of France, the admirable narratives of Augustin Thierry, in his *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*. Lettres XIII–XXV.; compare Guizot, Michelet, Sismondi, and Henry Leo.

became again, in 1027, the frontier of the two nations (294). The Vendes in Slavia (295), on the shores of the Baltic, threw off their allegiance to the German Empire, and formed an independent state; so did King Boleslav Chrobry, of Poland, who, after the rapid conquest of all Silesia and Bohemia, at last made peace with the emperor Henry II. at Bautzen, in 1018, in which he retained possession of *Moravia* and *Lusatia*, and even obliged the emperor to support him with German auxiliary troops in his wars against the Russians. The Germans fared worse in Italy, because Robert Guiscard and his Norman adventurers conquered all lower Italy and Sicily, while northern Italy became more and more republican, and the papal see attained the height of its power on the accession of Pope Gregory VII.

Conrad II. gave, in 1037, his celebrated *constitution of the fiefs*, according to which the lower vassals, who followed the banner of the empire, obtained the full right of property and the hereditary succession of their estates. They thus became the faithful supporters of the emperor against the dukes, whom Conrad sought to bring back to their old condition of mere imperial functionaries. He assigned to his son Henry the duchies of *Souabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Franconia*, and, if intelligent successors had been able to carry through his deep-laid plans, Germany would have become what France ultimately became, an undivided, powerful empire. But the Salic dynasty was stayed in its mid-career, partly by the faults of Henry IV., and partly by the rapid rising of the papal chair, whose authority developed itself with astonishing energy under the great Pope Gregory VII. The violent contest between these two stubborn characters shook the world, strewed Germany and Italy with corpses and ruins, and was at last only terminated with the concordate of Worms, in 1122, between Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II.; according to which the emperor consented to the free election of bishops and abbots, renouncing the investiture of the mitre and the cross, or the ecclesiastical investiture. This was reserved to the pope, who, on his side, gave up to the emperor the investiture by the sceptre of the ecclesiastical domains that were subject to feudal tenure. The political unity of Christendom was thus broken for ever.

310. Cities, Castles, and Historical Places. *Hamburg*, on the Elbe, was taken and burnt by the Vendes in 1069, and the archbishop forced to remove his see to Bremen.—*Grone*, a fine castle near Göttingen, in Saxony, where Henry II. died, in 1024.—*Bothfeld*, near Blakenburg, in the Hartz. Here died (1056) the active and severe Henry III. in the flower of his age, amidst the lofty plans he had formed for the future organization of Germany.—*Kaiserswerth*, on the Rhine, where his little son, Henry IV., being carried off on board a ship by the intriguing Archbishop Hanno, of Cologne, threw himself into the river, and was saved with difficulty.—*Goslar*, in Saxony, the residence of Henry IV., whence he commenced building castles in the mountains of the Hartz and Thuringia to curb the freeborn spirit of the Saxons.—*Hartzburg* the splendid castle of Henry IV., near Goslar, which the Saxons stormed and demolished at the beginning of their rebellion, in 1073. Henry fled in disguise to the forests, and narrowly escaped the pursuit of the enraged nation.—*Hohenberg*, on the river Unstrut, in Thuringia, the battle-field on which the Saxons were defeated by Henry IV., and treated with heartless cruelty.—*Hohenstaufen*, a conical mountain near *Buren*, on the Rems, in Souabia, on the pinnacle of which Frederick of Buren built the splendid castle from which the mighty dynasty of the Hohenstaufen had their origin in the twelfth century.—*Gera*, on the Elster, in Thuringia. In the neighborhood occurred the great battle, in which Rudolphus, of Souabia, the rival emperor, perished by the hand of young Godfrey of Bouillon; and the unhappy Henry IV. was reinstated on the throne of Germany in 1080.—*Welfesholz*, a forest near Hofstedt, in Saxony, where Henry V. suffered a fearful defeat from the Saxons, in 1115. In a chapel, erected on the battle-field, the victors placed a statue in full armor, with helmet, shield, and mace, whom the peasantry in after times called Saint Jodut.

311. In Italia, the flourishing cities of *Lombardy* and *Romagna* were republics in reality, though they still made a show of their allegiance to the German emperors on their descent into Italy, to take the imperial crown in Rome. They defeated Henry II. in Pavia; they drove Henry III. out of Rome; but they took the part of Henry IV. against Pope Gregory VII. The pope was, however, powerfully supported by the Countess Mathildis, of Tuscany (250). This remarkable woman had inherited the immense possessions of her father, Margrave Bonifacius, in 1052; she governed her states with the spirit of a politician; she appeared in full armor at the head of her vassals, and devoted her whole active life to aid in elevating the power of the Church. Slander falsely reported her to be in love with Gregory, who took refuge in her castle of Canossa; but her life was as virtuous as her principles were austere. On her death, in 1115, she bequeathed all her states to the Church, though many of them were ancient fiefs of the empire. Another great controversy therefore arose between the pope and emperor, until, after much fighting, the feud at last terminated in a division of her lands, of which the Church knew how to secure the better half to herself. From this time until the appearance of Barbarossa in Italy, in 1152, the Italian cities enjoyed the most perfect liberty; they became wealthy and powerful. Their citizens formed battalions under the banners of the different wards of the town, with their consuls and *gonfaloniere* at their head. Ravenna, Verona, Padoua, Parma, obtained important privileges. Milan, in spite of her archbishop, adopted a republican government, and waged continual wars with her rivals and neighbors, Lodi, Como and Pavia.—*Canossa*, a strong castle, belonging to Countess Mathildis, on the Apennine, near Reggio. Here the excommunicated Henry IV. was invited by the countess to meet with the terrible pope. The German king was treated with the most inhuman cruelty, being left in the outer court of the castle, barefoot, in a hair garment, exposed to cold, hunger, and thirst, for three days during January, 1077. Half dead with humiliation and misery, the guilty monarch was at last admitted into the presence of the proud pontiff, who, however, lost the best fruits of his victory by thus outstepping all bounds of moderation and christian charity.

Patrimonium Santi Petri, or the then almost independent State of the Church, extended, as indicated on the map by the *violet color*, throughout the greater part of central Italy, while the feudal homage rendered to the pope by the Norman Robert Guiscard, Duke of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, secured the Church from the south. It embraced the duchy of *Spoleto*, the Mark of *Ancona* and *Romandiola* (Romagna). Rome herself had suffered the most terrible devastation in 1085. The pope, being besieged by Henry IV. in the castle of St. Angelo, called the Normans to his aid. Robert Guiscard came with his invincible knights; the Germans fled; Gregory VII. was delivered; but the entire southern part of the city, lying between the *Lateran* and the *Coliseum*, was destroyed with fire and sword by the Normans, and it has remained a desert to the present day.

XI. Kingdom of Poland.

312. Extent, Provinces, and Cities. Poland, under its warlike king, Boleslav the Great, embraced, in A. D. 1025, the

following provinces: I. *Polonia Propria*, bordering east, on the Bug; south, on the Carpathian Mountains; west, on the Oder; and north, on the Netze, which separated the kingdom from Pomerania. It was subdivided into 1, *Mazovia*, east of the Vistula; 2, *Cujavia;* 3, *Culma;* 4, *Cazubia;* 5, *Kustryn;* 6, *Barnim;* 7, *Lubus;* 8, Duchy of *Silesia;* 9, *Slask;* 10, *Cracow;* 11, *Sandomirz;* 12, *Sieradz;* 13, *Lenczyc;* and the conquered frontier provinces, which a few years later were lost, *Pomerania*, *Lusatia* (Lausitz), *Milzieni*, *Moravia*, *Chrobatia*, or North Hungary, as far as the Danube, the principality of *Halitch* and *Czerviensk* eastward as far as the Bug.—Cracow (Krakou), in a splendid and strong position on the upper Vistula, was the capital. There the ancient kings were crowned and interred. The cathedral is remarkable for its numerous mausoleums. The tomb of Saint Stanislaus is erected in the middle of the church, where lamps burn by day and night, and masses are continually said over his ashes. The adjacent country is remarkable for its picturesque beauty—*Vislica; Sandomirz.* The duchy of Silesia was one of the finest provinces of the Polish empire, and remained united with it until 1327, when it was ceded to John of Bohemia.—Breslau, on the Oder, the ancient capital, was burnt by the Mongols in 1241. *Leignitz*, where they defeated Duke Henry of Silesia, and the Polish and German chivalry, yet with so great a loss, that they immediately retreated to Hungary. *Warsaw*, on the Vistula, was still a small town.—*Posen*—*Gnesen*, the see of the archbishop—*Kalish.*

313. King Boleslav the Great, *Chrobry* (250), accomplished the difficult task of uniting into one monarchy the different hostile tribes of the *Ljächs*. *Mazovians*, *Krakovians*, *Silesians*, and *Moravians*, esteemed and loved him as highly as the Poles themselves; he was as generous as he was humane, brave, and just.[124] He organized the brilliant cavalry of his feudal army—*pospolité ruscenié;* he regulated the taxes—*poradine*—and divided his mighty realm into districts—*poviaty ziemié*—in which populous boroughs—*posada*—arose, and agriculture, trade and industry, became flourishing. Castles—*grod*—were built along the frontiers, which were guarded by the armed peasantry, under the command of the border counts. High-roads traversed Poland in all directions. Caravans from the east crossed peaceably the country on their route for the great markets—*messen*—of Germany. The chase was the great delight of the Poles; they hunted the elk, buffalo, urus, bear, and wild boar, on horseback, with lance and bow; from the German knights, they adopted the more fashionable falconry. Convents and schools were built; and, after a reign of extraordinary activity, the great ruler died, crowned with glory, in 1025. His successors, Boleslav II. and III., extended their conquests to the island of Rügen, on the Baltic,—beyond the Vistula, against the Russians; south into Hungary; but the division of Poland, in 1139, among the sons of Boleslav III., caused, in the course of time, a rapid succession of civil feuds, the formation of a powerful aristocracy, and the oppression of the mass of the people to the degrading state of hopeless serfdom.

XII. Kingdom of Hungary.

314. Conquests, Constitution, and Divisions. The kingdom of the Hungarians, or Magyar-Orszag, or they themselves called it, had been definitively constituted toward the year 1000 (253). The Magyar kings of the Arpadian dynasty, at the head of their warlike nation, made extensive conquests; their territory embraced not only all *Transylvania* (Hungaria Nigra), *Marmarosh*, on the north, along the southern base of the Carpathian Mountains, and the principalities of *Wallachia* and *Halitch* beyond them, but they passed the Danube, captured *Sirmium* and *Singedunum*, or *Alba Bulgaricæ* (Belgrade)—on the junction of the Saave and the Danube, the ancient bulwark of the Roman Empire (34), in 1079, subdued the Croatian Zupanate in 1088, and did not stop until they had crossed swords with the Venetians on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic. Here their light cavalry was beaten back, and all the islands and several cities on the mainland, *Zara*, *Trau*, *Spalatro*, *Narenta*, and others, remained in the possession of Saint Marc. The Hungarian king nevertheless took the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia, under the sovereignty of the papal see of Rome. The Catholic clergy exercised a great influence, and nearly all the political forms of the Frankish constitution were introduced. The king formed his council of the prelates and nobles; even deputies from the nation were admitted. At the head of the jurisdiction stood the *comes palatinus*—*Nádor Ispan*—of Hungary. The employments at court and in the administration were the same as in Germany. Every one of the seventy-two comitatus—*Gespannschaften*—into which Hungary had been divided, was governed by a *comes parochianus*, who held the judicial and military command of the district, and was chosen by the king. The native population consisted of, 1, *bondsmen*, who could be sold; 2, *serfs*, or *adscripti glebæ*, who were bound to the soil; 3, *common freemen;* the latter were divided into tens and hundreds, and obeyed their officers, called *decani* and *centenarii.* The nobility of the nation consisted of, 1, the *vassals*, who obtained feudal estates from the royal domains, and rendered service at court and in the army; 2, the *barons*, the majority of the Magyars, who had conquered the country, and among whom the districts had been divided at the time of the occupation. The barons still preserved their division into Asiatic tribes or clans. Each family or branch possessed territories, descending by inheritance among its members. All these noble estates were entirely free of taxes or tributes. The diets were held on horseback, in the plain of Rakos (253), where a royal herald proclaimed the resolutions taken. The heathen population, even the Magyars who refused baptism, and criminals, lost their personal liberty and were treated as slaves; those Sclavonians who received baptism, were placed under the protection of the Church as *conditionarii.* The laws for the security of property were austere. King Ladislav gave, in 1078, the most severe laws to protect the cattle on the open pasture-lands between the Theiss and the Danube, which were exposed to the forays of the proud and rapacious Magyar nobles. Neither rank, nor wealth, nor family influence, could save the robber-baron from the axe or the gallows. The Latin language had been introduced together with the Christian religion; soon the court and the tribunals spoke that tongue, and the Magyar dialect was thus stopped in its development, and banished among the lower classes. Civilization made very slow progress in Hungary, and the breeding of cattle and horses remained for centuries the principal occupation of the Magyars. At the time of the crusades, we find Hungary a well organized kingdom, under the small and misshapen, but high-minded King Kalmany (Coloman), who offered the first crusaders a free passage through Hungary. Yet the disorderly bands of Peter the Hermit burnt Semlin on the Danube, and their rear-guard, under the priest Gottshalk, was therefore surrounded and cut to pieces by the Hungarians. With Godfrey and the Princes, Kalmany had an interview at

[124] Boleslav had the curious custom of inviting the noble criminal to dinner. The culprit received, however, first, the private admonition of the king; he was then led into an apartment, where he received a terrible flogging; from which the penitent was carried into the bath, dressed for the court, and admitted to the royal table—all performed in good style—and no doubt, the noble sinner sat down there with the best appetite, after such preparative corporeal exercise.

Tollenburg, on the Leitha, the frontier river, where a treaty was signed for the passage of the army. King Andreas II., with a large Hungarian army, passed into the East in 1217, and landed at Acre, but returned without having assisted the crusaders, or gained glory for himself.

XIII. The Uzi and Kumani.

315. Their Territory, Conquests, and Manners.—Toward the middle of the eleventh century, appear suddenly the numerous hordes of the Uzi and Kumani, on the steppes west of the Volga. They were wild barbarians, of Tartaric blood, and made themselves feared by their neighbors, the Russians, who called them *Polovtzi*.[125] They pressed hard upon the Petcheneges, whom they subdued and mixed up with; and they settled as far westward as the river Aluta. Uniting their different hordes, they crossed the Danube in 1065, and began a desolating invasion into the Greek empire; yet they were soon compelled to return by pestilence and hunger. Their wars with the Russians continued without interruption on the border, which lay north of the waterfalls of the Dnieper. Alexius Komnenus sent them splendid presents, but it tended only to make them more desirous of plundering the beautiful countries from which they came. Anna Komnena, in her Alexiad, describes the despair of her father, attacked at the same time by the Normans, on the western coasts of Epirus, by the Seldjukian Turks in Asia Minor, and by the Uzi and Kumani in Thrace, where they besieged Adrianople, and spread devastation to the gates of Constantinople. Nor did they stop at the Carpathian Mountains; they entered Transylvania, but were at last surrounded and defeated by King Ladislav, in 1089—who permitted part of them to colonize the Jazygian plains, between the Theiss and the Danube—the later province of *Kumania*. Thus, this terrible nation extended from the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus, along the shores of the Euxine to the mouth of the Danube; and the whole of Southern Russia is in the annals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries called Kumania. On the approach of the Mongols from the defiles of Dervend, in 1222, the Kumani got frightened; they fell back on the Volga, and demanded aid from the grand dukes of Kiew, Wadimir, and Halitch. The Russian princes were suspicious of treachery, but when they learned the reality of the danger, they came on in full force to the support of their old enemies. Yet the bloody day on the river Kalka, in May, 1224, decided the fate both of the Kumani and of the Russians. All bowed beneath the yoke of the Mongols—the Kumani were never to rise again; only the tribes in Hungary survived, and their descendants still inhabit the plains of *Great* and *Little Kumania*. Both the Uzi and the Kumani resembled in ugliness, squalidness, and bestiality, the Petcheneges, to whom they no doubt were related. Their language was spoken in Hungary a century ago; the last man who understood it died in 1770; it is said to have contained many Tartaric words. The names of the Polovtzian clans, which appear in the Russian chronicles, are still found among the Tscherkassians of Mount Caucasus, and it is supposed that this powerful people may have vanquished the Kumani, and given them their native princes as leaders. The Kumani were as perfidious as they were loathsome. When concluding treaties with the Russians, they used to cut open their veins, and filling a goblet with their blood, they mixed it with that of the Russian envoys, and drank reciprocally, in order to become of one blood and faith. Horses were sacrificed on the sepulchres of their chiefs, whose faithful squires stabbed themselves, to die with their masters. They remained pagans, though they came in constant relations to Constantinople and Kiew; they were nomades, and lived under felt-tents even in Hungary; they were excellent horsemen, and had herds of camels; they shaved off their hair like the Turks, but wore long beards; they were voracious, and ate rats and mice. The Europeans considered them as monsters in human shape, and many a story was told of their devouring human flesh, and carrying pickled children in the saddle-bags along with them on their military expeditions.

[125] The Hungarians had many wars with the Kumani, and called them *Chuni;* the Germans gave them the name *Valands, Walves,* or *Falones,* from which is derived the German word *Valand,* a wild and desperate adventurer or swordsman.

III. SOUTHERN EUROPE BETWEEN 973 & 1096.

XIV. Kingdoms of Leon and Castile.

316. Temporary Union and Conquests; Origin of Portugal. The fall of the Ommiyad caliphs of Cordova, and the dismemberment of their empire into a vast number of petty principalities in 1031, afforded an opportunity for the neighboring Christian princes, by successive attacks, during nearly two centuries, to circumscribe the Arab dominion in the Spanish peninsula within the narrow limits of the kingdom of *Grenada*. This conquest would even have been accomplished in a much shorter time, if the feuds and rivalries between the Christians themselves had not retarded the victorious progress of their arms, and the African dynasties of the *Almoravides* in 1094, and of the Almohades in 1147, had not temporarily restored the Saracen power. The country south of the Duero, though occupied by the Christians, remained for a long time an insecure possession, frequently overrun by the Arabs. Thus, *Coimbra*, *Viseu*, and *Lamego*, which had been reduced by Alfonso I. and his immediate successors, were retaken by the great Mohammedan general Al-Manzor, on his victorious invasion of Galicia (255). Alfonso V., of Leon, fell before Viseu in 1027; but his son-in-law, Fernando I., of Castile, who, after the defeat and death of Bermudo III., in the battle of Carrion, in 1037, ascended the throne of Leon, recovered both Viseu and Lamego in 1057, and the important *Coimbra* opened its gates to the Christian knights in 1058. *Leon*, *Castile*, the *Asturias*, *Galicia*, and the county of *Portu-Cale* (Portugal), remained united during the greater part of the eleventh century, under the enterprising monarchs Ferdinando I. and Alfonso VI.—1037–1109. After a siege of three years, *Toledo*, the ancient capital of the Visigoths, surrendered in May, 1085, and Alfonso advanced rapidly on both banks of the Tagus, occupying the fortresses of *Madrid*, *Maqueda*, and *Guadalajara;* nay, he approached boldly toward the Guadiana, when he was attacked by the innumerable hordes of the African Almoravids, under their great general, Yussef-Ben-Taxfin—*al-nazar-ed-din*—(defender of the faith), in the plain of *Zalaca*, and totally defeated, with the loss of 24,000 of his bravest warriors, in 1087. This check put a stop to the progress of the Castilian king; and as the western conquests were continually exposed to the irruptions of the enthusiastic Almoravids, Alfonso conferred the government of Portugal from the Miño to the Tagus, and the right of conquering as far as the Guadiana on the young hero, Henry of Besançon, a Burgundian prince, who, in 1072, had married his daughter Teresa, and to whose valor he had been indebted for many of his victories. Numbers of Burgundian nobles having joined the banner of Count Henry, he beat back the Almoravids, who, in 1107, made a desperate attack on Coimbra, and laid the foundation of the chivalrous Monarchy of Portugal,[126] be-

[126] See the interesting investigations about the origin of the Portuguese monarchy, in the modern Portuguese Historian, Ippolito Herculano. Lisbon, 1846. Vol. I.

fore his death, in 1112. The disgraceful civil war between Queen Urraca and her husband Alfonso—*el Batallador*—of Aragon, brought desolation and misery over Castile. Her son, Alfonso VII., Ramundez of Galicia, united the kingdoms again, 1126–1157, and extended his conquests to *La Mancha* and the *Sierra Morena* in 1138–1141. The important fortress of *Calatrava*, on the Guadiana, was taken, and became later the seat of the military order of that name. The king penetrated even into *Andalucia*, but died in the village of *Fresnada*, near the steep pass of *Muradal*, in the Sierra Morena, on his return from the expedition in 1157. Leon and Castile were now separated for the last time. Fernando II. became king of Leon, and Sancho III., of Castile. This untoward division is indicated in our accompanying map: Castile, *green;* Leon, *violet;* and Portugal (already a kingdom since 1139), *yellow*. The final union of Castile and Leon took place in 1230, under Fernando III. *el Santo*.

317. Cities and Historical Places.—Leon, on the Benesga, a fine ancient Roman city, remained the capital until the conquest of Toledo, in 1085; and later again, after the division in 1157. Its cathedral church, which, for the elegance and lightness of its Gothic style, is considered the finest in Spain, was begun during this period, but not finished until the fourteenth century. Burgos, in *Castella Vetus*, the residence of the Castilian counts, became later the capital alternately with Toledo, in *Castella Nova*. *Zamora*, on the Duero (255), so celebrated in the Spanish chronicles and romances, as the scene of the siege sustained by Doña Urraca, against her brother, Don Sancho, and the feats of the Cid Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar. *Uclis*, in the province of Toledo, where Don Sancho, the son of Alfonzo VI., fell in battle against the Almoravids. *Alcántara*, on the southern bank of the Tagus, near the frontiers of Portugal, the celebrated castle of the knights of the order of that name. Two cavaliers of Salamanca, Don Suero and Don Gomez, riding along the banks of the Coales, in search of some strong position, which they intended to fortify on the border, to arrest the forays of the Moors, met with a hermit, who recommended the hermitage of Saint Julian as an excellent site for a fortress. Being supported by the Bishop of Salamanca, they erected a castle around the hermitage, where they were joined by many other nobles and adventurers, all eager to acquire fame and wealth in this life, and glory in the next. Hence the foundation of the order of *St. Julian of Alcántara*, which rendered signal service to the king and church. In an era of religious enthusiasm, the knights, anxious to imitate the Templars in a life of monastical austerity and military discipline, obtained the rule of Saint Benedict. A third military order, instituted somewhat later, in 1161, was that of Santiago, which followed the rule of Saint Augustine. It originated with some notorious bandits of Leon, who, touched with contrition for their past enormities, resolved to make reparation for them, by defending the pilgrims journeying to the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela (255), whom they themselves formerly so often had robbed. King Fernando II. favored this pious fraternity, who chose the bloody sword of their patron Santiago as their professional badge. The three powerful orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Santiago, carried the crusading spirit to its height in Spain, and being richly endowed by the successive kings of Leon and Castile, their possessions, like those of the Templars and Hospitallers, extended over every part of Spain. Life and manners in that country were still simple and austere; they presented a wonderful mixture of heroical bravery, religious fanaticism, and romantic love and poetry.

XV. Kingdom of Aragon and Navarra.

318. Sancho III., *el-Mayor*, of Navarra—1000–1035—was the most powerful prince of his age in Spain (257). Besides *Navarra* and *Sobrarbe*, he held the county of *Aragon*, then confined within the narrow limits of the valleys north of the Ebro. By the marriage of his son Fernando to the heiress of *Leon*, he extended his influence over the western states of the peninsula, while his army conquered the lordships of *Ribagorza*, and pressed hard upon the French frontier line of the Pyrenees. Yet by dividing his dominions, in 1033, among his four sons, he impeded the development of his people; and it was not until 1076, that *Navarra*, *Aragon*, *Sobrarbe*, *Viscaya*, *Alava*, and *Rioja*, were again united under Don Sancho Ramirez (1076–1094), and formed into a kingdom, whose capital was Pamplona, or Jaca. During the reigns of Don Pedro I. (1094–1104), and the brilliant Alfonso I. el Batallador (1104–1134), it was transferred to Zaragoza. Aragon acquired in 1065 the city of *Barbastro;* in 1083, *Grados;* in 1085, *Monzon;* in 1096, the important *Huesca*, which opened the fertile plain of the Ebro to the Christian arms; and in 1114. the equally considerable *Tudela*. *Zaragoza* fell in 1114, and the fleeing tribes were, in 1119–1121, driven from *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, and *Cotanda*, south of the mountains, toward Valencia. Alfonso, the battle-fighter, perished before *Fraga*, in 1134; and after the short reign of the Monk Ramiro II., the warlike and intelligent Raymond Berengar (Berenguer V. (IV.), Count of Barcelona, was called to the throne of Aragon (257).[127] Thus Catalonia remained, henceforth, united to Aragon, and the brilliant and highly instructive history of this well-organized and powerful kingdom begins in 1137, and continues uninterrupted for three centuries, until the final consolidation of the Spanish monarchy, in 1479, by the marriage of Fernando V. of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. On the death of Alfonso el-Batallador, the Navarrese, rejected the election of Ramiro the monk in Aragon, declared themselves independent, and chose for their king Don Garcias VI. Ramirez, a scion of their old royal dynasty. Both states remained henceforth separate. Rioja and Biscaya fell to the crown of Castile (257). It was not only the union with the county of Barcelona, which strengthened the kingdom of Aragon; it obtained likewise the extensive and important possessions which the Counts of Barcelona had acquired by purchase, inheritance, or marriage, beyond the Pyrenees, in southern France. Count Raymond Berengar I. (II.) *el-Viejo*, the most distinguished prince and cavalier of his day, had bought, in 1070, from the Countess of Carcassonne, all her rights over the viscounties and lordships of *Commingcs*, *Conflans*, and *Razéz*,[128] on the slope of the mountains, and of *Minerve* (Menerbœ), *Béziers*, *Agadéz*, and *Carcassonne*, farther north on the coast; and he had victoriously supported his new acquisitions with the sword against the Counts of Toulouse. The lordships of *Bezalu* and *Cerdaña*, south of the Pyrenees, reverted to Raymond III. (IV.), in 1111–1117, and in 1112, he married Dolce, the only daughter and heiress of Count Gilbert of Provence. This magnificent country, which nominally belonged to the German Empire, but, by the neglect of the emperors, had become alienated, remained now under the sway

[127] Raymond Berengar IV. was a perfect knight, brave, generous, active, and intelligent, like his forefathers. He owed, however, his election to the seneschal of Catalonia, Guillen de Moncada, who, though unjustly exiled, stood forward in the Aragonian Assembly, and spoke so warmly in favor of the chivalrous Count of Barcelona, that he was elected by acclamation. Yet the prudent Aragonese, ever jealous of their national honor, stipulated that the name of Aragon should, in the public documents, precede that of Barcelona; that Raymond should be styled, not king, but Prince of Aragon and Count of Barcelona, and that his banner, when he advanced to battle, should be intrusted to a knight of their own nation.

[128] See the classical work of Dr. Ernest Alexander Schmidt. *Geschichte Aragoniens im Mittelalter*. Leipzig. 1828, page 103, et seq.

of the Aragonian kings, until the year 1245, when Beatrix, the daughter of the last Berengar, brought it as a dower to her husband Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis of France. Thus strengthened by the rich provinces of southern France, and the active and warlike population of Catalonia, Aragon, toward the middle of the twelfth century, rose at once to a powerful kingdom, and its distinguished monarchs were now enabled to turn their full attention to the war against the Arabs. Raymond immediately invested the strongly-fortified *Tortosa*, and carried the city at the point of the sword, by the fanatic bravery of the Knights Templars; *Almeria* surrendered; *Lerida* and *Fraga*, on the Ebro, which had withstood all the assaults of Alfonso el-Batallador, yielded to Prince Raymond, who finally, in 1153, had the glory to deliver all Catalonia and Aragon from the dominion of the Mohammedans.

319. Constitution and Cultivation. The old Visigothic laws (123) had hitherto governed Catalonia; they were abolished by Raymond Berengar II., who substituted the *usages* of Catalonia—*usatica*—and gave a thorough organization to the different classes of the nobility and knighthood. Commerce was flourishing; Barcelona and the cities of Provence rose in wealth and comfort, while the nobility enriched themselves with the spoils of the Moslemin. The Counts of Barcelona were celebrated for their love of the fine arts and literature. Provence became, under their mild sway, the home of the romantic poetry of the Troubadours. Those enlightened princes surrounded themselves with minstrels, artists, and philosophers. The taste of the nobles soon spread through all classes; the Provençal knights no longer considered it beneath their dignity to express their sentiments in songs, and to extol in glowing verses the beauty and virtue of the ladies, whom they defended with their swords. Then arose those tribunals of love—*les cours d'amour*—in which the fair ones were the judges, and awarded the prize of excellence, whether a suit of armor, or a battle-steed, or only a rose from their bosom, no less to the inspired troubadour of the gay science, than to the chivalrous victor of the tournament. The amiable manners of Provence found their way across the Pyrenees, among the proud and taciturn Aragonese and quarrelsome Catalonians, and imparted a rapid development to their language, and a soaring flight to their nascent literature.

XVI. State of Valencia.

320. Origin and Extent. This small kingdom or principality, which is supposed to have extended from the Ebro along the eastern coast of Spain to Orihuela, was conquered from the Moors by the celebrated Roderigo Diaz de Bivar el Seid (the Cid), 1094–1099. Having been exiled from Castile by King Alfonso, the Cid, with his band of hardy warriors, began his forays on the Moorish dynasty of *Al-Hud* in Zaragoza, and the *Almerids* in Valencia. He took Alcozer, and making that place his stronghold, he gathered around him bands of patriots or freebooters, with whom he defeated the Arabs in many skirmishes, and penetrating by Tiruel, in southern Aragon, he established himself in the strong castle called *la Peña del Cid*, the Rock of the Cid, on the northern slope of the mountains of Segura. At Burriana, he met Don Pedro I., of Aragon, with whom he concluded an alliance of friendship and support; and learning the murder of Yahya Al-Kadir, of Valencia, he suddenly marched against that populous Moorish city, which he captured after a long siege. Thus strengthened and supported by Don Pedro I., and an army of thirty thousand Aragonese, el Cid could meet the powerful Almoravids hurrying to the rescue of Valencia. The great battle took place near Xativa, south of the city, where the heroical valor of the Cid and the enthusiasm of his Christian warriors, gained the most brilliant victory over the myriads of African Moors. The glorious career of the Cid el Campeador was closed with the conquest of *Murbiher*,—Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum, and the coastland, as far as Orihuela. All attacks of the Arab chiefs were beaten off, and the hero held Valencia until his death, in 1099. His conquered territory seems to have embraced *Castalona*, *Murbiher*, *Xelves*, *Xativa*, *Denia*, and *Xucar*. *Valencia del Cid*, the beautiful city in its fertile and highly-cultivated plain—*la Huerta*, or the garden, on the banks of the Guadalaviar, was one of the most important possessions of the Arabs in Spain. Nor did it long remain in the hands of the Christians. After the death of el Cid, it was immediately re-occupied by the Almoravids; and after their downfall, by the Almohads, until King Jayme of Aragon, at last, after the greatest exertions in 1232–1238, expelled the Moors. Great doubts have been raised by modern historians about this early conquest of Valencia, and the kingdom of Roderigo Diaz, the Cid, and even about the existence of that chivalrous character himself; yet we can, with confidence, believe both in the Christian hero and in his conquests, though these exercised but little influence on the geography of the middle ages, on account of their short duration.[129]

XVII. The Norman Duchy of Apulia and Calabria, and the Grand County of Sicily.

321. Origin, Development, and Extent. We have described the condition of Lower Italy at the beginning of the eleventh century (250, 270–72). *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*, were, like Venice, independent maritime republics; the Lombard princes of *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Salerno*, recognized nominally the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperors, who still possessed the Italian provinces of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. Henry II. attempted to restore the German influence; in 1021, he marched into Lower Italy, drove the Greeks easily back to the most extreme points of their possessions, conquered Benevento, Salerno, and Naples, and was during the passage every where greeted as sovereign. But this was the last expedition of the Germans. On their retreat beyond the Alps, the Byzantine *catapans* or governors reoccupied the lost provinces, and began to attack the Arab emirs in Sicily, while Saracen pirates devastated the coasts of Italy. A few years earlier, in 1016, a band of forty Norman pilgrims, returning from the Holy Land, had offered their services to the Prince Guaimar, of Salerno, and had bravely defeated a numerous host of Saracens, who were then beleaguering his city. The Normans returned to their country; but when an Italian embassy later arrived in Normandy, and made them brilliant offers on the part of the Salernian prince, a band of youthful warriors accepted the invitation, passed into Italy, and took service in his army. Their number soon increased to several thousands; and being disgusted with the mercenary warfare at the small intriguing court of Salerno, they concluded an alliance with a distinguished Greek chief Melo, an exile from Bari, in Apulia, whom they assisted in his feud against the Byzantine Empire.[130] But the Normans, being attacked by the superior

[129] See the doubts in Dunham's critical history of Spain. New-York, 1852, vol. ii., pages 159, and 272–284; and the historical evidence in *Der Cid nach den Quellen*, von Johannes von Müller (1805); and the above-cited History of Aragon, by Dr. Ernest A. Schmidt, pages 49–55.

[130] A new light has of late been thrown on the early conquests of the Normans in Italy, by the discovery of the highly interesting chronicle of a contemporary Benedictine monk Father Aimé, from the convent of Monte Casino, first published by M. Champollion-Figéac in Paris, 1835. See our article in the New-York American Review, for June, 1848, "*On the adventures and conquests of the Normans in Italy, during the middle ages*, from the Danish of M. Frederick Schiern, professor at the University in Copenhagen.

forces of the Greek catapan, were defeated with heavy loss; they effected, however, their retreat, and fortifying themselves in *Anversa la Normanna*, between Naples and Capua, they awaited the arrival of fresh bands of their countrymen from Normandy. There they were soon joined by William, Humfrey, and Drogo, the sons of Tancred of Hauteville;[131] and having surprised the strong city of *Melphia*, commanding the Apulian plain, they, in 1041, began the open war against the Greeks. They had now already a firm footing in Italy; for it was not only the most daring valor and persevering fortitude, but the shrewdest calculations, the cunning and eagle-eye of a Hannibal or Cæsar, which distinguished the Normans above all warriors at this period of their glory. In Melphia, they were met, in 1047, by Robert and Tancred, and somewhat later by the younger brothers, Roger, Malger, and Godfrey, of the noble Hauteville family, whose heavy swords soon drove the Greeks out of Italy, and extended their dominion over the whole of Apulia and Calabria. The victorious Normans then divided the territories among themselves, and fortified every height and defile with impregnable castles, from whose towers the blood-red banner of the North waved in proud defiance of Greek emperors and Romish popes. Robert Guiscard,[132] however, was the soul of that great enterprise; he was the hero of the age, the strongest warrior among the strong, who, in his heavy panoply, sprung up from his fallen steed, and wielded with equal dexterity his broadsword in his right hand and his lance in the left. He carried his arms and his glory across the Ionian Sea to Greece, where his fair enemy, Anna Comnena, the purple-clad princess and historian, in spite of her anger and terror, expressed the admiration with which Robert Guiscard inspired her.[133] The Normans had become the terror of all Italy. Pope Leo IX., with a large army, marched against them; but found himself suddenly surrounded at *Civitella*. The key-soldiers of Saint Peter were totally routed; the pope was taken prisoner, but honorably treated by Robert Guiscard, who received the broad and beautiful lands of southern Italy as a fief of the Holy See of Rome, and became afterwards the staunchest defender of the popes against the German emperors. Robert, as Duke of Apulia, then sent his younger brother Roger with a chosen body of Norman knights across the Straits of Messina, to Sicily, and after the most astonishing feats of valor, the two gigantic brothers had, in 1091, driven every Saracen from the island, every Greek from the mainland, and they then began to prepare their fleets for the conquest of the Byzantine Empire.

322. Division and Cities. A. The duchy of Apulia and Calabria (270–71) embraced the whole southern part of the Italian peninsula as far north as *Terracina* on the west, and the river Tronto on the east, which separated it from Marca Ancona; it was divided into twelve larger provinces: 1. The principality of *Capua—Terra Laboris*—with the counties of *Aquinum Fundi*, *Capua*, *Sora*, and *Anversa*, or Aversa (Atella), called *la Normanna*, the first stronghold of the Northmen, near Capua. 2. Duchy of *Naples*, with *Sorrento*, *Naples*, and *Amalfi*. These brilliant republics (270) opened their gates to the Norman duke, who treated them well, and let them enjoy their commerce and industry; later, however, when they renounced their allegiance to Robert, they were recaptured, and their prosperity destroyed for ever. *Salerno* was the last Lombard city which surrendered to the Normans, in 1077. It still possessed the celebrated Arabic school for medicine, physic, and chemistry. Crowds of students, and patients of the highest rank, and from every country in the world, visited the city. An African Christian, Constantine by name, had then returned from Bagdad, and being an oriental scholar, he lectured on the practice of the Arabian Avicenna, and the improvements of the medieal science in the East. Robert Guiscard protected the useful institute, and Salerno preserved its reputation for Arabian learning and literature during the whole period of the Souabian rule in Southern Italy. 3. The marquisate of *Teate*. 4. The county of *Bojano*, with *Venafro*, *San Germano*, and the magnificent and wealthy convent of *Monte Casino*. 5. The county of *Molissio*, northeast from *Civitella* and *Ferlorium*, where Robert Guiscard, in 1051, defeated and captured Pope Leo IX. 6. The province of *Capitanata* with the counties of *St. Angeli*, on Mount Gargano, *Asculum*, *Venosa*, *Lavellum*, *Canna*, *Trani*, *Minerbinum*, *Andria*, *Compsa*, on Mount Apennine, and the strong and fine city of *Melphia* (Melfi), the key to the Apulian plain, on the Ofanto, which Rainulf, the first Norman leader, took by stratagem in 1041. 7. The principality of *Bari*, on the Adriatic was the last city occupied by the Greeks. In the cathedral are seen the sarcophagi of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund, prince of Antioch. 8. The principality of *Taranto*, the inheritance of Bohemund. 9. Province of *Basilicata*, with the counties of *Acerenza*, *Monspilosus*, *Gravina*, *Matera*, *Potenza*. 10. Province of *Principato*, with *Avellum*, *Acerra*, and *Frequento*. 11. *Val Cratis*, in Calabria, with *Polycastro*, *Consentia*, and *Russanum*. 12. *Terra Fordana*, the southernmost point of Calabria, opposite to Sicily, with *Melito*, *Reggio*, and *Squillace*.

B. Grand County of Sicily. *Palermo—el-Khalassa*, the favorite city of the Arabs, was stormed and captured by Robert and Roger on the 10th of May, 1072. *Traina* and *Paterna*, at the base of Mount Etna, where Roger, with a few hundred Norman knights, victoriously defended himself against thousands of Moslemin. *Castro-Giovanni* (Enna), in the interior, the battle-field where Ali-Ben-Na'amh and the Arabic army was totally routed by the Normans. *Abuthur* (Butera), and *Natis* (Noto), were the last possessions of the Arabs in Sicily, which, however, they kept so late as 1090, when they were forced by Roger to re-cross to Africa, after having inhabited that beautiful island for two hundred and sixty-five years —826–1091. Roger followed up his victories; he conquered the island of Melita (Malta), which then became inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. His son, King Roger, landed in Africa, took *Mahadia*, the capital of the Zeirids, *Tunis*, *Safax*, *Capsia*, *Bona*, the islands of *Karkis* and *Gerbes*, and a long tract of the once so celebrated sea-coast of ancient Carthage; yet, after the first enthusiasm of conquest had passed

[131] The ruins of the castle of Hauteville are still seen in the neighborhood of *Coutences*, in Normandy. There lived, in the beginning of the eleventh century, among the flower of the Northmen the brave old Baron Tancred, the friend and companion of Duke Richard the Good, of Normandy. Having spent many years honorably in the service of his liege lord, Tancred returned to his paternal estate, where, with his first wife Muriella, he had five sons, *William*, *Drogo*, *Humfrey*, Godfrey, and Serlon. After her death, he took another wife, Fredesenda, who bore him seven sons, *Robert Guiscard*, Malger, Alfred, William, Humbert, *Tancred*, and *Roger*, afterwards the celebrated Count of Sicily. All the sons of Tancred were distinguished knights. Serlon fought under William the Conqueror at Hastings, and Alfred inherited the paternal estate. The mother, Fredesenda, with her three daughters, after the death of the old baron, joined her heroical sons in Italy.

[132] Guiscard, or *Wiscard*, is the Icelandic *viske*, the now obsolete English *wiscacre*. Robert was called *the cunning count*. *Cognomen Viscardus erat quia calliditatis; non Cicero tanta fuit nec versutus Ulysses*, says William of Apulia, in his chronicle, page 260.

[133] Though Anna Comnena bitterly complains of his cruelty and thirst of conquest, yet she owns that he was "an Achilles in combat and an Ulysses in cunning; that he with firmness executed his designs, and, above all, aspired to independence and glory:" nay, the image of his manly beauty had made such an impression on the imagination of the Greek princess, that when celebrating the noble appearance of a hero, she calls him *handsome like a knight from Normandy*." Anna Comn. Ed. Bonnæ, i. 50.

away, the Sicilian Normans neglected those transmarine possessions, and they were successively evacuated and lost under the troubled reign of King William the Bad, in the twelfth century.

XVIII. The Italian Republics.

323. Their Commercial Activity and Conquests. Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Como, and the other populous and wealthy cities of Lombardy, had already begun, in 1056, to constitute themselves as independent republics, with their consular governments, city banners, and militia. Pisa and Genoa, long rivals in commercial enterprise and military prowess, succeeded in driving the Saracens from *Sardinia*, in 1009. They divided the island between their republics, and governed it by judges. The Sardinian judicatures were: 1, *Gallura*, in the northeast; 2, *Turres*, northwest; 3, *Arborea*, southwest; and, 4, *Calaris* (Cagliari), southeast. But soon dissensions and violent feuds breaking out between their feudatories, the Pisans gained the upper hand, and expelled the Genoese from the greater part of the island; the latter could only sustain themselves in the southern *Cagliari*, and in *San Bonifazio* on the island of *Corsica*. This island the Pisans likewise obtained in 1092, as a fief of the papal see of Rome. Both these strong and flourishing democracies took thenceforth the most active and lucrative part in the earlier crusades, until, in the twelfth century, their mercantile envy and bitter hatred produced that maritime war, which, after the naval battle near Melloria, off the coast of Leghorn, in 1282, terminated with the destruction of the Pisan fleet and commerce, and the downfall of that republic.—Venice had, in the mean time, extended her conquests along the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts (272). She occupied the strong cities of *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Trau*, and *Spalatro*, together with the islands *Opsara*, *Pago*, *Cherso*, *Grossa*, *Arbe*, *Brazza*, *Lissa*, *Lesina*, and *Curzola*. At home the rivalry of the proud families, Morosini and Caloprini, retarded the development of the republic during the greater part of the eleventh century. Venice, fearing the ambitious plans of Robert Guiscard against the Byzantine empire, formed alliance with Alexius Comnenus, and defeated the Norman fleet off Corfu; thus preparing herself for the important part she was to occupy in the crusading expeditions which, in the thirteenth century, brought her to the height of her influence and power.

XIX. The Byzantine Empire.

324. Frontiers and Extent. At the close of the eleventh century, and immediately before the great crusade, the northern frontiers of the Greek Empire were nominally the same as at the time of Otho the Great, in 973. They ran along the southern banks of the Danube and the Save, westward, as far as the river *Unna*, a tributary of the latter, and then south to Mount Scardus and the lake of Scodra, still embracing the southern part of the Dyrrhachian theme (270). *Bulgaria* and *Servia* were thus considered as provinces of the empire. Subdued by Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisces, the Bulgarians recognized the sovereignty of the emperors, but they attempted repeatedly to break their chains, under their intelligent chief, Simeon, until they were totally defeated and prostrated by the heavy sword of Basil II.,—Βουλγαροκτόνος, or, the *Bulgar-slaughterer*—in 1017–18.[134] Yet we learn, from the disastrous passage of Peter the Hermit, and the first crusaders, in 1096, that armed Bulgarian bands occupied the forest lands —*Silva Bulgarorum*—from the Danube, along the Morava to *Naïssus* and *Sternitza*, or *Triaditza* (now Sofiá), at the base of Mount Hæmus, where thousands of pilgrims perished by the arrows of that fierce people. It was only at the latter place that ambassadors of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus appeared, who led the perishing crusaders safely through the mountain passes toward Adrianople and the capital. Servia (Serblia), too, had thrown off the yoke under Stephan Boistlaf, in 1040 (196), and expelled the Byzantine governors. That spirited people maintained their independence, and extended their kingdom beyond the Morava on the east, and to the shores of the Adriatic on the west, with Scodra for their capital.[135] Epirus began already to be called *Albania*, and Thessaly *Blachia*. All the Italian provinces had been conquered by the Normans in 1072, and though Alexius with courage and skill beat off the attacks of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund, on Epirus, yet King Roger of Sicily inflicted, in 1146, by the desolation of Greece, a mortal wound on the prosperity of the country. When we turn our regard to the lately flourishing provinces of Asia Minor, the prospect becomes still more gloomy. There, the Seldjukian sultan, Alp Arslan, had, in 1071, defeated and captured the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at *Malazkerd*, in Armenia, and both Suleiman and his son Kilidj Arslan (Lion with the sword) had, during the following years, extended the Turkish conquests throughout the finest themes of Asia Minor, and fixed their capital at Nicæa, almost in sight of Constantinople herself. Of all the Asiatic themes, only *Chaldia* and *Paphlagonon*, on the Pontus, parts of *Optimaton* and *Opsikion*, and those of *Thrakesion*, *Cypros*, and *Samos*, and the smaller islands, still remained to the empire on the accession of Alexius Comnenus to the throne, in 1081.

325. His task was a most difficult one; the eastern empire had become weakened by the incapacity of Constantine, the rebellion of Bardas Phokas, the extravagancies of the Empress Zoë and her lover, Michael the Paphlagonian, and the internal feuds between the generals Bryennius and Botoniates, after the defeat of the Emperor Romanus. All was disorder and misery. The monstrous Petcheneges crossed the Danube, and swarmed, burning and destroying to the gates of the capital. The Normans attacked the unprotected coasts of Greece, while the Turkish cavalry swept the plains of Natolia, and planted their banners on the battlements of Nicæa and Nikomedia. It seemed, in 1081, as if the last hour of Byzantium had struck. Yet Alexius Comnenus was a prince of extraordinary talents; active, prudent, courageous, cunning and inventive, he found the arms and the intellect even among the unwarlike, monkish Greeks of the eleventh century, to repel his perfidious enemies, and restore the integrity of the state. Nor can we wonder that the emperor cherished the brightest hopes from the armaments of chivalrous Europe, and that he

[134] Basil made the immense booty of ten thousand pounds weight of gold, or two millions of dollars, at the capture of the Bulgarian capital, Achris, on the lake Lychnidus. Having surrounded and cut off the Bulgarian army, he inflicted a most atrocious punishment on the *fifteen thousand* captives, who had been taken with arms in their hands for the defence of their country. Basil ordered them to be deprived of sight; but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind company to the presence of their king. Simeon, oppressed with grief and horror, fell down dead at the awful spectacle The Bulgarians were swept away to the north of Mount Hæmus, their old province, where they brooded vengeance until the later terrible outbreak, in 1186.

[135] The Servian *kral* (king) recognized the supremacy of the pope, like the Duke of Apulia, and divided his kingdom into fifteen bishoprics, which, however, later, returned to the Greek Church. The condition of the Servians (Raitzi) was rude; the kral lived like a farmer among his cattle; the chase of the bear and the wild boar was his only enjoyment; his queen sat with the distaff; and his subjects, in their plundering propensity, would not spare the flocks and herds of the kral himself.

sent ambassadors and presents to France to hasten the march of the crusaders. But how great must have been his disappointment, on beholding the ragged, emaciated bands of pilgrims the companions of Peter the Hermit, and later his doubts and anxiety at the sight of the camps of half a million of mail-clad semi-barbarians, extending along the unprotected shores of the Bosphorus.[136] There, among the proud chieftains, Alexius beheld his mortal enemy Bohemund, the Norman, who, as a mere boy with his daring chevaliers, had cut his way into the heart of the empire, and with the lance on his thigh, had galloped through the whole length of it, despising the feeble attempts of the Greeks to resist his invasion. Nor was there any crowned head to control the wild passions of so many independent leaders, whose coarse manners and rude accoutrements excited the disdain of the polished and elegant Byzantines. The Franks and Greeks were, in conditions of society, too dissimilar for them to associate familiarly and friendly together. Political order and civil law were, in the opinion of the Greeks, the true bonds of society; the right of the individual to redress his own wrongs with his sword, was among the Franks the most valuable privilege of existence. The authority of the central government, in the well-organized administration of the Byzantine Empire, reduced the greatest nobles to the rank of abject slaves in the opinion of the feudal barons, while the right of every private knight to decide questions of law by an appeal to his sword, was a monstrous absurdity in the eyes of the Greeks, and seemed to render society among the western nations little better than an assemblage of bandits. The conduct of the Latin clergy did nothing to promote Christian charity. The contempt of the learned eastern prelates for the ignorance of their Latin brethren was even changed into abhorrence, when they beheld men calling themselves bishops, prancing about the streets of Constantinople in coats of mail. The Latin priesthood, on the other hand, despised both the pastors and the flocks, when they saw men hoping by scholastic phrases to influence the conduct of warriors; and they condemned the Christianity which suffered its priests to submit to the authority of the civil magistrate in the servile spirit of the Greek clergy.[137] Thus the nations could not understand each other. Both accused their rivals of falsehood and treachery, and scenes of fearful disorder were the consequence. The Greeks attempted to surprise the camp of Godfrey, and were punished by the conflagration of the beautiful suburbs, palaces, and country-seats on the Bosphorus. We must not be unjust to Alexius. His position was difficult in the extreme. He sent rich presents to the chiefs, and persuaded them by fealty to swear allegiance to the empire for the lands they were going to conquer in the East.[138] In return, he furnished those disorderly multitudes with provisions and vessels for their passage into Asia; he aided them by the superior skill of the Greek engineers, during the siege of Nicæa; and we cannot wonder that he shrewdly planted his imperial banner on the walls to secure that important city from desolation, and the Turkish prisoners from slaughter. Alexius profited by the great crusade. *Nicæa*, *Nicomedia*, *Dorylæon*, the greater part of Asia Minor, as far as the plains of Ikonium and all the coast-lands returned once more under the imperial sceptre. By his brilliant victory over the Petchenegian hordes, he intimidated both Bulgarians and Servians, and the Byzantine eagle banner once more floated from the fortresses on the Danube. The discipline of the Byzantine armies, which had relaxed during the internal feuds, was revived, and a new generation of chiefs and warriors was created, with whom his excellent successors, Calojohannes and Manuel were enabled to protect the empire during still more threatening dangers. In his long reign of thirty-seven years, Constantinople enjoyed order and tranquillity; the strength of the Basilian laws was restored; arts, literature, and science were cultivated, and the emperor in his old age enjoyed the happiness of seeing an eloquent and imperishable monument of his reign produced by his lovely daughter Anna Comnena.

[136] We must not present to ourselves the crusading armies in that pomp and glittering array, in which, two centuries later, we meet the French, English, and Spanish chivalry on the battle-fields of Crecy, Poitiers, or las Navas de Tolosa. We are yet in the early age of that institution; we have before us the heroes of Homer, in their rude and simple grandeur, not the brilliant Athenians at Marathon, nor Alexander at the head of his Macedonian phalanx. The early crusaders are not yet the plumed and crested cavaliers, on their barbed and caparisoned steeds, cased in gilt or burnished plate armor, as described by Froissard and Comines. Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred, and the other pilgrims of rank still wear the clumsy hauberk, or coat of chain-mail, covering the head like the monk's cowl, with sleeves, and their mittens, instead of gauntlets, and falling down to their knees like a cartman's blouse. The hose and pointed shoes of mail, with long iron spurs without rowels, and the low, flat steel cap placed over the mail-hood, without a visor or beaver, completed the ungraceful costume of the first crusaders. Only the triangular shield or scutcheon, hanging down over the breast, is painted in brilliant colors, and the emblazoned surcoat, lined with ermine-vair, is thrown over the hauberk. The war-horses are yet totally defenceless, and we observe with astonishment how they sink by thousands before the arrows of the skirmishing Turks, until the Christians afterwards adopted the Saracenic fashion of barbing their steeds with a complete cover of horse armor.

Such is the appearance of the 100,000 mounted knights and squires, who with 400,000 light-armed foot soldiers, of *both sexes*, says the Archbishop of Tyre, prepare to cross the Straits and conquer the Holy Land.

[137] See this interesting passage in Colonel Finlay's Mediæval Greece (page 86), from which we have borrowed it.

[138] It was in the splendid palace of *Blachernæ*, now a desolate ruin, where, in the presence of the glittering court, Godfrey of Bouillon bent his knee to the emperor, and was adopted his son. The oath of allegiance was repeated by all the crusading chieftains, except by the old Count Raymond of Toulouse, though he afterwards showed himself more faithful towards Alexius than the others. See the lively scene in Walter Scott's last novel, *Count Robert of Paris*.

[139] A graphic picture of the ancient Turkish tribes, and the accurate description of the Caspian Sea is given already by Herodotus. "The Caspian," says the father of history, "is a separate sea of itself, being in length a fifteen days' voyage for a rowing-boat; and in breadth, where it is widest, an eight days' voyage. On the western shore of this sea, stretches the Caucasus, which is in extent the largest, and in height the loftiest of all mountains; it contains within itself many and various nations, who, for the most part, live upon the produce of wild fruit-trees. This mountain then bounds the western side of the Caspian; and on the east, toward the rising sun, succeeds a plain in extent unbounded in the prospect. A great portion of it is inhabited by the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus, the Persian King, resolved to make war," &c.—Clio. 204—215.

IV. THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD

IN WESTERN ASIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

States of the Seldjukian and Ortokid Turks.

326. Origin, Development, and Conquests of the Turks. We have visited the Mohammedan dynasties of the Ghaznavids, Ghorids, and Khowaresmids, on the banks of the Oxus, through Khorasan, on the Indus, and in Hindostan (275–76). The scimitar of the Arabs had never entirely subdued the nomadic tribes of the ancient *Massagetæ*, or Scythians,[139] who, with their herds of horses and cattle, roamed over the extensive plains of Sogdiana, the *Mawar-al-Nahr* of the Arabs (212), between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and northeast of the latter river toward the frontiers of China. From their chan Oghus, they early took the name of *Oghu-*

sians; and when they, in the tenth century, were converted to Islam, they called themselves *Turkmanieh*, Turkmans, or faithful (devout) horsemen. Their different tribes had a military organization, and they were divided into the *three arrows of the left wing*, and the *three breakers of the right*. The three latter tribes were situated on the west, toward the Caspian Sea, and to them belonged the celebrated *Seldjukian Turks*. They did not from the beginning form a race by that name; they were, on the contrary, young adventurers from all the tribes of the right wing, who had gathered around the bold and enterprising Emir Seldjuk, and won fame and wealth in successful expeditions against the contending Arabian dynasties south of the river Oxus. Soon, the victorious bands of Seldjuk were swelled by thousands of Turkman cavaliers. The effeminate Arabs offered the brilliant young warriors pay and booty for the service of their arm and bow; and thus, we at once see them form themselves into well-organized squadrons of mercenaries, who may be compared to the Varanghians of Constantinople (226, 262), the Catalonians and Almugavars of the thirteenth century, and the still more celebrated *Italian Condottieri* of the fourteenth and fifteenth. The service of these Turkish hirelings, ever ready for fighting, was eagerly sought by the petty dynasties in Khorasan and Zabulistan, in their wars the one against the other; gradually, the Turks became so formidable, that the nephew of Seldjuk, Toghrul-Beï was proclaimed sultan by his warriors in 1037. Fortune smiled on his *beiraks*.[140] He overthrew the Ghasnavid dynasty in Khorasan (275), and extended his conquests throughout Persia, from the Oxus to the Tigris. The Abassid Caliph, Abdallah V. Kaim-Beamrillah, a captive in the hands of his powerful emirs, the Buids (277), called Toghrul-Beï and his Turks to Bagdad, and made him emir-al-omrah, in 1063. The new dignity, the impetuous bravery, and excellent tactics of the Turkish sultans, made them irresistible. Alp-Arslan and his son Malek Shah, *Djelal-ed-Din* and *Djelal-ed-Daula* (the Glory of Faith and Power), followed up the victories of their great ancestor; all the lands west of the Euphrates, Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor, bowed beneath the sabre of the Seldjuks. But, after the death of the great Malek-Shah, in 1062, the immense empire of the Turks fell to pieces, and formed already a number of independent Sultanates on the first appearance of the crusaders in Asia in 1097.

XX. Seldjukian Sultanate of Rum.

327. Extent and Cities.—*The Sultanate of Rum* (Rumili), or *Iconium*, consisted of provinces which were conquered from the *Romans* (Greeks) by Sultan Suleiman, the nephew of Malek-Shah, in 1074. It was the most extensive and powerful of the Seldjukid Sultanates, and embraced the fertile lands between Armenia, the upper Euphrates, the Taurus, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Isauria, Phrygia, the southern parts of Pontus and Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pamphylia, Lycia, with the cities of Nicæa and Dorylæum, in Bithynia. *Iconium* (Koniah), in the open Lycaonian plain, was the early capital of the sultans. They soon, however, removed their residence to Nicæa, on the Askanian lake, which became the scene of the first great event of the crusades. That strongly fortified city was closely besieged by 500,000 crusaders from May 5th to June 20th, 1097, when, after the defeat of Sultan Kilidj Arslan before its gates, it surrendered to Alexius Comnenus, and became a second time the bulwark of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine empire. *Xerigordon*, a small town, twelve miles from Nicæa, where the crusading bands of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless suffered a dreadful defeat by the Turkish emir, El-Canes, in 1096. Of twenty-five thousand pilgrims, only three thousand, with Kuku-Peter escaped to the coast of *Kibotus*, whence they were shipped back to Constantinople. The Turks afterwards used the bones of the slain to fence their vineyards in the environs. *Dorylæum*—Δορύλαιον—in the beautiful valley of Gorgoni, at the base of Mount Dagóstenon, in Phrygia, on the river Thymbres, a tributary of the Sangarios (264), became the battle-field of the greatest cavalry combat of modern history. Sultan Kilidj Arslan, of Iconium, more provoked than dismayed by the loss of his capital Nicæa, had assembled a still larger army, and was hovering on the flanks of the advancing crusaders; and when he learned that they had separated into two bodies, while crossing the hills of Dagóstenon, he immediately resolved to strike a blow, and advanced rapidly with 150,000 horsemen, without a single foot-soldier, on the 1st of July, 1097. It was still in the gray of the morning, when the Norman scouts, outside the camp of Bohemund, at Dorylæum, were startled by a rocking of the ground, like an earthquake; and soon the trampling, the neighing, and clattering of advancing horse, announced the approach of the Moslemin. Bohemund immediately ordered all the carriages to drive up in square, on the banks of the Thymbres, as a protection for the women and sick pilgrims, while Robert Curthose of Normandy, formed on the left wing, Tancred on the right, and Bohemund himself, with the Italo-Norman chivalry, covered the rear. Yet, before these dispositions were executed, the Turkish masses already threw themselves across the river, and the terrific battle began. The Christian knights, in their heavy panoply, and unacquainted with eastern warfare, charged full gallop, with couched lances, into the midst of the Turkmans, who turned bridle to allure them on, while other squadrons advanced to attack them in the flanks. Thus, Tancred, having lost his steed, was surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger, until Bohemund burst forward and saved him; yet, overpowered by numbers, and having lost their horses by the arrows of the infidels, the Christians were forced back across the river with severe loss. This was the first great struggle of the crusades; here, at Dorylæum, the Christians were taught to change their contempt for the unwarlike nations of Asia into admiration at the higher tactics and the impetuous valor of the Mussulmans. Rapidly extending their deeply ranged squadrons in the form of an immense semicircle, the Turks instantly outflanked the crusaders, and, sending in volley after volley of arrows, they brought them down by hundreds. The Normans, in their rage, attempted to spur forward, but the Turks wheeled around them under continual discharges. The forces of the Christians became exhausted; horse and foot mingled in frightful disorder, and began to seek refuge among the carriages; their total defeat seemed already at hand, when Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse appeared on the southern hills at the head of 50,000 horse. Godfrey, entirely unacquainted with the danger of the Normans, had continued his march south, toward the Phrygian city of Antioch, when some Norman knights, spurring after him, announced the danger of Bohemund. Godfrey, immediately ordering his infantry to encamp, hurried back with the French and German chivalry. On his appearance, the Turkish trumpets and kettle-drums sounded the retreat, and their wild masses recrossed the river, but formed again on the brow of Mount Dagóstenon. With incredible enthusiasm, the Normans now advanced on the right; the fine old Raymond of Toulouse took the centre with his Provençals; Godfrey and his brothers, Baldwin and Eustache, the left, with the Germans; and thus closely massed, 80,000 Christian knights, with waving banners, couched lances,

[140] The Turkish banner—*beirak*—consisted formerly of a silver crescent and a horse-tail—*tooghi*—fixed on the point of a lance. The present Turkish army have purple standards with the half moon.

and the cheering shout, "God willeth it"—"*Dieu le veut*"—rushed thundering along to the decisive charge. The Turks, on their panting and jaded horses, with empty quivers, still resolve to regain the victory with the edge of the scimetar. But, at the first onset of the crusaders, they are borne down and thrown into irrecoverable confusion; and when, at last, the brave Bishop Ademar of Puy, with the rear-guard, by a circuitous route, suddenly falls on their flanks, they are surrounded and totally defeated. The pursuit now became terrific; for six miles the Christian sword and lance raged among their broken and flying horse; the Moslemin spurred away for their lives, dispersing over the Phrygian plains, and disappearing, at last, behind the mountains of Angora. Four thousand emirs and sheiks, and twenty thousand Turkman troopers, covered the field; their camp, their herds of horses and camels, and an immense booty, fell into the hands of the victorious crusaders. Asia Minor was won at one blow; the road to Syria lay open; and the Christian sword had humbled the pride of the proudest prince of Islam.—*Philomelion* (Aksher), in the Pisidian plain, on the road to Iconium, where the Danish prince Swend, with his bride Florina of Burgundy, and two thousand Danish and Norwegian knights, were surrounded by the Turkish sultan of Iconium, and after the most heroical defence, cut down to a man, in October, 1097, during the siege of Antioch, by the main army of the crusaders.[141] *Tarsus* (266), on the Cydnus, in Cilicia, a thriving city at that time, mostly inhabited by Christians, Greeks, and Armenians, occupied with commerce and agriculture. Here the retainers of Tancred, the Norman, and of Baldwin, the haughty brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, began an open war about the possession of the city, in which many lives were lost, and the dispute not settled without some difficulty. Cilicia formed afterwards a small independent Armenian kingdom under its own dynasty of kings, who resided in Adana.

XXI. The Sultanates of the Ortokids.

328. Besides the Seldjuks, other Turkish hordes had invaded the Caliphate, among whom the Ortokids were the most distinguished. The founder of their dynasties was Ortók-Beï, who settled with his band in Armenia, in 1082, when the Seldjuks allowed him to occupy Jerusalem. This Turkman tribe was more savage than the Seldjuks; they augmented the oppression of the Christian pilgrims, whom they insulted and tortured in the most awful manner, until, at last, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt sent an army into Palestine, in 1096, which drove the Ortokids out of the city; they sustained themselves, nevertheless, in *Mardin*, *Diarbekir*, and in *Armenia* (Khelat), during continual feuds with the crusaders, until they were defeated and extirpated by the Ejubids and the sultans of Iconium, toward the close of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

XXII. The Atabeks in Al-Djesirah and Persia.

329. Extent and Cities. The Sultanate of Iran (Persia), the second in power after that of Iconium, and the principal seat of the Seldjukian princes, extended eastward to the Indus and Mount Muztag, on the frontiers of China. Bagdad, on the Tigris, was still the residence of the caliph, who, at that time, had lost his political power, and being entirely dependent on the Great Sultan, was reduced to the mere performance of preaching, and other religious functions in the mosque. *Ispahan* soon became the splendid capital of the Turks and New Persians, and the seat of their literature and choicest architecture. *Vishabour*, the capital of Khorasan, with gorgeous monuments of the Gasnavid princes. The Seldjukid sultans did not learn prudence from the example of the caliphs; they likewise intrusted their slaves or officers, and principally their teachers and guardians—the Atabeks, or fathers of the princes—with extensive powers, and the government of entire provinces. Thus, several dynasties arose in *Laristan*, *Farsistan*, and *Irak*, which contributed to the total dissolution of the Seldjukian empire; civil war raged throughout the country; the fields were desolated; famine and misery prevailed; the cities became abandoned by their inhabitants, who took up arms, or fled to the mountains for protection, while the wild beasts roamed through the land in search of prey. Djelal-ed-Din Mankbernî put an end to this state of things in 1225.

XXIII. Seldjukid Principalities in Syria.

330. The sons of Ortók-Beï had maintained themselves in Syria: Rodwan in *Halep*, and Dokak in *Damascus*, about 1095. Yet a few years later, Emah-ed-Din, Zenghi (1121–1145), the *atabek* of Mossul, made himself independent, and extended his influence by important conquests from the Ortokids and the crusaders. Zenghi was a distinguished man; he showed himself indefatigable in his administration, and the execution of the laws; he bridled the avarice and arrogance of his *emirs* and *cadis*, to whom he gave an example of moderation himself; he kept the strictest discipline among his troops; and he shrewdly discovered that the religious enthusiasm of the Frank crusaders could only be vanquished by his exciting a similar fanaticism among the Moslemin. After the conquest of Edessa, in 1144, he was stabbed by a domestic slave, and his dynasty was then divided into different lines. The most important arose in Halep (Aleppo). There Zenghi was succeeded by the great atabek Mohammed Nour-ed-Din (1145–1174), whose praise filled the East, and still re-echoes in the chronicles of the crusaders. Nour-ed-Din was long considered as the *beau ideal* of oriental princes; terrible in his continual wars against the Christians, just and humane in the tribunal, moderate and virtuous in his habits, and in an eminent degree combining the great qualities of the statesman, the general, and the high-priest; he repelled all the attacks of the Christians, captured several of their most renowned heroes, and laid, by his expedition to Egypt at the request of the caliph, Mohammed Moktasi Beamrillah, in Bagdad, the foundation of a large empire, when death suddenly called him off, in 1174.[142] His general, Shirkuh, the Kurd, and the cousin of Nour-ed-Din, Salah-ed-Din (Saladin), overturned the Fatimid dynasty, and the latter, after the conquest of Egypt, dispossessed the sons of Nour-ed-Din, and founded, in 1181, the powerful Ejubid dynasty, which proved so fatal to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. The other smaller lines of Nour-ed-Din, in Mesopotamia (1149), remained in obscurity, and perished beneath the sword of the Mongols.

[141] See the beautiful episode in Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," in which the great poet describes the nocturnal battle, the heroism and fall of the Danes.

> "Sveno del re dei Dani unico figlio,
> Gloria e sostegno alla cadente etade
> Esser tra quei bramò ch'l pio consiglio
> Seguendo han cinto per Gesù le spade;" etc.
>
> *Canto* VIII. *Stanze* 6–42.

[142] The *tyrbé* or sepulchre of Nour-ed-Din stands in the great bazaar at Damascus. Pilgrims still flock to his sanctuary, which is surrounded by elegant arcades, having a tank in the centre shaded by funeral cypresses. The entrance is shut by chains, and as Christians we could not obtain permission to visit the interior during our visit to Damascus, in 1844.—See the Article "*An Excursion to Damascus and Ba'albek*," in the New-York Review for August and September, 1848, p. 165.

V. NORTHERN AFRICA AND SOUTHERN SPAIN DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

331. Principal States. The Arabian dynasties in Northern Africa, who had more or less influence on the crusades, can be reduced to three: these states were in their order from east to west.

XXIV. The Caliphate of the Fatimids in Egypt.

332. At the time when the Christian army advanced upon Palestine, Jerusalem was held by Mosta Abulkasem, of Cairo, who had, in 1096, expelled the Ortokid princes and defended the Holy City against Godfrey of Bouillon and the first crusaders with an army of thirty thousand troops, under the command of the brave old Iftikhar-ed-Daulah. The relations between the caliphs and the kings of Jerusalem remained alternately hostile or friendly until the final overthrow of the last Fatimid, Ahded-Ledin-Illah, in 1171, by Salah-ed-Din (331).

XXV. The Kingdom of Kaïrouan or Mahadia.

333. Moer-Ledin-Illah (213, 280) had left Yusuf-Ben-Zeiri as governor in Kaïrouan, when he marched to Egypt. This dignity passed to the descendants of the latter, who did not tarry to declare themselves independent of the Fatimid court at Cairo. They maintained their position, and foiled the languid attacks of the Egyptians; but when, in 1070, the enterprising Normans expelled their emirs from Sicily and invaded Africa, the Zeirids were defeated and lost. The last chief, Hasan, was dethroned by King Roger I.; Mahadia, Kaïrouan, and Tripolis, were captured, and the Zeirid possessions, in the interior of Africa, were soon occupied by the roving Berbers and the Almoravids of Morocco. Only a lateral line, the Hammadids, in Budjá, south of Algiers, were able to make a stand for some years longer.

XXVI. The Empire of the Almoravids in Al-Magreb and Spain.

334. Their Origin, Progress, and Settlement in Spain.—Beyond Mount Atlas, in the deserts of ancient Getulia, dwelt several Arabian tribes, who, from their habit of covering their faces, were called the Veiled—*Molathemin*. Among them arose a fanatic reformer of Islam, Dshaubar, who preached the holy war. The whole tribe became frantic with piety, and were called *Marabutes*, Morabeths (Al-Moravids), or Zealots. They chose Abu-Bekr for their *Emir-el-Moslemin*, in 1056, who, with his followers, crossed Mount Atlas, and conquered Morocco with the sword. His great successor, Yusuf-Ben-Taxfin, formed a mighty empire in Magreb-al-Aksa (214), and, following the call of the petty kings of *Andalos* (Spain), who had risen on the downfall of the Ommiyad caliphs, he appeared beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, in 1086, with an irresistible army of fanatics, and defeated King Alfonso VI. in the great battle near *Zalaca*, where thousands of corpses covered the battle-field, and the Castilian king only escaped destruction by the valor of his knights (316). Yusuf is the revered hero of the Arab historians, who describe his person and character in the most favorable colors. All the petty princes, the Abadids of *Sevilla*, the Beni-Alaftas, in *Badajoz*, and the others in *Cuenza*, *Xativa*, *Murcia*, *Almeria*, *Denia*, *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, *Huesca*, and *Tudela* yielded to the new Marabut devotees. Only the Family Al-Hud, in Zaragoza, maintained their seat until 1146. The Almoravids turned their arms against the hero of Valencia, but all their furious attacks were repelled by Ruy Diaz de Bivar, el Campeador, and only after his death, in 1099, did they obtain temporary possession of that small kingdom. Their sway in Spain lasted only some fifty years, and in 1180, they were dispossessed by the brilliant *Almohads*—Al-Muahedim—the Arabic *Unitarians* from Morocco. The Almoravids were men of capacity; Spain became a flourishing country during their rule. In Europe, they soon adopted the chivalrous manners of their antagonists, the Christians; but in Africa they remained nomades, and lived like Bedouins. There were many celebrated colleges and schools in Africa. The greatest Arabic philosopher, Ibn Roshd (Averrhoes, from Cordova, who died in 1198), was the first translator of Aristotle, and taught in the high-school at Morocco. Poetry was cultivated in Fez, where poetical combats were instituted, with rewards for the victorious poet. But the uncertainty of property by the continual revolutions, retarded all moral progress; the manners were sensual and corrupt, and the mass of the nation were, by their rulers, held in a degrading bondage.

Such was the state of the world at the beginning of the crusading wars, toward the close of the eleventh century.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORIENT,

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY DURING THE TIMES OF THE CRUSADERS.

A. Kingdoms and Principalities founded by the Crusaders between A. D. 1096 and 1291 (1310).

335. Historical Remarks.—The bloody victory at Dorylæum (328), in 1097, had secured the advance of the great crusading army through Asia Minor. After suffering dreadfully in the desert plains of Lycaonia, they crossed Mount Taurus, and soon encamped in the rich valleys of Cilicia and Merash. From thence Baldwin of Boulogne, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, with a band of knights, undertook the conquest of Edessa, beyond the Euphrates, while the main body of the Christian army, descending to the banks of the Orontes, laid siege to Antioch in October of the same year. The strength of this still magnificent city, the valor of its commander, Baghi-Sejan and his numerous garrison, the want of provisions, sickness and misery, prolonged the investment and decimated the Christian army in the most fearful manner; many thousands sank into their graves; and when the survivors at last, in July 1098, by a secret understanding with Armenian residents, succeeded in capturing the city and taking an awful revenge on the Turks, they immediately found themselves besieged in their new conquest by the immense army of Korboga, the Sultan of Mossul, on the Tigris. Yet, despair fired the courage of the Christians, and sallying forth in the highest enthusiasm with Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Bohemund, and Tancred, at their head, they brilliantly defeated the Turkish masses on the 28th of July, 1098, and driving them across the Euphrates, made an immense booty, and returned in triumph. Thus miraculously securing their conquests of Edessa, Antioch, and occupying many castles in Mount Lebanon, they prepared for the toilsome march to Jerusalem. The prudent and generous Godfrey of Bouillon was the soul of the enterprise, and uniting the warring and quarrelling chiefs of

the different corps of the diminished Christian army, at last moved rapidly along the Syrian coast, supported by the Pisan, Genoese, and Venetian fleets. Thus then, at length, in May, 1099, the wearied feet of the staunch crusaders, after so many privations and dangers, trod the cherished soil of that hallowed land, and on the 6th of July, they beheld from the western range of Mount Ephraim the object of their ardent hopes and desires—Jerusalem! One universal shout of joy filled the air, vibrating in undying echoes from hill to hill, while tears of rapture burst from every eye. On they moved, and their noble leader could scarcely prevent them from rushing forward at once, in their wild enthusiasm, to storm the walls of the holy city. But Godfrey soon perceived that the conquest of the city was not so easy, and could not be effected by an onset with sword and lance alone—especially as the Egyptian garrison (233), was much stronger in numbers than the crusaders, of whom, out of 600,000 only 40,000 were now encamped before the walls. At length, every preparation being made, and battering-engines, wooden towers, and storming-ladders provided, in spite of every existing difficulty, by the effective support of the Genoese engineers and mariners, the first general assault was attempted on the 14th of July; but as the besieged defended themselves with dauntless bravery, the Christians were driven back with heavy loss. On the following day, however, the whole army renewed the attack from the north and west. The tower of Godfrey approached the battlements, the drawbridge was flung down, and that hero was himself one of the first who reached the walls of the conquered Jerusalem. Tancred, the Norman, scaled the northwestern towers at the same time; the Gate of Saint Stephen was thrown open, and in rushed the Christian host. The Saracens, abandoning the walls, sought now their refuge within the sacred enclosure of the Mosque of Omar, on Mount Moriah—but a dreadful scene of massacre began, and even the generous Tancred was not able to save the prisoners who had surrendered to him. Only old Raymond of Toulouse, who had early occupied the Tower of David—the ancient Hippicus—succeeded in securing the life of the Emir Ifhkhar-ed-Daulah and some thousands of the most distinguished Egyptians, who, under French escort, were sent off to Ascalon the day after the conquests. Honor to the humane and unprejudiced Frenchman! Sixty thousand Saracen corpses strewed the streets and dwellings of the city, while the triumphant warriors, throwing aside their blood-stained armor, proceeded bare-headed and bare-footed to the Holy Sepulchre, where Peter the Hermit headed the immense procession, and was with rapture received by the monks and Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, to whom he four years before had promised the armed deliverance of that sacred spot. Thus the city, which just before had resounded in every part with the wild shrieks of the slaughtered, was now filled with prayers and hymns to the honor and glory of God. Godfrey of Bouillon was soon afterwards elected king of Jerusalem, and the brilliant battle near Ascalon, against 140,000 Egyptians and Moors from the Arabian and African coasts, at once secured the Syrian conquest to the Christian arms. The greater part of the crusaders, however, returned to Europe, and the death of King Godfrey, in the midst of his organizations, in August, 1100, was an irreparable loss to the new kingdom, though his able brother, Baldwin, Count of Edessa, soon grasped the reins of government with a strong and steady hand.

336. The principal kingdoms, feudal principalities, and settlements which, during the first crusade and in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were formed by the Franks in Syria, Cilicia, Greece, on Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and the islands of the Ægean, were thirteen in number. I. The Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, with its feudal dependencies; II. The Principality of *Antioch*; III. The County of *Tripolis*; and IV. that of *Edessa*; V. The Kingdom of *Armenia*; VI. The Kingdom of *Cyprus*; VII. The *Latin* empire of *Romania* (Constantinople); VIII. The Kingdom of *Saloniki*; IX. The Duchy of *Athens* and *Bœotia*; X. The Principality of the *Morea* (Achaia); XI. The Conquests of the *Venetians*; XII. The Duchy of the *Archipelago* (Naxos); and XIII. The Military Republic of the *Order of Saint John of Jerusalem*; We shall here give a short description of these ephemeral, but, in an historical view, highly interesting states, the materials for which were mostly gathered during our residence in the East; and we shall likewise give an account of the most important historical monuments of that age, many of which still exist.[143]

I. The Kingdom of Jerusalem.

337. Limits, Feudal Division, Cities and Castles.—The suzerainty of the king of Jerusalem, as lord-paramount, was recognized by the three great feudatories of Syria, yet these princes enjoyed an almost entire independence in their states of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripolis. The frontiers of the Latin settlements in Syria extended, at the death of King Baldwin II., the time of their highest prosperity in 1131, from Malatia (Melitene), in Armenia on the north, southward to Ailah, on the shores of the Red Sea and the great Arabian desert—a distance of five hundred and fifty miles, while the breadth west from Tarsus, in Cilicia, eastward to the castle of *Senerak*, near Diarbekr, in Mesopotamia, was three hundred and forty miles. Yet more south the frontier did not extend farther than the ridge of the Anti-Lebanon, a distance of only thirty-five miles from the shores of the Mediterranean. The entire coast from Tarsus to the borders of Egypt, had been occupied by the crusaders after the reduction of the maritime cities of *Laodicea*, *Tripolis*, *Tyre*, *Acre*, and *Ascalon*. In this arduous undertaking the pilgrims were powerfully supported by the fleets of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, and even by those of Flemish and Scandinavian crusaders. Yet, so long and narrow a strip of land was very difficult to defend, because the Saracens were still lodged in several impregnable strongholds within the frontiers, and the terrible Assassin fanatics (361) soon succeeded in fixing themselves permanently on Mount Lebanon, and even on the rocky coast of the Mediterranean, in the very heart of the Christian territory. Farther in the interior, the States of *Halep*, *Hamah*, and *Damascus* remained in the hands of the Mohammedans, who, at any time, might burst forth from their sure retreat on the outskirts of the desert, and with their myriads assault any exposed point of the weakened Christian kingdom. But most fortunately were the many petty dynasties that had sprung up among the Seldjukiau Turks and their allies after the death of Sultan Malek-Shah still fighting against one another, and they thus gave the Christians the respite of a few years of comparative peace and prosperity.

338. I. The Kingdom of Jerusalem Proper extended from the frontiers of Egypt on the south, northward to the

[143] In our fifth map, which presents the state of the world at the time of the crusades, the *minium*, or red-lead color, indicates the farthest extent of the Seldjukian conquests in Asia Minor, and of the subsequent empire of Salah-ed-Din, the Ejubide. The territories of the crusaders, on the contrary, are colored *yellow*; but we have not given that color to Constantinople, because it was reconquered from the Franks by the Greeks (1261), before the close of the crusades. Cyprus has its own *brown* color, forming an independent kingdom. Several important places in Syria and Palestine could not be given on the map, on account of the narrow space; the historical student will, however, find them all on the maps accompanying Prof. Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, Vols. II. and III.

Dog-River—*Nahr-el-Kelb*—near Beïrut, and embraced the principality of *Galilee* together with a number of viscounties, baronies, and smaller seigniories, whose feudal owners, when gathered under the royal banner of Jerusalem, with their vassals and the contingents of the maritime cities, formed an efficient army of 10,000 horse and foot.

The city of Jerusalem—*el-Kuds* (the Holy), or, *Beit el-Mukkadas* (the Sanctuary)—was the capital of the new Christian kingdom. In its high and strong position, protected on the east by the deep valley of *Jehoshaphat*, on the south by that of *Ben-Hinnom*, and on the west by the somewhat more shallow valley of *Gihon*, and the castle of *David*,[144] it could only be attacked with success from the more level approach on the north. There, throughout the olive-grove, the Christians had pitched their camps of diverse nations, Normans, Lorrainers, and Germans, who extended all westward round the city to the castle of David and Mount Zion, on which Count Raymond of Toulouse and his French had raised their towers, and whence they directed their attack. Godfrey of Bouillon stormed and gained the northeastern corner tower of the city wall, overhanging the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Christians then penetrated by the neighboring gate of Saint Stephen. After the conquest, and the establishment of the new kingdom, in 1099, Jerusalem remained the seat and centre of the Latin government, under eight kings, who followed Godfrey of Bouillon on the throne of that pigmy state,[145] during eighty-eight years, until October, 1187, when the city was again wrested from the hands of the Christians by Salah-ed-Din, the great Sultan of Damascus and Egypt. Five years later, during the third crusade of Philip August and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in 1192, when Jerusalem was threatened with another siege by the victorious king of England, the Sultan made the greatest exertions in strengthening its fortifications by massy walls and bulwarks, and deep trenches cut out in the living rock on the northeast side, where they can still be seen at the present day.[146] The Lion-Heart, however, did not come; he returned to Europe in 1192, and Salah-ed-Din died shortly afterwards in Damascus. The gigantic fortifications of Jerusalem were again demolished by Sultan Melek of Damascus, in 1219. Yet, the Christians, having unexpectedly obtained the restitution of the Holy City and the greater part of Palestine, in 1228—not by the prowess of their arms, but by the friendship of Sultan Khamil for his gossip the German emperor—they joyfully began anew to build up the walls and to strengthen the more exposed parts of the city. Frederic II. could not consolidate the tottering throne of Jerusalem; he was suddenly recalled to Europe by the hostile aggression of the Pope; the dissensions between the Teutonic knights, then the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, brought all into confusion again; and thus the Saracen Emir, Nassir-Daud of Kerak, succeeded, by a sudden attack, in surprising the city. Jerusalem was now, for the third time, taken by the Moslems; the defending knights were cut to pieces; and walls, towers, and monuments levelled to the ground. The Christian affairs in Syria were in great disorder, when, in 1243, a new and more terrible storm approached from the East: the irruption of the Khowaresmians (276). The Ejubid sultan, As-Saleh-Nedjmed, of Egypt, himself made a treaty with the Christians and offered them the sacred city for the common defence, and as a bulwark for Egypt. Monks and knights, merchants and mariners, then hurried from Acre to Jerusalem, to fortify it in haste, and make a stand—but all in vain—the wild Khowaresmian hordes, after their defeat by the Mongols, and maddened to despair, had already crossed the Euphrates; they burst upon Jerusalem, where, in 1244, Christians and Saracens alike perished beneath their swords in a general massacre; the Holy Sepulchre was sacked and burnt; and, though those fanatics afterwards dispersed and disappeared, Jerusalem has remained ever since in the power of the infidels.

339. The great mosque—*Kubbet-es-Sukhrah* (Dome of the Rock)—built by the caliph Omar, in 638, on the site of the ancient Jewish temple, was converted by the crusaders into a magnificent Christian church in 1099, and richly endowed with chapters of canons, territories, and all the immunities of the cathedrals in Western Europe. Farther south, on the Temple area, stood the large and beautiful Church of Saint Mary, erected by the Emperor Justinian I. in the sixth century, which by the Saracens had been converted into the highly revered mosque *al-Aksa* (*i. e.*, the distant from Mecca). During the Christian rule these buildings were occupied by the kings of Jerusalem, and called the Royal Palace, or the *Temple of Solomon*. Baldwin II. assigned the part of it lying toward the city as a convent for the new order of religious knights, who, at that time, by their extraordinary bravery, began to excite the admiration of the world. It was from this building that these monk-warriors took their name, *Fratres militiæ Templi*, or Knights Templars. There, on the great platform of Mount Moriah, the modest brethren in Christ established their convent, their armory, and stables for a thousand horses; and from thence they sallied forth to gain not only laurels or martyrdom from the infidels, but that political and material influence which, in a few years, raised the Knights of the Temple to one of the most powerful and wealthy orders in Europe. Yet, after their defeat at *Kürün el-Hattin*, and the surrender of Jerusalem in 1187, the Sultan and his Mamlukes re-entered the *Haram*, or sacred inclosure, with pomp and rejoicings, purified the sanctuaries with precious rose-water from Damascus, raised with triumph the crescent and emblems of the Mohammedan faith, and destroyed the Christian palaces and convents so effectually, that nothing at the present day appears on the extensive area of the Temple save the ancient Saracenic mosques and chapels with their porticos, tanks, and surrounding orange and cypress groves. This, too, was the fate of nearly every church and convent built in the city or in the environs by the crusaders—most of them have disappeared without leaving a trace to indicate their site. Among the few monuments partially preserved is the *Holy Sepulchre* itself, which was erected by them in the form of a stately church in the

[144] The castle of David, which during the middle ages is mentioned under the name of the *Castle of the Pisans*, is the ancient tower of Herodes the Great, of Roman construction and great strength. For its accurate description, see Prof. E. Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I., pages 453–58. The mediæval walls and gates of Jerusalem are described, Vol. I., pages 384–88 and 467–78; the Temple area, pages 415–52; and interesting details on the history of the city during the age of the crusades, are found in Vol. II., pages 43–62.

[145] The successors of Godfrey were: *Baldwin I.* of Edessa, his brother, 1100–1118; *Baldwin II.*, of Burgh, his cousin, 1118–1131; *Fulco*, of Anjou (and Melissenda), 1131–1142; *Baldwin III.*, their son, 1142–1162; *Amalric* (Amaury), 1162–1173; *Baldwin IV.*, 1173–1183; *Baldwin V.*, the Child, 1183–1186; *Guy* (Guido), of Lusignan, (and Sibylla), 1186–1192, when the kings, after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, resided in *Acre*, or in the island of Cyprus.

[146] The Turkish engineers and sappers from Mossoul labored for six months in constructing defences and raising new lines of walls. Several thousand Christian prisoners of war were forced to toil along with them. Immense bastions were built on the weaker side of the city, toward the gate of Abraham, the present *Yafa*, or *Pilgrims'* gate. The active sultan rode about, carrying stones on his saddle-bow; and his valiant brother, Malék-Adél, the emirs, the cadis, and even the sofis and priests themselves, vied in enthusiasm, handling the spade and the pick-axe, in order to encourage the thousands of Moslemin who hurried from the Euphrates to fortify and defend the *third great Sanctuary* of their faith. Richard would have had a hard work if he had come on! The Arab geographer, Mejr-ed-Din (by Von Hammer) gives some curious details. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Wien, 1812, Vol. II. pages 118–142.

Gothic style, inclosing the whole of the sacred precincts of Calvary and Golgotha. The façade fronting the south was ornamented with marble pillars, and flanked by high towers, which later have been broken off by the Saracens. Inside of the portals stood the sepulchres of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. with their plain inscriptions.[147]

Opposite to the Church of the Resurrection are seen the ruins of another important establishment of mediæval Jerusalem, *Hospitium Sancti Iohanni*, or the convent of the Knights Hospitallers, who, in piety and bravery vied with the Templars themselves. Hospitals for sick and disabled pilgrims, under the care of devoted monks, had existed in Palestine and Egypt centuries before the crusades. The merchants of Amalfi (270) had established a convent of Benedictines of Santa Maria Latina, opposite the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, to which was, later, joined a nunnery of Mary Magdalen and a hospital of St. John, the almoner of Alexandria. There sick pilgrims of all nations and creeds were received, and, being healed, most liberally dismissed; and this truly Christian establishment had already acquired so great reputation, that Godfrey of Bouillon, after the conquest in 1099, endowed the Hospital of Saint John with lands and regular revenues. Yet it was not until twelve years after the foundation of the military order of the Templars, that the Monks Hospitallers, changing their patron of Alexandria for the Baptist, resolved to imitate the example of the Knights of the Red Cross, and to arm in defence of the faith. It was the valor, devotion, and even the noble emulation of the two military orders (to which, during the third crusade was joined a third, that of the Teutonic or German Knights of Saint Mary), which mainly contributed to maintain and extend the Latin conquests in the Levant, while they likewise laid the foundation of all the numerous orders of chivalry in Spain (318), France, England, Germany, and Denmark, which sprung up and flourished in a subsequent period. The massive buildings of the hospital now lie in ruins. The spacious court is occupied by a Mohammedan tannery—*el-debaghah*. From the upper platform the pilgrim still looks down into the vaulted refectory, hall, and church, of the once so powerful Hospitallers. The roof has become a kitchen-garden, from which the view over Jerusalem, the Haram with its mosques, and the distant Mount of Olives, is of surpassing beauty. The Teutonic order possessed likewise a convent in the city called *das Deutsche Haus*, but no trace of it is left. It was principally during the crusade of the emperor Frederic II. in 1228 and 1229, that the German knights, formerly so disdainfully treated by the other orders, obtained some influence in the affairs of Palestine.

The interior of Jerusalem with its bazaars, vaulted streets, tanks, baths, and gloomy, castellated dwellings, had then no doubt the same general appearance as now, and even the streets have preserved the same direction.[148]

340. The environs of Jerusalem present likewise some memorials of the crusaders. At *Bethania*, on the eastern slope of Mount Olivet, a massy old tower near the sepulchral vault of Saint Lazarus seems to have belonged to the convent of Black Nuns of Saint Benedict, built A. D. 1132 by King Fulco at the request of his queen, Melissenda, for her sister, the princess Iveta, and of which the latter became abbess. At *el-Bireh*, north of Jerusalem, on the road to Nabulus, stand the ruins of a fine Latin church that belonged to the Knights Templars. At *Kolomieh*, on the route to Yafa and the sea-coast is a well preserved Christian church, now used as a stable for the horses of the robber-chief Abu-Gosh, who there ransoms the passing pilgrims. *Lydda* (Diospolis), on the plain of Sharon, with the gigantic ruins of the Church of Saint George, which was destroyed by Salah-ed-Din, in A. D. 1191, on the approach of King Richard the Lion-Hearted and the crusading army. On the east of Jerusalem, the tower at Jericho in the valley of Jordan, called by the pilgrims the *house of Zacchæus*, is a structure of that time, having been erected for the protection of the rich fields, palm-groves, and gardens, which were irrigated by the plentiful spring of Elisha—*Ain-es-Sultan*—near Jericho. The valley of the Jordan, like the environs of Tyre and Tripolis, were in the times of the crusaders planted with the sugar-cane; and near the ruins of Jericho are still seen extensive aqueducts and porticos with *pointed* arches, supposed to have been sugar-mills of the Saracens. The many magnificent convents mentioned by early pilgrims as having been situated on the banks of the Jordan, present now nothing but ruins and heaps of rubbish. East of Bethlehem lies the high, conical hill, called the *Mount of the Franks* (the ancient Herodion), where, according to tradition, the Christian knights still defended themselves several years after the loss of Acre, and at last succeeded in cutting their way with the sword to the coast.

341. The frontiers being exposed to the continual incursions of the Saracen light-horse, the crusaders took care to erect strong castles at convenient places on the border, which were garrisoned by the bravest knights of the two military orders; thus, the southwestern frontier toward Egypt and the great desert Et-Tih, was protected by the castle of *Gaza*, the border-town which was held by the Knights Templars in 1152–1187, when it fell, after the bravest defence. Later, the Christians united to the Egyptian Saracens, lost here the great battle in 1244 against the Khowaresmian fanatics, which caused the prostration of the Frank dominions and the ultimate loss and desolation of Jerusalem. *Gibelin* (Beit-Gibrin), northeast of the former, the almost impregnable fortress of the Knights Hospitallers, was built in 1134 to control the roving Mohammedan bands from the still unconquered city of Ascalon. *Blanchegarde* or *Alba Specula* (Tell Safieh), northeast of Ascalon, was the scene of some of the romantic feats of Richard the Lion-Hearted, on his daring excursions in quest of

[147] The tombs of the two great crusaders were broken open and their ashes dispersed by the Khowaresmians in 1244.

The inscription on that of Baldwin runs thus:

Rex Balduinus, Judas alter Machabæus,
Spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque,
Quem formidabant, cui dona et tributa ferebant,
Cedar et Aegyptus, Dan ac homicida Damascus,
Pro dolor, in modico hoc clauditur tumulo!

The other Latin inscriptions had already become illegible toward the close of the sixteenth century; they were afterwards daubed over with plaster by the Greek monks, in order to conceal every historical proof of the pretensions of the Latins. The contest between Greeks and Latins about the supremacy of the Holy Sepulchre is still pending, and has again become the great political question of the day. In the Latin sacristy of the sepulchre the author of this work saw, in 1844, the sword and spurs of Godfrey of Bouillon, which are exhibited to the travellers and pilgrims by the monks. The heavy broadsword may be genuine, but the long, brazen spurs, with *rowels*, seem to be from a later period, perhaps from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

[148] The principal street—*la rue de David*—ran then, as it does now, from the tower of David near the Yafa gate, on the west, eastward through the lower city to the Temple area. *La rue au Patriarche*, started off northward to the Patriarchate and the Holy Sepulchre; farther east ran, in the same northern direction, parallel with the former, the *Rua Palmariorum* (the present Bazaar-street), where palm-branches were sold to the returning pilgrims. There were *la rue du Sepulchre, de Mont Zion, des Herbes, du Temple, de Saint Etienne, la rue couverte le Masquimat, la rue aux Alemans, de Jehosaphat, de l'Arc Judas,* and others, some of which can still be recognized. The Latin gold and silver smiths, the butchers, and every profession, had their own street and bazaar. See the mediæval description of the city, cited by Consul Schultz, in his Lecture on Jerusalem, Berlin, 1845, pages 107–120.

adventures among the Saracen swarms. *Ascalon* itself, in a strong position on the coast, was one of the most important bulwarks of the kingdom from the time of its conquest by King Baldwin III. in 1153, until its retaking by Malék-Adél in 1187, and its total destruction by Salah-ed-Din in 1191. It was a splendid city with immense fortifications and an active and happy population, who were ruined by the crusading warfare; and even to this day the ruins and dreary solitude of Ascalon present the most mournful spectacle imagination can conceive. It was beneath the walls of Ascalon that Godfrey of Bouillon and the twenty thousand heroes of the first crusade, after the capture of Jerusalem, defeated with lance and sword the caliph of Egypt and his hundreds of thousands of Arabs and Moors, on the 12th of August, 1099, and thus secured their glorious conquest.

342. On the east the Arabian border was defended by the castle of *Ailah* (202), on the gulf of the Red Sea, by *Mons Regalis* (Schobek), north of Mount Hor and Petra in Wady Mousa, and the still stronger *Kerak* (Krak), on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, commanding the great caravan route from Damascus to Mecca in Arabia. The roving expeditions of the faithless Reynald, Lord of Kerak, against the Mohammedan pilgrims—*hadjies*—during the truce, in 1186, gave a pretext to Salah-ed-Din, to invade Palestine and reconquer Jerusalem the following year.[149] *Yafa* (Joppe), on the coast west of Jerusalem, surrounded by magnificent orange-gardens, was the landing-place and emporium of the crusaders and their Italian auxiliaries, the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans. The seigniories of *Mirabel* and *Ibelin*, and the castles of *Maen*, *Habakuk*, and *Plain du Temple*, all situate on hills in the plain of Sharon, secured the passage of the thousands of pilgrims, male and female, who then continually wandered to the Holy Sepulchre or back to the coast. *Arsuf* (Arsur), on the rivulet of that name, north of Yafa, was the battle-field on which Richard of England, with the flower of the chivalry of England and France, on the 7th September, 1191, in one of the most tremendous battles on record, routed and defeated his great antagonist, Salah-ed-Din and his Mamlukes. *Ajalon*, on Mount Ephraim, in the interior, from which Richard mournfully contemplated the distant Jerusalem, which the talent and power of Salah-ed-Din and the treachery of his French auxiliaries did not permit him to approach. It was then that he concluded the treaty with the Sultan, and returned to Europe in 1192. County and city of *Neapolis—Napulus*, *Naplus* (the ancient Sichem), north of Jerusalem, in a beautiful valley, covered with olive plantations and orange gardens, between Mounts Garizim and Ebal, was the seat of several councils and feudal assemblies of the feudatories during this period. Magnificent ruins of the cathedral of Saint Peter are still standing. The barony of *Caesarea*, the seigniories of *Daron* and *Chaipha*, at the foot of Mount Carmel, were important possessions on the coast. *Atlith*, or the Castle of the Pilgrims, south of Mount Carmel, was the last refuge of the Christians in Palestine, from which they in May 1291 departed for Cyprus. The viscounty of *Ptolemais*, Accon, or Saint Jean d'Acre, with the beautiful and strong city on the large bay north of Mount Carmel, became, during the years 1189–1191, the grand theatre for all the astounding events of the third crusade. After the surrender of the city to Richard it became the capital of the kingdom and the emporium of eastern traffic. With its triple range of impregnable walls, its deep and broad moats, fortified barbicans and drawbridges, its inner and outer harbor secured by battlemented moles and the celebrated *Fly-tower*, Acre was the last stronghold of Christianity and European civilization in the East. Stately cathedrals and convents, royal palaces, and commercial bazaars, all glittering with the luxuries and riches of the Levant, filled the interior. The devoted Knights Templars had on the coast their fortified *Temple* and palace, the Knights of Saint John their magnificent *Hospital*, still to this day, among heaps of ruins, the best preserved building of the city. Every quarter (barrio) was fortified by ranges of walls; Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Lombards, French, English, and Germans, possessed their own wards, tribunals, and storehouses. The luxury and ostentation of the court, chivalry, clergy, and commercial republicans almost passed belief. Silken curtains and canopies were on cords drawn across the bazaars and streets to protect the grand prelates, the Venetian merchants, and Frank cavaliers from the scorching rays of the sun, while marble fountains, rich gardens, and shady groves scented with orange-blossoms and adorned with beautiful flowers and shrubbery, were distributed in various parts of the city to compensate the citizens for the delightful environs of Mount Carmel, which were rendered insecure by the continual incursions of the Mamlukes. To preserve this important city had become the great political aim of the European nations during the latter half of the thirteenth century. Yet the Mamluke sultans of Egypt, then ruling throughout the East, had resolved its destruction, and, in spite of the immense exertions of Saint Louis in his Egyptian expedition, and all the enthusiasm and devotion of the Orders of the Temple and Hospital, Sultan Ashraf Khalil and his myriads carried the city on the 20th of May, 1291, and by the massacre of thousands of Christians and the total destruction of Acre put an end to the crusades in the East.

343. The Principality of Galilee, or of *Tiberias*, had been granted by Godfrey of Bouillon to the faithful and generous Tancred, the Norman. That fertile province extended from Mount Carmel through the plain of *Esdrælon*—Jezrael—eastward to the Jordan and the lake of Genezareth. The access from the Jordan was protected by the barony of Beisan (Scythopolis) with the large castle of *Belvoir*—Belvedere—(Kaukab), belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, who defended it for many years with their wonted bravery. Other places of strength were the castles of *Sanur* and *Genin*, in strong positions in the defiles of the mountains of Samaria. *Fulah* (Faba), *Forbelet*, *Buria*, and the large fortress on the summit of Mount *Tabor*, were all castles of the Knights Templars protecting the plain of Esdrælon and the caravan road from Jerusalem to Damascus by the bridge of Jacob. *Nazareth*, the small industrious Christian city in its beautiful valley, was, on the 1st of May, 1187, an eye-witness to the terrible combat near the barn-floor of *Mahel*, where a small body of Knights Templars and Hospitallers, led on by their Grand-Masters, with heroical fortitude withstood the thousands of Mamlukes swarming around them; they all perished, overwhelmed, but not vanquished. This chivalrous battle was only the prelude to the still more tragical events which followed. *Sepphoris* (Sefurieh), on a copious spring in the delightful valley el-Buttauf, six miles north of Nazareth, where, a month later, the whole feudal strength of the kingdom, twelve hundred mail-clad knights and fifteen thousand sergeants and archers, assembled. But King Guy of Lusignan, and the Grand-Master of the Temple, Thierry of Ridderford, disregarding the prudent advice of Count Raymond of Tiberias, to await the Sultan in that advantageous position, ordered the march across the barren ridge of Tell-Hattin, where, next day, they were surrounded by the hundred thousands of Salah-ed-Din. The battle was fought near Allubiah (Lubieh), between the peaks of Hattin (Kürün-el-Hattin), two miles west of the city of Tiberias.

[149] An interesting description of Kerak is found in Lieutenant Lynch's Exploring Expedition on the Dead Sea. The glittering white walls of Kerak can be plainly distinguished across the sea from the western heights of Bethlehem, at a distance of more than fifty miles.

There, on the 9th of June, Salah-ed-Din totally destroyed or captured the forces of the Christian kingdom. Nearly all the knights of the military orders perished either on the battle-field or were slaughtered in cold blood before the tent of the Sultan; the same fate awaited the perfidious Raynald of Chatillon, the lord of Kerak. The captivity of King Guy of Lusignan and thousands of his feudatories and vassals; the rapid invasion of unprotected Palestine, where burning towns and convents and mouldering corpses marked the advance of the Mamlukes; the surrender of Acre, Jerusalem, Ascalon, Gaza, and nearly all the cities on the coast and the castles in the interior, proclaimed the downfall of the Christian power in the East, which even the efforts of Barbarossa and Richard the Lion-Hearted were unable to restore.

344. The northern frontiers were likewise defended by numerous fortresses confided to the knights of the two military orders. *Safed*, on the high range of mountains northwest of the lake of Tiberias, was then a splendid castle in the possession of the Knights Templars. They defended it heroically against all the forces of the Sultan after the disastrous battle of El-Hattin and the surrender of Shobek and Kerak in 1188. But it was demolished by Sultan Melek of Damascus in 1220, like the walls of Jerusalem, Banias, and Tibnin, for fear of the announced crusade of the Emperor Frederic II. at the head of all Christendom. Though rebuilt by the Templars and gallantly defended, it was stormed and taken in 1266 by Sultan Bibars of Egypt, and its two thousand warriors were, after the surrender, butchered in cold blood. Other castles celebrated in the crusades were those on the *Jacob's ford* of the Jordan and of *Banias* (Paneas, Cæsarea Philippi), at the head springs of Jordan, defending the valley and the defiles of Mount Hermon against Damascus. *Toron* (Tibnin), west of Banias, protected Tyre and the sea-coast, and *Beaufort*, Belfort (es-Shukif), high on Mount Lebanon, overhanging the river Litany (Leontes), the defile of Coele-Syria, and Ba'albek. The latter fortress is of Roman origin. After the defeat of the crusaders at Banias in 1179, the Christian army found refuge in the castle of Belfort. Salah-ed-Din besieged it in 1189, and could only reduce it after immense exertions and sacrifices. The seigniories of *Montfort*, *Baffa* and *Scandelion*, were situated north of Acre, protecting with their castles and garrisons the mountain defiles along the coast, the *Tyrian Ladder*, or *Ras el-Abiad* (Leucum promontorium), and *Tyre*, then a large, wealthy and commercial city, strongly fortified and inhabited by thousands of Italian, French, and Flemish merchants and mariners. The sugar-cane was cultivated in the plain of Tyre, as it was at Jericho, on the Jordan. The barony of *Saïsette* (Sidon), with the maritime port and emporium of Sidon; the strong fortress of *Franche-Garde*, built by Saint Louis after his defeat and surrender in Egypt in 1248, and *Beïrut*, in its charming position at the base of Mount Lebanon, took all an important part in the stirring events of the crusades, and are mentioned on every page of the chronicles of the time.

345. II. The County of Tripolis, the sovereignty of the brave old Raymond of Toulouse, ran along Mount Lebanon to the Nahr-Ioba on the north, and embraced the charming Buka'a, or the valley of Ba'albek, which, however, the Christians did not cultivate with care on account of the perpetual inroads of the Saracen horsemen from Damascus, who carried off the cattle and inhabitants. This exposed territory was defended by several celebrated castles, such as *Hissr ol Akrad* (the Koord-Castle), *Mons Ferrandus*, *Mons Pelegrinum*, *Hissr Sandshil*, and many others. *Tripolis* (Tarabolos), *Tortosa*, *Botrion* and *Byblus* (Gibail), were maritime towns with an active commerce and export of the rich products of Syria. The southern parts of the county, from the Nahr-el-Kelb to the Nahr-el-Kebir, were already at that time inhabited by the Christian sect of the *Maronites*, so called from their patron saint, Mar Maron, of the sixth century. They retained the opinions of the early Monothelite heretics, with some modifications, until the twelfth century, when, abandoning the doctrines of the *one will* in Christ, they were admitted to the communion of the Roman church in 1182, and remained faithful adherents of the Pope down to the present day. Their language was Syriac; they dwelt in open villages on Mount Lebanon, where the great convent *Kanobin*, in the valley behind Tripolis, was the see of their patriarch. In their numerous monasteries and hermitages, on the rocky eminences of the mountain, they most rigidly observed the discipline of Saint Anthony. Their priests were formerly allowed to marry, and all lived peacefully in the bosoms of their virtuous families under a rustic roof, where the pilgrim met with a hearty and hospitable reception.[150] The last count of Tripolis was Raymond III., who escaped from the defeat at el-Hattin, but died of grief immediately after his return in 1187. Kelawun, the sultan of the Baharite Mamlukes of Egypt, conquered the county and expelled the crusaders in 1288.

346. III. The Principality of Antioch, the second Latin settlement in Syria, had been founded by Bohemund, the Norman prince of Taranto, the son of Robert Guiscard, immediately after the siege and conquest of the city of Antioch, in 1098. It extended from the Nahr-el-Melk on the south to the Syrian defiles of Mount Amanus on the North, and bordered eastward on the county of Edessa and the Euphrates at *Mambedsh*. Numerous castles defended the eastern frontier toward the Mohammedan states of Halep and Damascus; these were *Bira*, *Al-Sared* (Sarepta), *Artasia*, *Harem* (Hareng), *Mesrin*, *Rugia*, *Albara*, *Marra*, *Chabarda*, *Apamea*, *Cafartab*, and *Shaizar* (Larissa). Antioch was separated from the county of Tripolis by the castles and strongholds of the fanatic Mohammedan sect of the Ismaelites or Assassins, who, under the sway of the mysterious chief, *the Old Man of the Mountain*, extended from Lamsir on the shores of Caspian, across the Koordistan Mountains by Diarbekr and Mardin to the northern slope of Mount Lebanon and the Mediterranean between Nahr-el-Melk and Nahr-el-Ioba. The river *Orontes* has its origin in the upper valley of Ba'albek, and running north turns suddenly west; it then receives the water of the beautiful lake of *Ofrenus*, and discharges itself ten miles west of Antioch in the Mediterranean, beneath the projecting promontory of Mount Orontes. There is still a small port or fishing village on the site of the formerly so opulent city of Seleucia.

[150] Other Christian sects on Mount Lebanon were the *Suriani* or Syrians, the ancient inhabitants, or rather a mixture of Romans, Greeks, and Saracens; they had still retained many Mohammedan rites in their Greek liturgy. The *Nestorians* believed in *two natures* in Christ, and had only three sacraments; their priests were married. The *Jacobites* venerated Mary and the saints, but they believed only in *one nature* in Christ; they circumcised the children of *both sexes*, and gave them a *fire-baptism*. Among the heretical Mohammedan sects of Mount Lebanon were the *Ismaelites* (279, 361) and the *Druses*, the most remarkable. The latter appeared in the eleventh century, seventy years before the crusades, as followers of Hakim Beamrillah, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt, who proclaimed himself to be an incarnation of the Divinity, and established the sacred lodge or hall of wisdom in Cairo (280). They believe in the transmigration of souls, and in a ridiculous mixture of Christian and Mohammedan traditions; they are likewise accused of licentious orgies in their secret meetings. They are a handsome people, and they observe a strict outward decorum. The Druses are hardly mentioned by the historians of the crusades. The tradition about their origin from Count *Drusus* (Dreux), who was said to have occupied the Frank Mountain, and settled afterwards on Mount Lebanon with a colony of crusaders, is decidedly fabulous.

Antioch, once greater and richer than Rome and Constantinople themselves (12), was still a magnificent city with a large and industrious population. On the approach of the crusading army in 1097, the city was held by Bagi-Sejan, the lieutenant of Sultan Borkeiarok, with 37,000 troops, but thousands of Christian citizens had been ordered to leave their homes. The valley of the Orontes is bounded on the north by the fertile range of *Cara Dagh*, or Black Mountains—entirely covered with vineyards and olive-groves—and south by the precipitous rocks of Mount Cassius, the last spur of Mount Lebanon on the north. It rises to a height of more than one thousand feet, and is divided by a deep dell, from which a wild torrent, foaming and chafing, traverses the city in its breadth, and flows into the Orontes. The view from this summit is magnificent; on it lies the impregnable citadel, which is only approachable by a narrow path beneath the walls running up the flanks of its western side. The wall crowning the summit of these high peaks is the gigantic work of Justinian (262), though it is based on still larger constructions of the ancient Romans. These double ranges of fortifications were sixty feet high, and inclosed the entire city; on the north they were washed by the Orontes. A fortified stone bridge crossed the river, on which the hardest battles between Christians and Saracens were fought. The former built the castle *Maregard* on the east, the *Bridge Castle* on the north, and the *Tancred's Castle* on the west, to cut-off the communication with Damascus and Halep. By the treachery of Emir Feir (Phirous), an Armenian cuirass-maker, a tower called *the Sisters*, on the west side, was surrendered to Bohemund, who, with his daring Normans scaled the walls on the night of June 1st, 1098, and thus saved the army of the crusaders, The great battle with Korboga of Mossoul was fought twenty days later on the plain north of the city, and terminated with the total defeat of the Moslemin. The principality of Antioch was successively ruled by nine princes of the family of Bohemund; it was temporarily in the hands of the Greek emperors, but was captured after a sanguinary siege, in 1268, by the Mamluke Sultan, Bibars I. Bendocdar, who drove the Christians down to the sea-coast, and circumscribed their dominion to Acre, Tyre, Beïrut, and Tripolis. The fierce Mamluke did not stop with the slaughter or captivity of one hundred thousand Christians; he ordered the demolition of Antioch, which was executed with wanton cruelty. Thus, the huge masses of ruined walls crowning the mountain tops, debris of churches and palaces here and there looking out from the vineyards and olive-groves, and a miserable Turkish village on the Orontes, are the only relics of the once celebrated Antioch.[151] *Seleucia* (Sowaida), at the mouth of the Orontes, and *Scanderoon* (Alexandretta), northward on the coast, and separated from Antioch by the celebrated defile, *Beilan Boghas*, were considered as the ports of the capital. *Laodiceæa* (Latakieh) and *Gabala* (Gibel), south, on the coast; the former was for a length of time occupied by the Greeks. *Doluk*, *Aintab*, *Ravendel*, and *Dowair*, were fortified towns in the interior.

347. IV. The County of Edessa (13), in the ancient Mesopotamia—Al-Djezirah of the Arabs (205), was the first state in Asia formed by the crusaders in 1097. The Christian inhabitants of Edessa did homage to Count Baldwin of Boulogne on his approach. Several Turkish chiefs in the neighborhood sold their territories to him; others were conquered; and thus this active and daring prince succeeded in extending his principality, with the important cities of *Malatia* (Melitene), *Samosata* and *Kart-Birt* in the north; *Severak*, *Hamlin* and *Harran* in the east, and *Mambedsh* and *Shabactun* in the south. *Edessa* (Roha, Orfah), in a strong position with immense walls and an industrious population, was the capital of the county and the bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Warriors so able and powerful as the first Count Baldwin of Boulogne and his successor, Baldwin of Burg, defended the county most brilliantly against the efforts of the disunited Turkish sultans of Mossoul and Halep. But when those chiefs had successively been called to the throne of Jerusalem; when the vigilant Count Joscelin of Courtenay had died in 1131, and his dissipated son, Joscelin II., dallied away his time in Tell Basher with wine and women, new dangers began to threaten this exposed border province. Zenghi, the celebrated attabek of Mossoul (331) appeared suddenly with a large army before Edessa in 1144, during the absence of the count, captured the city by treachery, and drove the Franks from all their possessions on the left bank of the Euphrates. With the greatest exertions they were only able to defend *Germanica*, *Rumkala*, the important *Tell Basher* (Turbassel), *Nezib*, and some other castles on the west of that river. The untoward news of these disgraceful events in Europe caused the French king and German emperor to undertake the unsuccessful second great crusade in the years 1147–48.

348. Constitution of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the assembly of the great feudatories held by King Godfrey at Jerusalem, in January, 1100, the constitution of the new kingdom was laid down in the code, or as it was called, the *Assize of Jerusalem*, one of the most precious documents of the feudal legislation of the middle ages. The knights and other crusaders who had taken possession of Syria, were natives of the most different countries of Europe:—of France, Italy, England, and Lorraine. None of them could claim his native laws as the groundwork for the new constitution of the conquered lands: it was therefore to be established according to the general leading principles of the feudal system in Europe and to the urgent necessity of the moment. Thus, the component political bodies in Jerusalem consisted of the feudal nobility, the hierarchy, and the corporations of the free burgesses, not yet recognized in Europe as a third estate. The first two were then engaged in a fierce contest of life and death, while the latter had just sprung into existence at the expense of the former during their struggle. From the combination of these heterogeneous elements then, arose the kingdom of Jerusalem, that ideal mediæval state, the very caricature of a political organization of the eleventh century, in which we find on the one hand the most suspicious restriction of royal power, and on the other all the abuses of feudal independence. Jerusalem, according to the Assize, was an indivisible kingdom, hereditary in the male and female lines. When extinct, the election of the successor to the crown belonged to the high clergy and the barons. The king was crowned by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and was obliged to swear to the constitution. The crown lands formed only a single barony for the support of the king, who was thus doomed to remain the poorest monarch in Christendom. The great principalities of Edessa, Antioch, and later of Tripolis likewise, were considered as baronies, and their princely owners formed the first secular estate of the kingdom, their vassals the second, and their rear-vassals or valvasours the third. Yet not only the three princes, but all the barons and the prelates enjoyed the regalia: the right of coinage, and of feudal warfare: they presided in their own feudal courts over their vassals, in the same manner as the king in his supreme

[151] It would be difficult to describe the melancholy impression which is excited in the bosom of the traveller at the sight of the desolate ruins of Antioch! Damascus, with its immense population and its splendid bazaars; Jerusalem, with its churches, convents, and pilgrims; even Sidon, Beïrut, Tripolis, and Tarsus, with their commercial life and activity, their ports and shipping, present still moving pictures of oriental manners and prosperity, while the squalid misery of the villagers of the present Andakieh stands in mournful contrast to the unrivalled beauty of the natural scenery around them.

court over the barons; like the king, they had their own viscount as judge of the municipal courts in the cities. The fiefs were hereditary, and minute regulations were laid down respecting succession, cessions, guardianships, and the like. Different again from the baronies were the knights' fiefs of the crown lands, which the king distributed as a baron to brave warriors with military tenure; they ranked only with the rear-vassals of the princes, and depended solely on the crown. There was a high court—*haute cour*—in which the king sat as president over the great vassals, and another for the burgesses—*cour des borgés*. The members of the first were knights—and the jurymen of the latter respectable citizens. For the native *Syrians* there existed a Syrian tribunal, and the cities enjoyed extensive privileges; but they remained mostly in the possession of the republics of Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa, and Venice, who obtained entire quarters in the maritime town, where they built towers and fortified bazaars under their proper laws and guardians. All these mail-clad merchants often thwarted or fought with one another, and constantly confounded piracy and commerce. The feudal military service under the crown was rendered by six hundred and sixty-six knights and two hundred knights under the banner of Tripolis and Antioch. Each knight was attended by four mounted squires in light armature, thus forming an array of three thousand five hundred lances. The cities and churches supplied five thousand sergeants or archers on foot; the commercial corporations of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice some five hundred more; and in this manner the regular militia of Palestine amounted to ten thousand troops; though this number could be doubled in cases of great danger. After having repressed the arrogance of the priesthood, Godfrey soon regulated the ecclesiastical affairs. The canonic law was introduced, and the entire conquered territory divided into dioceses with suffragan churches, numerous monasteries, convents, and pious institutes, all dependent on the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The crusaders in Palestine attempted to engraft their own fantastical system on a soil where it never could grow; nay, they carried it to the highest pitch of exaggeration by the institution of religious orders of military monks; but they failed, and, enlightened by the experience of two centuries, their descendants gave up at last the vain contest, and brought more correct and enlightened views and ideas back to Europe, where a new period of political and religious emancipation began to dawn. The first conquest and colonization of Syria by the Latins had a brilliant appearance; but in spite of an extraordinary display of religious enthusiasm and military bravery, the new kingdom did not prosper; it suffered from an innate debility—a *gangrene*—at its very birth. That long and narrow strip of coast, with barren mountains interspersed with arid deserts or fertile plains, then almost entirely devastated and depopulated by war and famine, had become occupied by a number of proud, ignorant warriors, whose whole attention was drawn off to the defence of the castles which they built for the security of their conquest; they were all equals; they defied obedience, and could only be reduced by the sword; the prelates were as warlike, and often more haughty and quarrelsome than the knights themselves; they peopled monasteries and convents with thousands of monks and nuns. While thus secular and ecclesiastical bigots formed the ruling classes, the native Syrians and Greeks were oppressed; their lands were occupied by the chivalrous aristocrats, and they were stripped of their commercial profit by the Venetian and Genoese republicans. What wonder, then, that they soon became hostile to their Latin masters and renewed their relations to the Greek emperors, and even to the Mohammedans themselves. But the young and rising generation, sprung forth from the union of the old crusaders with the native women of Syria—would not they contribute to the prosperity of their mother country? Oh no! Instead of inheriting the manly virtues of their fathers, they only combined the vices of the West with the cunning, the luxury, and selfishness of the East. They were the most contemptible race on the face of the earth. They were with scorn called *Poulani* (young mules), and they themselves, by their arrogance, treachery, and cowardice, were the main cause of the early decline and ultimate downfall of the Christian settlements in Palestine, by their thwarting all the noble and generous efforts of the succeeding crusaders, who in vain shed their blood for the salvation of Jerusalem.

V. The Kingdom of Armenia.

349. Extent, Dynasty, and Cities. The territory of Armenia Minor (25), which later formed the Byzantine themes of Lykandos and Seleukeia, and part of that of Kappadokia (266), between the river Halys, the Pontian Mountains, the Euphrates, Commagena, and the Issian Gulf, became, toward the close of the eleventh century, an independent state, whose kings, by the passage of the crusading armies and by their friendly relations to the princes of Antioch and Edessa, were enabled to beat back the attacks of Greeks and Turks. Leo II. took, in 1099, the royal title. The principal strength of the state was concentred in Cilicia; yet it seems that it extended northward to the Black Sea at certain periods. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Armenian kings did homage to the Turkish sultan of Rum, and joined his banner with three hundred knights. They enjoyed the protection of the Mongols, but the last king, Leo VI., was captured by the Baharid Mamlukes of Egypt, who occupied the country until it in the fifteenth century came under the dominion of the Ottoman Turks. The Armenians were a laborious and religious people, but unwarlike and intemperate; they possessed great ability in arts and mechanics; their embroidery and silk weaving were celebrated; they recognized the supremacy of the Roman pope in the synod at Sis in 1307, though many of the ceremonies in the Armenian church were considered as heretical by the Romans. Their patriarch was called *Catholicus*, and wielded a mighty influence. The Armenian priests were married, and distinguished for their learning. Their literature is rich, though still unprinted. By the relations between the Armenians and the crusaders, the former soon adopted many European institutions. The court of the Armenian kings introduced Frankish costumes and titles, and a seneschal (*connétable*) commanded the army; the nobles were called barons, and every hill of Armenia was crowned with a castle. Yet commerce was their principal occupation, and their ports were constantly visited by the mercantile squadrons of Venice and Genoa.

Mamistra (Mopsvestia), on the river *Pyramus*, was the capital. *Anazarbus* (Anavarza), higher up on the same river. —*Adana* and *Tarsus*, in the beautiful plain of Cilicia. The rapid and deep *Calycadnus* (Seleph) formed the frontier toward the Turkish provinces. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was drowned while swimming his horse through that river on his march to Syria, in 1191. *Ajas*, by the Italians called Giazza, was the principal harbor of export. *Sis*, on Mount Amanus, the later capital, strongly fortified, was the patriarchal see. There the synod was held in 1307.

VI. The Kingdom of Cyprus.

350. Origin, Constitution, and Cities. Richard the Lion-Hearted conquered the island from the tyrant Isaac Comnenus, in 1191, and surrendered it to the Knights Templars. But the order being unable to overcome the hatred of the

Greeks and their continual conspiracies, gave it back to Guy of Lusignan, whose descendants ruled the island for two centuries when Catherina Cornara brought it to Venice in 1486. Cyprus took an important part in the crusades; it served as a refuge for the Syrian Christians on the loss of Acre in 1291; and became afterwards the great naval station for Templars and Hospitallers, whence they directed all their expeditions to the Syrian coast. The constitution of the kingdom was an imitation of the assize of Jerusalem (346); the number of the barons was one hundred and twenty-seven; they formed the high council; the whole island was divided into twelve districts (*contade*). The kings established a particular order of knighthood *of the Sword*. The court language was French; the army consisted of the feudal chivalry and some bodies of light Albanian mercenaries. The native inhabitants are a fine race of men; the women are beautiful, and by the vivacity of their large dark eyes, seem to declare how faithful they still are to the worship of Venus. At the time of the crusades, the Cypriots were either, 1, Freemen or Eleutheri (ἐλεύθεροι), who paid half the income of their fields, and Perperii (περπέριοι), who paid fifteen *Perpers* (gold Byzants); and, 2, serfs or Pariks (παροῖκοι), who belonged as property to their masters. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing, but the latter mostly in the hands of the rapacious Genoese, who, from their fortified port, *Famagusta*, on the eastern coast, tyrannized both over the king and the people. The island produced the finest fruits, timber, wool, silk, cotton, oil, wine, sugar, grains, madder, honey, wax, corals, all sorts of minerals, copper, and excellent salt. Hyacinths, anemones, ranunculuses, and the single and double narcissus, grow here without cultivation; they deck the mountains, and give the country the appearance of an immense flower-garden.

Nicosia (Leucosia), north of Mount Olympus, in the centre of the island, on a magnificent site, was the capital and the seat of government; many ruins still attest its former splendor. *Constantia* (267), now in ruins. *Famagusta* and *Larnaca* were ports possessed by the Genoese. *Limisso* or Limasol (Amathus), on the southern coast, with the strong castle *Colosso*, belonged to the Order of the Hospital. On the western coast in a romantic scenery lay *Baffo* (Paphos), with the ruins of the temple of Venus and the castle *Dieu d'Amour*.

VII. Latin Empire of Romania.

351. The Fourth Crusade, Conquest of Byzantium. During the brilliant reign of Calo-Johannes and Manuel Comneni (1118–1180) the frontiers of the Greek Empire had again been extended to Mount Taurus and the plains of Cappadocia, the Turks in Asia Minor and the Petcheneges (254) on the Danube had been defeated, the Sicilian Normans beaten back from Greece, and the Empire strengthened. But the heartless adventurer, Andronicus Comnenus, who, after the most wonderful vicissitudes of fortune had swung himself from the prison on the throne, caused terrible revolutions in the interior, while the Bulgarians and Servians broke their chains and constituted independent kingdoms. The monster himself fell a victim to the popular fury in 1195. The family of the Angeli was raised to the throne, but Isaac was soon dethroned by his brother Alexius, while his son, another Alexius, fled to Europe and called to his aid the French and Venetian crusading army, then preparing in Venice for a new expedition to the East.[152]

By the conquest of Constantinople the absolute Greek monarchy had been transformed into the feudal Empire of Romania. After the coronation of Baldwin of Flanders, the chiefs of the crusading army began to carry into execution the act of partition as arranged by the joint consent of the Franks and Venetians. But their ignorance of geography, and the resistance offered by the Greeks in Asia Minor, and by the Wallachians and Albanians in Europe, threw innumerable difficulties in the way of the proposed distribution of the fiefs. The emperor received for his portion only the city of *Constantinople*, with *Thrace* in Europe, the opposite coast in Asia, and a few of the islands, *Lemnos*, *Samothrace*, *Thasos*, *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, and *Lesbos*, while the Venetian republic and the barons of France were to share the rest under the suzerainty of the Empire. Every feudatory had himself to find the means of conquering the Grecian territory assigned to him. Thus, the treaty could only be executed in part, as many barons were unable to put themselves in possession of their portion. The powerful and crafty Venetians, however, began immediately to occupy the islands and to purchase entire provinces at the cheapest cost. From the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat they purchased the island of Crete; they abandoned the maxims of their suspicious government, and permitted their nobles to fit out expeditions and make conquests among the Greek islands, with the single obligation of rendering homage to Saint Mark. Thus, within a few years, Venice formed a chain of factories, and castles on the islands along the coast from Dalmatia to the Hellespont and Bosphorus. But the Greek nation, though betrayed by their princes and borne down by the impetuous bravery of the fierce crusading adventurers of the West, soon recovered from their dismay. Theodore Lascaris maintained himself at Brusa in *Bithynia*, and fixed the residence of his Greek empire at *Nicæa*. Alexis and David Comneni held *Paphlagonia* and *Pontus*, where they established the small but vigorous state of *Trebizond;* while Michael Angelos lifted his banner in Arta as Greek *Despot* or Ruler of *Epirus* and *Etolia*. Thus, surrounded by enemies and weakened by the insubordination and open feuds of its haughty feudatories, the Empire of Romania, without union, talent, or vitality, became the very caricature of feudality; like that of Jerusalem, suffering from its origin an infirmity and wretchedness which caused its early destruction. The geographical division of the Empire, however, becomes an important fact in the history of the middle ages on account of the many independent states which formed themselves in Greece and on the islands, of the rapid development of eastern commerce and colonization by the Venetian and Genoese republics, and the formation of the Comnenian Empire of Trebizond, which, under the most extraordinary vicissitudes maintained its independence, though bordering on Mongols and Turks, for two centuries, and outlived even Constantinople herself.

352. The Empire of Romania and its Feudal Dependencies.

I. The Crownlands embraced Thrace as far north as

[152] A. D. 1203. Arrival of the crusaders at Constantinople. They take possession of Galatá and encamp at Saint Cosmas, opposite the palace of Blachernæ.

A. D. 1204. Revolutions in the city. Flight of Alexius. Restoration of Isaac. Conspiracy of Mursuphlos. Division of the Empire among the crusaders.

12th April. General assault. The city stormed and taken from the galleys in the Golden Horn. Old Henry Dandolo on the walls. Twenty thousand Latin adventurers overpower a population of five hundred thousand Greeks. Conflagration and spoliation of the imperial city. New division of the Empire. Count Baldwin of Flanders chosen Emperor.

A. D. 1205.—15th April. Battle of Adrianople. Baldwin defeated and captured by the Bulgarians. See for these extraordinary events, Gibbon, chap. LX. LXI., and Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit*, Vol. III. pages 40–98.

Adrianople and Agathopolis on the coast of the Black Sea, and west as far as the river Strymon. North of this line the Bulgarians were in open rebellion, having called John Asan or Johanitza to the throne of the New Bulgarian kingdom. In the East the Latin Empire extended along the coast of the Hellespont, through part of Bithynia to the river Sangarios, together with the islands Prokonnesos, Lesbos, Chios, Lemnos, Skyros, and several smaller islands in the Ægean.

353. Constantinople had suffered dreadfully during the siege. The crusaders having set fire to some houses, the conflagration spread with rapidity, traversed the whole breadth of the city from the port of the Golden Horn (7) to the Propontis, and laid every building in ashes for the distance of a mile and a half. The wealthiest quarter, including the richest warehouses and the most splendid palaces of the Byzantine nobility, filled with works of art, oriental manufactures, and classic manuscripts, was destroyed. During the assault, the Venetians, to protect their advance into the city, laid waste the whole quarter extending from the hill of Blachernæ to the monastery of the Evergetes and the quarter of Devteron. The cathedral of Santa Sophia, the noblest church in Christendom, narrowly escaped the flames, but was stripped of all its rich ornaments by the sacrilegious hands of the crusaders.[153] The Latin clergy, of course, eagerly joined in plundering relics from the altars, and they made as little scruple in desecrating Byzantine churches and monasteries as the most licentious among the warriors. The handsomer palaces were taken possession of by the chiefs; the emperor himself occupied the magnificent church and convent of the Pantokrator, and the Venetians fortified themselves permanently in Galatá, on the north of the port. So miserable a government as that of the six Latin emperors of Constantinople could not last. On the 25th of July, 1261, Alexius Strategopulos, the general of Michael Palaeologus, the emperor of Nicæa, was secretly introduced into the city through a subterranean passage; the Golden Gate was then opened, and when the trumpets sounded the alarm, the Greek inhabitants flew to arms, expelled the Latin emperor Baldwin II. with his patriarch, prelates, and knights, and restored the city and the imperial crown to their native prince. Adrianople, on the *Hebrus* (Maritza), where Baldwin I. was defeated and captured by the Bulgarians in 1205. *Tzurulum*, *Byzia*, *Tymotikon*, *Ainon*, *Philippopolis*, *Mosynopolis*, and *Rhodostos*, were the most remarkable cities in Thrace during this period.

VIII. Kingdom of Saloniki.

354. II. The province of Thessalonica (Saloniki) had, together with Greece, been awarded to the warlike Marquis Bonifacc of Montferrat, with the royal title. It comprised the greater part of ancient Macedonia, and Boniface carried his victorious arms into Greece, where he every where divided the conquered territories among his knights; but having perished in a skirmish with the Bulgarians, in 1207, his kingdom was invaded by the Greek despot, Theodore of Epirus, who was received with open arms by the Greeks, and crowned emperor at Thessalonica in 1222. This feudal state bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The Lombard warriors, by whom it was founded, were less able than the subtle Venetians in securing their conquests. They remained strangers in the country, garrisoning the fortresses and living on the industry of the Greeks, taking no measures to occupy and cultivate the soil. They were, therefore, easily expelled.

IX. The Duchy of Athens, 1205–1456.

355. III. Extent, Dynasty, and Manners.—Attica and Bœotia were for ever separated from the Byzantine Empire; they fell to the share of the Burgundian nobleman, Otho de la Roche, who accompanied the Marquis of Montferrat on his expedition to Greece. The family de la Roche[154] held likewise Corinth and Argos as tenures of the principality of the Morea. Otho had the title of Grand Sire—Μέγας Κύριος—and his successor Guy de la Roche obtained from Saint Louis of France the ducal dignity in 1254. In this period, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the Chronicles give us lively and interesting details of the flourishing condition of Athens and almost every part of Greece. The Latin Archbishop of Athens ruled over fifteen suffragans, among whom were the Bishops of *Thebes*, *Thermopylæ*, and the islands of *Euboea*, *Aegina*, *Keos*, and *Skyros*. Latin churches and convents arose, the ruins and inscriptions of which are still extant. The Counts of *Soula* (Salona) in Phocis, of *Bodonitza* in Locris, and the Lords of Euboea, together with a thousand French barons and their vassals, followed the ducal banner, while the Greek levies formed the light-armed infantry or *archery* of the time. The dukes resided either at Athens or in the strong and beautiful castle of *Saint Omer* (Santomeri) at Thebes.[155] Their court vied in splendor with those of Western Europe. At the magnificent tournaments which the dukes frequently held in the plain of Athens or at Thebes, princes, knights and minstrels met from the most distant countries. Both the prelates and the respectable classes of the Greeks appeared at these festivals, and all were the guests of the liberal dukes. Many brave but indigent knights who came to Athens to make their fortune, were hospitably received and their service rewarded with military commands, estates, and the fair hand of some noble lady; nay, the Duke Guy II. himself condescended to receive the accolade from Sir Boniface of Verona, a brave Italian knight at a tournament near Thebes. Even the humble squires, minstrels and *jongleurs* were not forgotten, and it is curious to observe in the old records the gifts and largesses distributed among "*les ménestreux et jongleurs*" of the ducal court at Athens. Numerous towers and castles rose all over the country; many of them are still seen, and some even in so good a state of preservation that they served the Greeks as strongholds in the late war of independence against the Ottomans. Such are, for instance, the castles of *Erimokastro*, *Koroneia*, *Livadia*, *Bodonitza*, *Patrachik*, *Lamia*, and the larger fortresses of *Oreos*,

[153] Nicetas, the Byzantine historian, recounts with grief and indignation the desecration of the sanctuary, so venerable in the eyes of the Greeks, by the orgies of the northern warriors and their female companions, and how "one of these priestesses of Satan" seated herself on the patriarchal throne, sang ribald songs through her nose, in imitation of the Greek sacred music, and then danced up and down before the high altar. This gives us an idea of the sufferings and humiliations of the wretched Greeks.

[154] Otho de la Roche, Grand Sire, 1205–1225. Guy I. de Ray, Duke of Athens, 1225–1264. John, son of Guy, 1264–1275. William, brother of John, 1275–1290. Guy II., son of William, 1290–1308. The duchy then passed to a cousin of Guy II., Walter de Brienne, who soon after (1311) fell in the battle on the Cephissus against the Grand Company of the Catalans.

[155] The high Gothic tower on the western ascent of the Acropolis at Athens was erected by Otho, or by his successor Guy de la Roche; the ducal palace extended along the Propylœa eastward to the Erechtheion, where its vaulted prisons still can be seen. The late lamented J. A. Buchon discovered in 1841 the sepulchral vault of the dukes in the ruinous convent of *Daphni*, at a distance of six miles from Athens, on the Sacred Road to Eleusis. Two sarcophagi were found in the sepulchral chamber of the interior narthex of the church, the one of which by its sculptured escutcheon, the cross with the fleur-de-lis in the upper corners of the cross, was proved to have been that of Duke Guy de la Roche.

Chalkis, *Destos*, and *Karystos* in Eubœa. The proud French barons chose their brides among the high-born maidens of France; and the Catalonian chronicler, Ramon Muntaner, who visited Athens at that time, says, "that the French barons formed the noblest chivalry in the world, and that the French tongue was spoken at Athens with as much grace and elegance as at Paris itself." The cities of Greece were large and wealthy—the country thickly covered with villages, of which the ruins may still be traced in spots affording no indications of ancient Hellenic sites. Aqueducts and cisterns then gave fertility to land unproductive at the present day; olive, almond, and fig trees, intermingled with vineyards and orchards, covered ground now reduced, by want of irrigation, to yield only scanty pasturage to flocks of nomade Wallachians. The Valonia oak, the cotton, the silk and leather of Attica, then supplied native manufactories, and the surplus commanded high prices in the European markets. The trade of Athens was considerable, and the condition of the Greek subjects of the dukes less oppressed than at subsequent periods. Civilization had there penetrated deeper into the social relations than in other parts of Europe. Otho de la Roche secured to the Greeks of Athens all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Byzantine government, with much greater freedom from financial oppression. The feudal conquerors of Greece soon perceived that it was greatly for their interest to respect the terms of the capitulations concluded with their Greek subjects, and to gain their good will. The grand feudatories found in the Greeks useful allies in opposing the exorbitant pretensions of their own immediate vassals and military followers, and in restraining the avarice of the Latin clergy, the ambition of the pope, and the pretensions of the Emperor of Romania. The peculiar condition of the Greek landed proprietors taught their princes the necessity of alleviating the natural severity of the feudal system and modifying the contempt it inculcated for the industrious and unwarlike classes of society. The high value of some of the productions of Greece, before the discovery of America and the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, placed the landed proprietors of Attica and Bœotia in receipt of considerable money-revenues. They were enabled to pay their dukes an amount of taxation which many monarchs in Western Europe were unable to extract from numerous cities and burghs, whose trade depended on slow and expensive land-communications, and from cultivators without capital, who raised little but grain and cattle. An alliance of interest was thus formed between the Frankish princes and their Greek subjects; the taxes paid by the latter supplied their sovereign with the means of hiring more obedient military followers than the array of the vassals of the fiefs. It became consequently an object of importance to the Frankish barons in Greece to protect the natives as allodial proprietors, or, at least, as holding their lands directly from the prince, on payment of a money-rent corresponding to the amount of taxation they had previously paid to the Byzantine Empire, instead of distributing the land among the invaders as military fiefs. Interest, therefore, preserved to the Greek proprietors the richest portions of the conquered territory in the immediate vicinity of the towns; while the crusaders generally received the territorial domains, for which they were bound to pay personal military service, in the more distant valleys and retired districts—a fact which is still proved by the existing divisions of property and by the ruins of the feudal strongholds on the frontiers. Out of this state of things there can be no doubt that a constant struggle arose between the dukes, who desired to extend their authority and increase their revenues—the Frankish military vassals, who demanded the complete division of the whole conquered country, in order to increase the numbers and power of their own class—and the Greeks, who labored and intrigued to defend their possessions and maintain the capitulations. To the existence of this struggle for a long period, without any party venturing openly to disregard the principles of justice and the force of public opinion, we must in a great measure attribute the prosperous state of Athens and Thebes, under the government of the house of de la Roche and the long duration of the Frankish domination in Attica.[156]

X. Principality of Achaia and the Morea.

356. IV. Conquest and Constitution. The peninsula of Peloponnesus or the Morea had, in the general partition of the empire (349), been assigned to Robert de Champlitte, Count of Dijon in Burgundy, who, with the assistance of Geoffrey de Villehardoin and a large body of knights and men-at-arms, soon took possession of the greater part of the open country. Five thousand Greeks, consisting of the armed citizens of the towns of Lacedæmon, Veligosti, and Nikli, and the Sclavonian mountaineers, the Melingi, on Mount Taygetus (196), attempted to make a stand near the olive-grove of *Koundoura*, in the Messenian plain, but they were immediately ridden down and dispersed; the cities of *Patrae*, *Andravida*, *Koron*, *Kalamata*, and *Arkadia*, surrendered, and the Burgundian conqueror was proclaimed Prince of the Morea in the subjected districts. The conquest became the more easy since the Byzantine nobles, the archons and the priests crowded around the crusaders in order to obtain terms for themselves and preserve their estates and churches, thus abandoning the mixed Grecian and Sclavonian population to their fate. William de Champlitte held in 1205 a general diet at Andravida in Elis, where a highly remarkable constitution was drawn up, similar to the Doomsday book of William the Conqueror in England (291), and the feudal code or assize of Jerusalem (346) adopted as the fundamental law of the principality. According to this charter of Andravida, the entire Peloponnesus (though hardly one-third part of the peninsula had yet been conquered) was divided into twelve great baronies, seven bishoprics, and three commanderies of the military orders of the Temple, of Saint John and of Saint Mary (the Teutonic knights), which were assigned to the chiefs, prelates, and knights of the expedition, with rich allotments for churches and convents. Each barony and bishopric was subdivided into a certain number of knights' fiefs, in all 138. The barons, the military orders, and the church, held their possessions by feudal tenure, and were bound to keep their rear-vassals armed in the field for the prosecution of the conquest. A large number of single knights' fiefs and sergeants' lands were likewise distributed among the troops, who were all bound to personal service. Domains were assigned to the Prince, and Andravida, situated in the Elian plain, and protected by the strong fortresses of *Glarenza*, *Castro-Tornese*, and *Belvoir*, became the new capital of the Franks.

The Greek archons seem to have been admitted at the diets as representatives of the city population, to secure the observance of the capitulations and watch over the interests of the conquered nation. But they gradually lost both in possessions and influence, and were thus punished for their want of patriotism and bravery, while the Greek clergy were now to witness, with horror, the introduction of the Latin rites and worship, the canonical law and the sovereign dominion of the Pope of Rome.[157] The conduct of the Latin clergy was

[156] See Colonel Finlay's Mediæval Greece (from which these interesting detail are taken), Edinburgh, 1851, pages 153–169.

[157] This was indeed an astonishing victory of the proud, heartless Innocent III., over the Greek Church. By this unjust and sacrilegious conquest of Constantinople and Greece, the Pope extended the Roman Catholic sway over *thirty-two* archiepiscopal provinces, with more than *one hundred and twenty* new bishoprics and numberless monasteries and missions. But the triumph of arrogant Rome was not of long duration.

uncharitable and rapacious. The Pope himself was obliged to interfere to save the poor Greek bishops from being expelled from their episcopal sees; nay, the violent conduct of the ecclesiastical fortune-hunters who flocked to Greece, compelled the barons to become the defenders of their Greek subjects, and the enemies of clerical abuses.

Only the western portion of the peninsula had been subdued by Count Robert de Champlitte. On his return to France soon after the diet of Andravida, his bailiff, the brave and intelligent Geoffrey Villehardoin, extended the Frankish dominion over all Arcadia and Laconia, and succeeded, by his popularity and valor, no less than by his duplicity and fraud, in obtaining the hereditary sovereignty of the entire principality of the Morea.[158] His able successors, with the assistance of Venetian fleets, occupied the strong Byzantine fortresses of *Argos*, *Nauplion*, *Corinth*, and *Monembasia* on the coast, and they thus found themselves, in 1250, in quiet possession of that magnificent country.

357. Feudal Division of the Principality. I. Baronies.—The twelve great Barons (Bannerets) were those of *Kalamáta*, *Akova*, *Karítena*, *Patras*, *Vostitza*, *Chalandritza*, *Kalávrita*, *Niklí*, *Veligostí*, *Grítzena*, *Geráki and Pássava*, in all containing ninety-four knights' fiefs. II. The Ecclesiastical Possessions belonged to the Archbishop of Patras as primate of the principality, and his six suffragans, the bishops of *Olenos* or *Andravida*, *Modon*, *Coron*, *Veligostí*, *Niklí* and *Lacedæmon*, containing thirty-two knights' fiefs; and III., the three Commanderies of the military orders of the Hospital of Saint John, in Jerusalem, the Temple, and St. Mary, with twelve knights' fiefs.

358. Cities, Castles, and Historical Sites. *Andravida*, in the fertile plain of the Peneios, in Elis, was the capital of the Princes of the Morea, where they held their diets and high courts of justice. It is now a large, populous village, with well furnished markets; above the low houses rise the lofty columns of the Gothic Churches of Santa Sophia, and St. Stephen. The third ruinous church of this period is that of Saint James, which belonged to the Knights Templars, and contained the sepulchral vaults of the Villehardoin dynasty. *Glarenza*, on the coast, was the port of Andravida, as Kyllene, in the same situation, had been of the ancient Hellenic city of Elis. *Castro Tornese*, or Chlomutzi, a strong fortress on the promontory of Chelonatas, where the princes had established their mint and treasury. Some of the most important baronial castles of the Frankish feudatories, were early built in strong and commanding positions, whence they could control the Greek and Sclavonian population in the valleys around. Such were *Akova*, called *Mate-Grifon*, or Stop-Greek, on a precipitous ridge, south of the river Ladon. Akova still presents some beautiful ruins, with walls and towers, near the village *Vytitza*. On the east the access was guarded by another castle, *Galatá*. The barony of Akova, the first in rank and importance, embraced the valleys of the Ladon and the Alpheus, and kept in check the Sclavonians of Skorta (Gortys), in the high ranges of the Arkadian Mountains. The barony became celebrated during the reign of William of Villehardoin, by a lawsuit, in which that prince, in 1270, before the high feudal court at Andravida, defrauded the orphan maiden, Margaret of Neuilly, of the inheritance of her uncle, Walter de Rossières, baron of Akova. *Karitena*, on a high precipitous mountain, commanding the upper valley of the Alpheus, and the plain of Megalopolis, in Arkadia, the seat of one of the bravest and most turbulent knights. The walls of the castle and towers are still standing, and the view from the battlements is magnificent. Karitena was the birthplace of the late Kolokotronis.[159] *Veligostí*, on the site of the present Leondari, protected the roads from Messenia and Sparta to Megalopolis and Tegea. *Gratzina*, *Androussa*, and *Kalamata*, secured the fertile plains of Messenia. The latter fortress, situated at the foot of Mount Taygetus, near the Messenian gulf, was the hereditary fief of the Villehardoins; William, called Kalamatas, the third Prince of Morea, was born and died there in 1277. The strong castle of Pássava, on the Laconic gulf, was an advanced post, established in the heart of *Maina* (Mani), to tame the Greek mountaineers (196) of the wild and barren range that runs out into the sea, to the south of the highest summits of Taygetus. This important border-castle was intrusted to the Baron of Pássava, the hereditary marshal of Achaia, who held it occupied by a permanent body of troops. *Leftro* (Leuctron), on the Messenian gulf, and *Mani*, near the Tænarian promontory, were castles built in 1248, by William Villehardoin, to complete the subjection of the Maniotes. Thus cut off from all communication with their brethren, the Tzakonians, on the eastern range of Mount Malea, and with the Sclavonian Melingi and Ezeritae of the Laconian valley, by the garrisons of the three fortresses, and by the galleys of the Prince, and exposed to starvation on their barren rocks, the Maniotes submitted to the Frankish dominion; they offered to pay tribute and to furnish a contingent of light-armed troops; but they demanded and obtained exemption from the feudal service, and it was stipulated that no Frankish barony should be established within their limits.

The crusaders, on their first advance into Laconia in 1210, had met with serious resistance at *Lacedæmon*, the populous and strongly fortified Byzantine city, situate near the Eurotas, on the site of the ancient Doric Sparta. After the most violent assaults during five days, the French knights at last broke into the city, sword in hand, and the humane Geoffrey of Villehardoin, the bailiff of the principality had some difficulty in putting a stop to the slaughter of the brave and unhappy citizens.

Struck with the beauty of the scenery and the strength of the position, William of Villehardoin, the third Prince of Morea, some years later (1248), after the complete subjugation of the peninsula, chose his residence in the neighborhood of Sparta, on a high rock in the most picturesque situation, at the base of Mount Taygetus. There he built a large and strong castle, with all the gothic magnificence of turretted walls, extensive courts, and a high central fortress *donjon* (keep), where he took up his permanent habitation. It was called *Misithra*, or Mistrás, by the Greeks, who, following the example of their sovereign, removed from the low hills of old Sparta, and built their new central city around the protecting castle of Mistras. From the precipices and deep chasms of Mount Taygetus, several copious springs descend toward

[158] The dynasty of Villehardoin possessed the principality of Achaia and Morea for longer than a century. William de Champlitte, 1205–1210. Geoffrey I., Villehardoin, 1210–1218. Geoffrey II., 1218–1246. William Villehardoin (Kalamatis, younger son of Geoffrey I.), 1246–1277. Isabella, 1277–1311. Maud of Hainault, 1311–1317. The fraud by which Geoffrey I. obtained the sovereignty of the Morea is pleasantly told in the modern Greek poem *on the conquests of the Franks in the Morea*, published in Greek and French by Buchon. Paris, 1840. See likewise Buchon's *Histoire des Conquêtes et de l'établissement des Français dans les états de l'ancienne Grèce sous les Villehardoin*, Paris, 1846, Vol. I. pages 179–184; and our third article *on Sparta and the Dorians* in the New-York Quarterly, Vol. III., No. 1, for October, 1854.

[159] On apperçoit de loin l'Alphée et le château de Caritena, fief du chevaleresque baron de Caritena, assis sur la montagne comme une couronne de comte, avec ses créneaux pour fleurons. Ce château a un aspect fier et féodal; il a conservé jusqu'à ces derniers temps la renommé de sa force; car Ibrahim-Pashá n'a pas osé entreprendre d'y attaqner Colocotroni qui s'y était réfugié. Buchon: *Grèce Continentale et la Morée;* Paris, 1844; pages 476, 477.

the plain, where they irrigate the orange and lemon gardens, the olive and mulberry groves, for miles, extending through the valley of the Eurotas, and render *the hollow Laconia* one of the most beautiful and fertile regions in Greece.[160] *Modon* (Methone), in southern Messenia, belonged to Venice, according to the treaty of Constantinople, and William of Villehardoin ceded *Coron*, on the Messenian gulf, to those grasping republicans, on their furnishing him with four war-galleys to support the siege of Nauplion and Monembasia, the only maritime cities still in the hands of the Greeks. Their surrender, and the submission of the mountaineers, completed the final conquest of all Peloponnesus by the Franks, in 1248. At that period, William of Villehardoin was the most respected and powerful prince in the East. He not only possessed with sovereign sway the Peninsula, but on the north, the Duke of Athens, by the cession of Argos, Nauplia and Corinth, acknowledged himself his liegeman, while the Count of Bodonitza at Thermopylæ, and the feudatories of Eubœa, followed his banner, and the Duke of Naxos, with his fleet, protected the Ægean and the coasts of Morea from the piracies of the Turks. Order and tranquillity reigned in the interior of his fertile and beautiful dominions. The Greeks were busily occupied with their commerce and agriculture; the Sclavonians of Skorta and Sclavochori were pacified and taken into pay by government. The French barons and knights, comfortably established in their castles beneath the beautiful sky of Greece, soon found there a new and pleasant home, which made them even so far forget the old that they called themselves after the Greek names of their estates; thus, for instance, Hugh de Brienne became Lord of Caritena; Robert de Tremouille, Lord of Chalandritza; Ralph, Lord of Kalavryta; John, Lord of Passava, and so others. Geoffrey II. married Agnes, the daughter of the Latin Emperor, Peter of Courtenay, and the barons imitating the example of their sovereign, sent to France for their brides, sisters and families, and soon old Peloponnesus became so changed that it was called "*la jeune France.*" Not only the French crusaders found a new field for activity in the East; even the Greeks themselves began to take up chivalrous habits; they became familiar with French minstrelsy, they tuned their harps to the songs of daring deeds, and lady-love, and their chroniclers sang in artless but spirited verses the wars of the crusaders in the Morea.

The prosperous state of the French principality in the Peninsula was, however, of short duration. The feudal system, and the warlike manners of western Europe, could not strike deep roots in the East. Without the slightest knowledge of the classical antiquity of Greece, or any sympathy for its modern Greco-Sclavonian population, the Latin barons considered the country as a conquest, which could only be maintained by dint of the sword; while the Greeks, oppressed by the continual civil feuds of their masters, soon discovered the real weakness of the foreign government, and turned their hopes towards the rising Empire of Nicæa. Some few Romanic elements had penetrated the mixed population of Morea, and the Moreotes had taken a tincture of the civilization of the Franks; but it soon disappeared during the storms of the Turkish wars, and thus the ruinous castles, the popular traditions, and a few chronicles and dialectical forms in the modern Greek language, are at present the only relics that have survived the conquests of the crusaders in Greece.

William of Villehardoin imprudently joined the Despot of Epirus, Michael II., in his war against the Greek Emperor of Nicæa. With his whole feudal force he entered the highlands of Macedonia, where, abandoned by the Epirote and his light-footed Albanians, the French chivalry was surrounded by the Greek army of Michael VIII. Palæologus and his allies the Kumans, and suffered a total defeat in the defiles of *Perlepi* (Prilapon). The Prince of Morea fled in disguise, but being captured at Castoria, was carried in triumph to Nicæa, and could only obtain his release by surrendering three of the most important fortresses of his principality—Monembasia, Misithra, and Maina—into the hands of the Emperor Michael, who, in the mean time, had reconquered Constantinople, and put an end to the Frankish Empire of Romania. As soon as the Imperial standard appeared on the coast of Morea, the Greeks arose against their foreign masters, and though the knights defended every inch of ground with the most exalted valor, and often routed the disorderly bands of the Greeks, they could not defend their isolated castles in so mountainous a region, and were driven into the western and northern parts of the Peninsula. There, in the plain of Elis, and in the strongholds of Achaia and Argolis, they still maintained themselves under the suzerainty of the Kings of Naples during the fourteenth century, until the Osmanli Turks, in the fifteenth, put an end to their dominion in the Morea.[161]

XI. Oriental Conquests of Venice.

359. Extent and Organization of her Colonies. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Venetian Republic (272–323) had extended her conquests in the Archipelago, and possessed the following colonies and territories:— I. A fortified quarter in the city of Constantinople, with the suburbs of Pera and Galatá on the northern shore of the Golden Horn.[162] II. The Duchy of Kallipolis, comprising the Thracian Chersonese, with the cities of *Kallipolis*, *Rhodostos*, *Herakleia*, and several ports on the opposite coast of Asia Minor. III. The southwestern district of the Peloponnesus, with the strongly-fortified cities of *Koron* and *Modon*. IV. The Duchy of Crete (Candia), with the cities of *Canea*, *Rettimo*, *Candia*, *Sfakia*, and *Mirabella* on the coast, and *San Bonifazio* in the interior. This splendid island had been purchased of the Marquis of Montferrat, and became an important settlement for the Venetian nobility. The rich lands were divided into one hundred and thirty-two knights' fiefs, and four hundred and eight sergeants' tenures, all held with military tenure. The Venetian *Nobili* formed the High Council, at the head of which stood the Captain-General of the army. V. The County of Negroponte (island of Eubœa), with the strong fortress of *Chalkis* on the strait of *Euripos*—opposite to Bœotia, and the cities of *Oreós*,

[160] After the defeat and capture of William Villehardoin, at Perlepi, in Macedonia, in 1259, and the surrender of Laconia to Michael Palaeologus, Mistras became the seat of the renewed Greek government in the Morea, and several beautiful Byzantine churches and convents, built at that time, attest to the tasteful architecture of the Greeks, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the wealth and importance of Mistras, the residence of the Palaeologian princes, or *Despots* of the Morea. In 1837, while some repairs were undertaken in the French castle, a complete suit of armor, with iron greaves, and a knight's helmet, was discovered, which was presented by the modern Spartans to King Otho, during a subsequent visit of the Royal Couple to the city.

[161] *History of the Morea during the Middle Ages*, by Prof. Falmerayer, Vol. II., and the admirable sketch of the Frankish dominion in the Peninsula, by Prof. Ernst Curtius, in his *Peloponnesos*, Vol. I., Goha, 1851. Important hints and topographical descriptions are likewise found in Dr. Louis Ross's *Reisen und Reiserouten im Peloponnes*, Berlin, 1841.

[162] This important central emporium for their commerce the Venetians lost, when, in 1261, Michael Palaeologus, with the aid of the Genoese, expelled the Franks from Constantinople, and granted to that hated rival of Venice the ports and privileges which she formerly had possessed in Greece.

Astura and *Karystos*. Under the government of Negroponte ranged the smaller islands *Skyros*, *Skiathos*, *Skopelos*, *Chelidromi*, *Keos* (Zia), on the southern coast of Attica, together with *Ægina* and *Salamis* in the Saronic Gulf, and *Cerigo* (Cythere) under the frowning promontory of Cape Malea, in the Morea.[163]

At the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Venetian Republic was not populous and strong enough to take possession of the numerous islands which had been assigned to it in the partition of the Greek Empire. The Senate, therefore, permitted the Venetian nobles to fit out expeditions for the occupation of the islands, reserving only the sovereignty to the mother state. In consequence of this permission many maritime expeditions took place; thus *Stampalia* was occupied by the Quirini; *Andros*, by Marino Dandolo; *Tinos*, *Mykoni*, *Skyros*, *Lemnos*, *Chios* and *Samos*, by the Ghisi; *Keos*, by Giustiniani; but the most brilliant conquest was that of the *Cycladian Islands*, by the distinguished nobleman Mark Sanudo, in 1207, who, as Duke of the Archipelago, soon became independent of the Republic of Saint Mark.

360. The Ionian Islands belonged during this period to small dynasties of Frankish nobles, who had sprung up during the crusades, and claimed the protection either of the Kings of Naples or the Despots of Epirus. *Zante* (the ancient Zakynthos), *Cephalonia*, *Itaka*, and *Santa Maura* (Leukadia), were, during the fourteenth century, held by the Beneventine family of Tocco, which, by marriage into the Greek dynasty of Arta, had inherited Akarnania, Ætolia, and part of southern Epirus, and called themselves *Dukes of Leukadia and Despots of Arta*. Charles Tocco was the last despot; the Turks drove him from Ioánnina and Ætolia in 1431, and his son, Leonardo II., lost Leukadia and Cephalonia in 1469. Corfú (Corcyra), the most important of the Ionian Islands, both on account of its fertility and position at the mouth of the Adriatic Gulf, remained long under the supremacy of the Kings of Naples, until it, in 1386, was conquered by the Venetians.

XII. Duchy of Naxos or of the Archipelago, 1207–1566.

361. Extent, Constitution and Dynasties. The easy conquest of Naxos by Mark Sanudo and his Venetian adventurers in 1207 was followed by that of the other Cycladian islands. *Paros*, *Antiparos*, *Amorgos*, *Siphnos*, *Kimolos*, *Milos*, *Polikandros*, *Nio*, *Santorini* (Thera), and Anaphi recognized his sway and were distributed as fiefs among his knights. Naxos, the gem of the Grecian islands, became the ducal residence; the opposite Paros, with its excellent harbors of *Santa Maria* and of *Parecchiá*, was the naval station for his galley fleet. In Naxos the active and intelligent Mark Sanudo built a magnificent castle, with twelve strong towers, on the high hill above the Greek metropolis on the northwestern coast. The natives obtained favorable terms from their conqueror; he guaranteed them the possession of their property and lands, and they continued to enjoy their privileges and the exercise of the Grecian rites of their Church. Sanudo received the ducal title from the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, which he left, together with his consolidated and beautiful duchy, to his successors, in 1220.[164]

[163] The smaller isles *Poros* (Kalauria), *Idra* (Hydrea), and *Spetsa* (Typarenos), under the coast of Argolis, seem not to have been permanently occupied by the Venetians. They served as a refuge to the *Albanians* (Arnauts), when their country, after the death of George Castriotis, was invaded by Mohammed II., in 1470. See the *Memoir on Hydra*, by Antonios Miaulis, Munich, 1834 (in modern Greek).

[164] Six dukes of the family Sanudo followed until 1307. The family Dalle Carceri from Negroponte then inherited the duchy by marriage. But the third duke, Niccoló Dalle Carceri, lost the duchy and his life in revenge of a terrible crime he had committed on an innocent Greek maiden. The Greek Archons, led on by the intriguing nobleman Francesco Crispo, surprised and stabbed the duke at his hunting castle, *Paratrecho*, in 1381, and the third dynasty of the Crispi maintained their independence until the Turkish conquest in 1566.

It would appear strange that the reviving Greek Empire of the Palaeologi, who reconquered the greater part of Greece from the Franks and Asia Minor from the Turks, should have permitted the Dukes of Naxos to sit quietly on their usurped throne of the Ægean islands; yet we can discover the cause of this remarkable longevity of the Frankish principality, not only in the great talents and native valor of the dukes of the families of Sanudo and Dalle Carceri, but likewise in the powerful protection awarded them by the Pope, and the Venetian Republic, who with her fleets sustained the monopoly of her eastern commerce for two centuries victoriously against Genoese, Greeks, and Turks.[165]

XIII. Possessions of the Military Order of the Hospital of Saint John, 1310–1522.

362. Conquests. The Mamlukes of Egypt having obtained possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291, the Knights of Saint John sought a refuge in Cyprus, where the Knights Templars already had large estates and castles; and King Henry II. of Lusignan now likewise invested the former with the town and castle of Limisso (348). Yet the enterprising warriors, less corrupted than the Templars, who at that time returned to Europe only to meet destruction, sought a new sphere of activity by the conquest of Rhodes in 1310. That delightful island had remained in the possession of the Genoese family of Gavala during the thirteenth century, and then devolved on the Greek Emperors of Constantinople. But during the weak and turbulent reign of Andronicus the Younger, Turkish and Arab corsairs from the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria had established themselves on the island, united with the Greek inhabitants, and extended their piratical expeditions over the adjacent islands of the Ægean. Thus the Knights Hospitallers found it easy, with the support of the Pope, to assemble a large crusading army of German and Italian warriors at Brindisi, whom they transported to the East on a Neapolitan fleet. The Crusaders united with the Knights of Saint John, and, defeating the Saracens on the sea, landed suddenly at Rhodes. They then stormed gallantly its strongly fortified capital under the command of the Grand Master Fulco de Villaret, and carried it, sword in hand, on the day of the Virgin—August 15th, 1310. *Lindos* and the other cities in the island surrendered; but it was not until after an obstinate warfare of four years, that the order could extend its dominion over the surrounding Archipelago of smaller isles, *Syme*, *Chalkis*, *Lero*, *Nisyros*, *Kalymnos*, *Kos*, and the fortress of *Budrun* (Halicarnassus) on the mainland of Caria. The knights of Rhodes held likewise the fortress *Ak-Liman* and the island of *Daran* on the coast of Isauria, and their castles in *Cyprus*, which they furnished with garrisons, and defended gloriously against the attacks of the Ottoman Turks, for more than two centuries remaining the bulwark of Christendom in the Levant.[166]

These were the States of Latin Organization which arose

[165] Colonel Finlay's *Mediæval Greece and Trebizond*, pp. 320–50.

[166] See the description of all those islands in Prof. Louis Ross's *Inselreisen*, Tübingen, 1840–50, Vol. I.–V. (we quote from memory); and for the conquest of Rhodes our articles, *A day on Rhodes*, in the New-York Knickerbocker, October and November, 1846.

in the East during the period of the crusades. The Latin empire of Romania, the kingdoms of Thessalonica and Jerusalem, and the principalities of Antioch, Edessa and Tripolis, were short-lived, and perished during the thirteenth century.

Of the rest, the kingdom of Armenia and the principality of Achaia (Morea) became extinct in the following century, and only the states under Venetian protection and the duchy of Athens survived the destruction of the Byzantine empire in 1453.

B. MOHAMMEDAN AND SLAVO-GRECIAN STATES DURING THE CRUSADES.

363. General Remarks. We shall here give a glance at the Mohammedan, Grecian, and Slavonian States which rose in the East during the Crusades and on the expulsion of the Latins from their short-lived conquest. These were seven, viz.: I. The State of the *Assassins*. II. The Empire of the *Eyubids* and the *Baharid* Mamlukes in Syria and Egypt. III. The Kingdom of *Bulgaria*. IV. The Kingdom of *Servia*. V. The renewed *Byzantine Empire* of *Nicæa* and *Constantinople*. VI. The Despotat of *Epirus*. VII. Duchy of *Wallachia*. VIII. The Comnenian Empire of *Trebizond*.

I. State of the Assassins.

364. Origin, Organization and Extent. The enthusiasm of the crusaders was met in the East by a similar excitement, which gave birth to societies formed in the spirit of Mohammedanism, and springing directly from the desire of sustaining the cause of Allah and his prophet by the extreme of religious fanaticism. Hassan-Ben-Sahab is the mysterious reformer—*dai*—of Islam. He appeared on Mount Lebanon after the middle of the eleventh century, preaching the reform with extraordinary eloquence; but his fiery ambition urged him forward beyond the bounds of his mission. As the Imam of Mohammed, he proclaimed the second advent of the Prophet; he enraptured the masses with his vehement exhortations of the austerest observances of Islamism; he formed a body-guard of *Fedavies* or initiated in the mysteries of the advent, and occupied Alamut, in the mountains of Dilem. Urged on by his ambition, he boldly changed the creed, and proclaimed that "*There was no God but God, and that Hassan was the Prophet of God*," and at the head of thousands of fanatical followers built up his empire extending from the frontiers of Persia to the coast of the Mediterranean. Yet it was not a state with a united territory. It was only an order of fanatics called *Hatsheshim*, or as the crusaders pronounced it, *Assassins*, who, from their numerous strongholds all along the mountains, obeyed the commands of the terrible Prophet, the *Sheik al Djebal*, the Ancient of the Mountain, and kept the people in the most fearful subjection to his invisible power. Hassan, in his snow-white caftan and turban, the emblem of purity, was the grand master of his order of Saracen Knights or Fedavies, who, under their three *Dais al-Kebir*,[167] or grand priors, were trained to the most extraordinary obedience and self-sacrifice. Fearful, almost incredible, were the secret murders of the devoted Assassins. The ministers, the viziers in Bagdad, in Cairo, the chieftains in the mountains, the Kaliphs, the Sultans surrounded by their courtiers and life-guards,—Count Raymond II. of Toulouse before Tripolis in 1151—the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat in Acre in 1192, several kings, distinguished prelates, and knights—not only in Palestine, but even in Europe—fell beneath the dagger or by the poison of the invisible Old Man of the Mountain. The terror was so great that every demand of the mysterious chief was immediately complied with, for the secret members of this Mohammedan Temple were every where. Their principal castles were *Alamut* or Vulture's Nest, situated to the north of Casbin on the frontier mountains of Dilem, the seat of the *Old Man*. *Rudbar* on the west, and *Lamsir* and *Kirdkuh* on the northeast of Alamut, were impregnable fortresses, held by the fanatics. *Tabsin* (Tubbus), *Tun* and *Kanain*, Assassin castles of Kuhistan in Persia, secured his influence in the east, while the fortresses of *Shadeir* (Schadiz), near Ispahan, *Dirkul* and *Kalendshan*, farther south, extended his authority toward the west. Thus a chain of strongholds brought the Sheik in communication with his most important possessions, those of the district of the Ismaelites (279) on Mount Lebanon between the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripolis. Here the treacherous Assassins or Ismaelites possessed the castles of *Masyad*, *Kehef*, *Kadmus* and *Szafita*, in the highest range of the mountain, and the still more important *Balanea*, *Banias* (Valenia) on the sea-coast, which in its strong position among precipitous rocks cut off the communication between the Christian States. At Alamut and Masyad were the luxuriant gardens concealed by high walls, where the young fedavies, intoxicated with *hashish*,[168] were carried to taste the joys of paradise (as they were made to believe), and were thus rendered willing to encounter death in order to secure a permanent seat in that abode of bliss. Under the Sheik stood, 1st, the three *Dais al-Kebir* (grand priors of the order); 2d, the *Dais* or initiated masters; 3d, the *Refecks*, or companions; 4th, the *Fedavies*, or devoted; 5th, the *Laseeks*, aspirants or novices, and lastly the multitude of the profane people. The fundamental maxim of the creed, which separated the secret doctrines of the initiated Assassins from the austere public tenets of the mass of the common people, was most carefully preserved, and the people were held to the strictest injunctions of the Koran. The East did not detect the motive power of the Assassins' Chief; the trembling multitudes only saw the poniard strike those who had offended the Envoy of the invisible *Imam* himself, the forerunner of the Great Prophet, who was expected to arrive in power and glory to assert his dominion on earth. The eastern branch of the Assassins was destroyed by the Mongols during the invasion of Hulagu in 1258. In Syria they continued to alarm the crusaders for fourteen years longer, until their strongholds, Masyad and Banias, were besieged and taken by Bibars, the Mamluke Sultan of Egypt, and the rest of the Assassins fled into the higher ranges of the mountain, where they still possess a mystical religion and live under the name of the *Ismailiyeh*.

II. Empire of the Eyubids and Mamluke Sultans.

365. Extent and Dynasties.—The great Salah-ed-Din, the son of Eyub (1137–1192), laid in 1174 the foundation of the vast empire of the Eyubids, on the ruins of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The pious and generous Sultan discovered that the Christian fanaticism could only be vanquished by a similar enthusiasm among the Mohammedans. But his chivalrous heart despised the dagger of the Assassins, and he joy-

[167] Malek-Shah, the Sultan of Mossoul, astonished at this far-spreading heresy, marched his army against Hassan and sent his envoy to the castle of Alamut to enforce submission. The old Sheik of the Mountains, surrounded by his Assassins, received the Turk, and beckoning one of his followers said: "Stab thyself,"—and to another: "Throw thyself down from the battlements"—and before the words were pronounced his disciples had obeyed him and lay expiring—the one at the feet of the Turk—the other, lacerated at the bottom of the precipice! not only as willing but as joyful martyrs to their faith. The terrible old man then turned to the trembling envoy: "Go tell thy master what thou hast seen, and add, that seventy thousand heroes like these obey my nod." The Sultan still advanced, but on seeing, the next morning, a mysterious dagger sticking in his pillow, in the most retired part of his tent, he became so frightened that he ordered the retreat of his army, and left the old monster of the mountain to himself.

[168] Hashish was an intoxicating beverage distilled from linseed.

fully brandished the seimetar of the Mamluke. Both Turks and Arabs had become degenerated; they could no longer resist the flower of European chivalry. It was the hardy sons of Mount Caucasus and of Koordistan, who, by a particular drill, were to form the strength of his army. Carried away from their home in tender age by Syrian merchants, the young Circassians were trained to arms under the proud name of *Mamluke*. Without relatives or a native country they formed the body-guard of their chief, with the brightest hopes of rank and advancement; they mounted the fleetest steeds of Arabia; the finest armor, the best tempered weapons adorned their handsome persons, and beneath their yellow standards the Mamlukes became the most formidable cavalry of Eastern warfare. At the head of these troops Salah-ed-Din extended his empire from the frontiers of Armenia along the Euphrates to Arabia, Egypt and westward along the sea-coast to Barka, on the outskirts of the Libyan desert. *Damascus* was his capital, and there he died in 1192.[169] His vast dominions were again divided, and underwent many revolutions, until the revolt of the Baharid Mamlukes against the last Eyubid Sultan, in 1250, brought the power into the hands of these wild and homeless warriors. Sultan Bibars reconquered Antioch, Tripolis, and the greater part of Syria, in 1260–1277, and Sultan Chalil (1290–1294) expelled the Christians from their last possessions in Acre, Beirut and Tyre. Thus began in the East the long, barbarous, and lawless rule of the Caucasian adventurers; Syria and Palestine were totally devastated, the Christian monuments burned and destroyed, and misery brought over the decimated population, while Egypt became prosperous by her manufactures and commerce. Sultan Kelawun concluded treaties of commerce with Aragon and Venice in 1289. The Genoese had their consuls and emporium in Alexandria. Egyptian industry consisted principally in paper, carpets, and excellent linen. Agriculture was flourishing and occupied three hundred thousand *fellahs* (peasants).

The Mamlukes did not degenerate; new bands of gallant youths from Mount Caucasus replenished their numbers every year; they formed a military aristocracy, whose chiefs were the counsellors of the Sultan and his vizier; the *great Kadi* administered justice, assisted by the kadis of the principal sects, who all united in electing the Sultan. The revolutions of the throne were frequent; seldom did a son follow his father, generally the handsomest or the bravest of the Mamluke cavaliers; their life was entirely military; they lived merrily on the fat of the land, without any foreign war until the storm of the Mongol invasion of Tamerlane in 1400, and the reduction of Egypt, by Sultan Selim and his Osmanli Turks, in 1517.

366. Divisions, Cities, and Historical Places. Egypt—*Missr*—performed an important part during the crusades. The Kings of Jerusalem were alternately enemies or allies of the Fatimid Kaliphs against the Turks; and it was in the luxury and voluptuousness of Cairo, that the Templars, during the campaign of King Amalric, for the first time laid aside the austerity of their deportment, and contracted those eastern vices which later, fostered within their convent walls, caused the accusation and destruction of their order. By the general ignorance of geography in that time, the most exaggerated accounts of the wealth and splendor of the *Great Soldan of Babylon* (the Kaliph of Cairo), and the fertility of Babylonia or Egypt, were circulated throughout Europe, and gave rise to those ill-planned expeditions of the Hungarians in 1218, and of Saint Louis in 1248, which terminated in the destruction of thousands of brave but ignorant Christian warriors. Egypt was then divided into, I. Missr Dakhiliat, Inner or Upper Egypt, with the cities, *Kosus*, *Ashmuni*, *Dendera*, *Esneh*, *Assuan*, and *Koseir*, on the coast of the Red Sea; II. Rif, or Middle Egypt, with Káhira—the Victorious—*Cairo*, or *Babylon*, on the eastern bank of the Nile, the capital of the Kaliphs and Eyubid Sultans; *Menf* (Memphis), *Bulak*, *Belbeis*, and *Ain-Shames* (Heliopolis), where the crusaders, as auxiliaries of the Kaliph, in a brisk battle, for the first time crossed swords with the brilliant young Salah-ed-Din and the Koordish warriors, the Mamlukes; III. Dschuf—Garbieh, the *Delta*, or Lower Egypt, surrounded by the three branches of the Nile and the Mediterranean. On the coast were situated the thriving cities, *Scanderoon* (Alexandria), *Rashid* (Rosetta), and *Damanhur*, on the Alexandrian canal. Eastward, on the *Fatimetic* branch of the Nile, and the *Bahr Tenis* (Lake of Menzaleh), lay the celebrated *Damiat* (Damietta), the bulwark of Egypt, a mile from the sea-coast. The city was then the great emporium of Eastern traffic, with splendid mosques, rich bazaars, and a numerous population. It was surrounded by triple walls, and towers of great strength. Other towers in the river defended the approach from the Nile. Yet the valor and enthusiasm of the Christians vanquished all these obstacles, and the desperate resistance of the Saracens. Damietta was taken, after a siege of seventeen months, in 1219, and an immense booty made; but it was soon lost again by the arrogance of the Cardinal Pelagius and the superior tactics of Sultan Melik Khamel, who totally destroyed or captured the Christian army among the swamps of Mansourah, and forced them to purchase their release by the surrender of Damietta and the evacuation of Egypt. The same fate awaited Saint Louis, of France, and his brilliant army, in 1248; and the unhappy city, after so many vicissitudes, was finally razed by the Mamlukes for fear of a third invasion, in 1250.[170]

III. Wallacho-Bulgarian Kingdom.

367. Extent, Constitution, and Cities. During the revolutions of the Byzantine Empire, under the Angeli, the Bulgarians threw off the yoke in 1186, and sustained their independence for two centuries, until they, together with their neighbors the Servians, were defeated by Sultan Murad at Kossowa, in 1389, and became incorporated in the Turkish empire in 1392. The Wallacho-Bulgarian kingdom extended along the Danube, from the shores of the Black Sea westward to the river Timok, and was on the south bordered by Mount Hæmus. The principal cities were: Ternowa (situated on a hill, surrounded by gardens, on the banks of the river Jantra, the residence of the Bulgarian kings, and the see of the primate of the Latin church), *Nicopolis*, *Bidin* (Widdin), *Dristra* (Silistria), on the Danube, *Varna* and *Salata* on the Pontus, and *Triaditza* (Sofiá), beneath the celebrated defile, *Clausura Sancti Basilii*, on Mount Hæmus. The Bulgarians extended their sway south of that mountain, along the river Hebrus, but without permanent possession. The Khans obtained the royal title from the Pope, yet their power was restricted by the council of the *Boyars* or nobles. Diets, *comitia*, were held; the country was divided into thirty *Starosties*, each defended by fortresses and castles. While the

[169] The sepulchral monument of Salah-ed-Din, forms a large irregular building of white and black marble, with many cupolas and lofty arched windows covered with gilt inscriptions. It stands in the *Derwish* street, on the caravan route to Jerusalem and Mecca; but though it is still devoutly visited by the Moslem pilgrims it is rapidly falling in ruins. See our articles "*An Excursion to Damascus and Baalbek*," in the American Review for August and September, 1848.

[170] The modern city lies several miles in the interior. For these events, see the graphic description of the sieges in Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades*, livres XII. and XIII., and Mills, pages 197–218, in the Philadelphia edition.

Bulgarians followed the Greek Church they had a patriarch and ten bishops; later, when they passed over to the Latin ritual, their Primas resided in *Ternowa*, and their prelates received the *pallium* in Rome. Among the many heretical sects were the *Bogomiles*, the Beloved of God, whose doctrines spread through the West, where they were called *Bulgari* (Bougres). The laws of the Bulgarians were cruel, and their manners barbarous, though Christianity exerted its influence, and their kings, by frequent marriages with Byzantine princesses, became more polished and kept a brilliant court. The Bulgarians fought mostly on horseback (195), with bows and arrows, sabre and lance. Their banners were horse-tails fixed on spears, until the Pope gave them the Christian standard of the cross. They wore the flowing Eastern garments, and large turbans, and their general gatherings, headed by their Boyars, made a brilliant show. King Assan II. built a fleet on the Danube, which placed him in direct communication with the Russians. The Bulgarian merchants enjoyed peculiar privileges in Constantinople, where they had their own bazaars and dépôts. Some of their princes were men of learning. Alexander (1330–1353) published a Slavic translation of the Byzantine historian, Constantine Manasses, with elegant paintings; but the Boyars, with all their pomp and luxury, remained uninstructed, and the clergy only made much progress in learning.

IV. Kingdom of Servia.

368. The *Great Zupan* of Servia had received the royal crown from the Pope in 1222 (325), and ruled his spirited and handsome people, the Servians and Rascians (Raitzi), as an independent king or *Kral*. Servia contained, 1, *Branizowa*, on the Danube; 2, *Shupa*, on the east, in the valley of the Morava; 3, *Kossowa*, on the south, in the upper valley of Mount Scardus; 4, *Rascia*, northwest, on the frontiers of *Bosnia* (Rama); and 5, *Zenta*, the coast-land on the Adriatic, from the Drinus and the Lake of Skodra, northward to the Republic of Ragusa. The brilliant period of the Servian nation, their conquests, political influence, laws, and poetry, was the middle of the fourteenth century, under their great king, Stephen Douschan (1333–1356). Rassa (Novi Bazar), at the foot of the Dinarian Alpes, was the residence of the Kral.

369. Ragusa (139) in its advantageous position had become a thriving commercial republic, which under a strong aristocratic government already rivalled Venice in trade and manufactures; it possessed the Dalmatian and Bosnian mines, and its citizens were active, wealthy and chivalrous. *Ragusa* produced poets, engineers, painters and historians, and merited the title of the *Slavo-Illyrian Athens.*

V. The Greek Empire of Nicæa and Constantinople.

370. Limits, Restoration of the Capital and Conquests.—Theodore Lascaris had saved the Greek Empire by hoisting his banner in Prusa as a rallying point for all the faithful. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded his principality to the magnitude of an empire. Lascaris reconquered and united again *Bithynia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Ionia*, parts of *Phrygia*, *Caria* and *Paphlagonia*, together with the islands, *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, and *Samos*, from which he expelled the Ghisi, and other Venetian nobles. His successor, the admirable John Dukas Vatatzes (1222—1255), drove back the Turks and pressed hard upon the Latin Knights in Constantinople. That city fell at last in 1261, and Michael VIII. Palaeologus reunited, toward the close of the century, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and the southeastern parts of the Morea with the reviving Byzantine Empire.

371. Genoa, on the Ligurian coast, had in her rivalry with Venice given as strenous an aid to the Greek Emperor of Nicæa, as Venice had done to the Latin conquerors of Constantinople. Genoa therefore was rewarded by the Greek emperor with important privileges, exemption from duties, and the cession of the suburbs of Pera and Galatá, which were fortified by double lines of wall, and that high central tower which still forms so conspicuous an object in the scenery of Constantinople at the present day. Nay, the Genoese even took possession of every promontory on the Bosphorus, and thus sought to exclude their competitors from the commerce on the Black Sea. They occupied the eastern coast of the Crimea, where they fortified *Cafa*, *Chercz*, *Cherson*, *Bosphorus*, and *Cembalo*, and established their commercial dépôts in *Azow* at the mouth of the Don. Having by extraordinary exertions become the domineering nation on the Pontus, they began to arm for that tremendous maritime struggle with Venice, which from the year 1252 continued almost without interruption to 1382, and terminated only with the debilitation and decline of both. In the following century Genoa put herself into the possession of great part of the Asiatic islands of the Ægean, such as *Samos*, *Nicaria*, *Chios*, *Psara*, *Metellino* (Lesbos), *Stalimene* (Lemnos), *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, *Samothrace*, *Thasos*, and the smaller groups.

VI. Despotat of Epirus.

372. Extent and Princes.—The portions of the Byzantine Empire situated to the west of the range of Pindus, all Epirus, Acarnania and Ætolia, as well as Lower Macedonia and Thessaly (Megali-Vlachia), were saved from the feudal dominion by Greek princes, who there maintained themselves against the French Crusaders: Epirus was, immediately after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, occupied by the intelligent Michael Angelos, who, boldly assuming the direction of the government of the whole country from Dyrrachium to Naupactus, on the Corinthian gulf, and gathering a large military force, secured the mountainous frontier against the Franks, and established his residence at Joánnina or Arta. The civil government of the Despot of Epirus was a continuation of the Byzantine forms. Michael ruled as of right inheriting the province; it was a mere change in the name of the government, not a revolution in the condition of the people. It was modified, however, by the military character of the wild Albanian Highlanders, who were taken in pay by the Despots, and now for the first time make their appearance on the world's stage as mercenary soldiers. The Despots extended their conquest to Thessalonica, where they easily defeated the Lombard feudatories of the Marquis of Montferrat, and obtained even the imperial title. This however was, later, given back to the great Vatatzes of Nicæa and the short-lived empire of Thessalonica ceased to exist in the year 1234. Epirus was divided in 1308; the greater part fell to the share of Thomas Tocco, Count Palatine of Cephalonia, and in 1358 King Stephen of Servia (364) succeeded in conquering all Epirus, Macedonia and part of Thessaly.

VII. Duchy of Great Wallachia.

373. Origin and Extent. The Duchy of Great Wallachia—Μεγάλη Βλαχία—or *Neo-Patras*, consisted of all Thessaly, Phthiotis, Doris, and part of Phocis. Its capital was Hypata—*Neai-Patrai* (Patrachik), in a strong position on the

Sperchius. *Zeituni* (Lamia), on a spur of the Othrys, with a fortress still standing, though in ruins, protected the defile of *Andinitza* into Thessaly. *Armyros*, *Demetrias* (269) and *Volo*, were cities on the coast of the Pagasetic gulf; *Thaûmaka*, *Belestina*, *Fersala* (Pharsalus), *Larissa*, and *Trikke*, all situated in the fertile plain of the interior. *Metzovo*, on Mount Pindus, protected the passage into Epirus, and *Thalasona* that into Macedonia. This small duchy was founded by John Dukas, who proved a traitor to his own brother, Michael II. of Epirus, and the Frankish Prince of the Morea, in the battle of Perlepi, 1259. At the head of his roving Wallachians this daring chief obtained full possession of Thessaly; he claimed entire independence, and stood at the time of his death, 1290, on equal terms both with the Greek Emperor and the French Princes in Greece. The Catalan Freebooters conquered the valley of Sperchius, which they united to the duchy of Athens; but Thessaly reverted to the Byzantine Empire, and was governed by imperial lieutenants, who afterwards were, by the emperor, honored with the title of Despots.

VIII. Comnenian Empire of Trebizond, 1204–1461.

374. Origin, Limits, Constitution, and Cities.—At the time of the downfall of the Comnenian family in Byzantium, in 1185, Thamar, a daughter of the tyrant Andronicus (349), saved two of his nephews, Alexius and David Comneni, and fled with the children to the coast of Colchis, in Pontus, on the Black Sea. There the young princes were hospitably received by the Greeks, and when, in 1204, the Byzantine Empire sank before the sword of the crusaders, Alexius Comnenus, then a handsome and spirited youth, at the head of his Colchian Greeks, conquered Trebizond, Sinope, and all the coast-lands of Paphlagonia, as far west as the Sangarius, and laid the foundation of the Comnenian Empire of Trebizond. This prosperity, however, did not last; Sinope was soon lost to the Sultan of Iconium, and the more distant conquests on the Sangarius, *Amastris*, *Tios*, and *Herakleia*, were reoccupied by the Palaeologi of Constantinople. The small Trebizontine State thus became circumscribed to the ancient Themes of Chaldia, Koloneia, and part of that of Armenia (264–266). *Trebizond* (Trapezus), on the coast, was the capital. In a magnificent situation, with a fertile country around, it wanted only a secure port to make it one of the greatest emporiums of eastern traffic.[171] Its exports consisted in the rich products and manufactures of Asia Minor, the copper of Tokat, the brilliant dye-stuffs of Caesarea, variegated carpets, cloth of hair and wool, which in the ships of the Italian Republics were conveyed to Alexandria, Marseilles, and Spain; and along the Danube, and to the Tauric Chersonesus, from whence they were transported by different routes through Russia and Germany to the north of Europe. The city of Trebizond, with its extensive suburbs, was strongly fortified by several impregnable castles, separated by deep ravines. The interior of the town was filled with palaces, public bazaars, the magnificent churches and convents *St. Eugenios*, the *Panaghia Chriso Kephalos*, and the great cathedral of *Santa Sophia*, in a delightful site on the sea-shore. A numerous population inhabited the city and the environs all along the coast, where Genoese, Pisans and Venetians had their magazines and commercial dépôts. On the eastern coast were situated the flourishing cities *Rhizaion*, *Athenai*, *Pyxites*, and *Sotiropolis*, at the foot of the Mingrelian mountains. The unruly Lazi, on the river Phasis, were subjects of the Comnenian Emperors, though they often rose in open rebellion. On the west lay the cities of *Kerasos* (23–226), *Tripolis*, *Zephyrion*, *Oinaion*, and *Amisos*. In the interior the realm extended over the rich plains of *Side*, *Themiskyre*, and *Mesochaldion*, southward to *Zigana*, *Pylai*, and the important pass of *Baiburd*, where the high mountain range of Paryades separated it from the territories of the Seldjukian Turks of Iconium. The Emirs of the Turkmans, the warlike tribes on Mount Caucasus, and the Greek Emperor, at Nicæa, were thus the natural enemies of the young Comnenian Dynasty, while, on the contrary, the crusading barons of Constantinople became its allies in their simultaneous efforts against Nicæa. The approaching invasion of the Mongols brought new dangers, yet, though both Andronicus I. and Johannes I. (1222–1238) were obliged alternately to seek the friendship of the Turkish Sultans or Mongol Great Khans, and even to pay tribute and render military service to the latter, yet, by their prudence, they escaped invasion, and being considered more as active chiefs of a mercantile establishment, than purple-born Princes of an Empire, they were enabled for nearly two centuries to maintain their independence, and to contribute their part to the peaceful extension of the world's commerce, and the civilization and happiness of their subjects, and the numerous Greek emigrants, who, driven from their European home by the advance of the Ottoman Turks, found a hospitable reception on the beautiful shores of Trebizond.

Such was the state of the *Eastern World* during the times of the crusades, when at the middle of the fourteenth century, the appearance of the Ottoman hordes in Europe brought on new geographical divisions of territory, and a change in the political relations of all the lands that came within the reach of their swords.

CHAPTER IX.

EUROPE,

ITS POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND INTERNAL CONDITION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES, A. D. 1100–1300.

375. General Remarks.—Great changes, not only in the geographical limits but in the institutions, manners, ideas, and religious views, had taken place in almost every State of Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the energies of its most prominent nations were directed to those conquests and settlements in the East which we have recorded in the preceding chapter. Several states, however, took no direct part in that movement. *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Russia* were almost entirely occupied with those internal organizations, domestic feuds, and wars with their neighbors, to which allusion has already been made; whilst the revolutions among the states of the *Spanish*

[171] The city has its name from the *trapezoid*, or tabular form of the rocky coast on which the first settlers had established themselves. "The southern shores of the Black Sea offer every advantage for maintaining a numerous population, and the physical configuration of the country supplies them with excellent natural barriers to defend them on every side. There are few spots on earth richer in picturesque beauty, or abounding in more luxuriant vegetation than the south-eastern coast of the Euxine. The magnificent country that extends from the mouth of the Halys to the snowy range of Mount Caucasus is formed of a singular union of rich plains, verdant hills, bold rocks, wooded mountains, primeval forests, and rapid streams. In this fertile and majestic region Trebizond has been for more than six centuries the noblest and finest city." See the detailed *History of the Trebizontine Emperors* in Prof. Fallmerayer, and the later work of Col. Finlay, page 354–498. The modern city has fifty thousand inhabitants.

Peninsula remained without political influence on the nations beyond the Pyrenees. Our synopsis of the struggle between Islamism and Christianity there, and the triumph of the latter, may properly be reserved for the closing chapter. In consequence, we shall, in the present, draw the attention of the student only to those revolutions which promoted the extension of religion, civilization and commerce among the leading nations of Europe, as the direct consequences of their religious wars and the threatened invasion of the Mongols.

The principal events which will occupy us in Europe, while the crusades were still continuing with unabated fury in the Levant, were the following:—I. The introduction of the feudal system into the North, and the crusades of the *Saxon* dukes and *Danish* kings on the coast of the Baltic. II. The conversion and conquest of *Prussia* by the *Teutonic* order. III. The formation and extension of the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*. IV. The subjugation of *Russia* by the Mongols. V. The feudal relations and contests between *France* and *England*, and the crusades against the *Reforming Sectarians* of Southern France. VI. The struggle between the *German* Emperors and the *Lombard* Republics; and VII. The conquest of *Naples* by the House of Anjou.

I. The Kingdom of Denmark, 1157–1375.

376. Limits and Political Condition.—The spirit of feudalism, chivalry, and crusading wars moved slowly towards the North, where it produced a total change in the political and social relations of Denmark toward the middle of the twelfth century. The influence of the clergy rose with that of the king and nobility, and the old public assemblies—*Thinge*—where all the freemen, high and low, used to meet for consultation, became now transformed into diets—*Herredage*—in which only the clergy and the feudal nobility appeared to decide the legislative and political questions of the day. From an elective kingdom, Denmark in course of time became an hereditary monarchy. The king being still too powerless to keep standing armies, formed an efficient cavalry, in imitation of the Germans, by granting estates to barons and knights for feudal service on horseback—*Rosstjeneste*. The larger proprietors, desirous of partaking the rank and honors of belted knights, began to take their allodial possessions as fiefs of the crown, while the smaller landholders sank back into a condition of poverty and subjection little differing from the serfdom of Germany. But this change was gradually introduced, and during the brilliant reign of the first kings of the Waldemarian dynasty (1157–1227), the naval expeditions and crusades of the Danes on the southern coasts of the Baltic still sustained the warlike and independent genius of the nation. At that time of victory and conquest, the Danish monarchy rapidly extended from the frontiers of Sweden to the Lower Elbe and the Vistula, embracing the whole of *Holstein*, *Vendland*, *Pomerania*, the *Prussian* coast-lands, *Esthland*, and the important islands of *Rügen* and *Oesel*. The dismemberment of the duchy of Saxony, by Frederic Barbarossa, and the subsequent struggle between the Welfs and the Hohenstaufens in Germany, facilitated these invasions; yet a small nation, like the Danes, could not permanently support these vast and distant expeditions, from which they received no material benefit, since they were not able to engraft their nationality on the Sclavonian tribes in the same manner as the Germans did—by civilization and numerous colonies. The treacherous capture of King Waldemar II., at Lyöe, in 1223, and the defeats of the Danes at Mölln and Bornhöved, soon turned the political scale, and the downfall of Denmark was then more rapid than her rise.

377. Danish Conquests on the Elbe and the Baltic. I. The County of Nordalbingia or *Holstein*, reached from the Eider, on the border of the duchy of South Jutland (Schleswig), to the Elbe, and included the free imperial cities of Lübeck and Hamburg. The county was then divided into I. Vagria, on the Baltic, inhabited by the Sclavonian tribes of the Obotrites and Vagrians, who had been subdued by Knud Lavard, the first duke of Schleswig (294). II. Stormaria, south of Vagria, on the Elbe; and III. Thetmarsia—*Ditmarsken*—the low marshy coast-lands on the west, whose inhabitants, the hardy and brave Ditmarskers, founded a small republic under the protection of the archiepiscopal see of Bremen. Holstein had belonged to the old duchy of Saxony, and was erected into a county by the emperor Lothaire II. who gave it to the Counts of Schauenburg on the Weser, a family alike distinguished by the great statesmen and warriors who descended from it. Yet the Danish arms prevailed and Holstein remained during thirty years united with the kingdom.—*Hamburg*, on the Elbe (174), and *Lübeck* (225) on the Trave, were already commercial cities of great activity. The latter was occupied by Henry the Lion as a stronghold against the Sclavonians; but it had a greater destiny to fulfil than that of becoming a Danish fortress. Its much-lauded constitution, or Law of Lübeck—*Lübsche Recht*—was adopted by a number of Low German cities; and it was after having expelled the Danish bailiff and garrison by a stratagem, in 1225, that Lübeck founded the celebrated Confederacy of the Hanse towns in 1241.[172]—*Reinholdsburg* (Rendsborg) castle on an island in the Eider, where Waldemar the Victorious built a bridge to facilitate and secure the march of his armies into Germany.—*Chiliana*, *Kyl* (now Kiel), situated on a beautiful bay of the eastern coast, was the most ancient city in Holstein, and became, later, a member of the Hanseatic League. *Segeberg*, with a castle on a high chalk-rock, was one of the strongest positions of the Danes in Holstein, and the fortress served them as a state prison for their unruly feudatories. *Bornhöved*, a small borough on the outskirts of the *Kamp* or dreary heath-covered plain eight miles north of Segeberg, was the battle-field on which the fate of Denmark was decided on July 22, 1227. Hamburg and Lübeck, the Counts of Holstein and Schwerin, prelates and feudatories, were here marshalled under the German banner against King Waldemar the Victorious. After a stoutly contested field, when victory again seemed to favor the Danish arms, their rear-guard, consisting of Ditmarskers, turned treacherously upon them, and they were defeated with fearful slaughter. Four thousand Danes covered the plain; the old King Waldemar, thrown down with his steed, and badly wounded was saved by an unknown German knight, who carried him safely to Kiel. From that day the downfall of Denmark followed with fearful rapidity.

II. The Duchy of Pomerania comprehended all the fertile lands on the Lower Elbe, eastward to the Vistula, with the counties of *Ratzeburg*, *Lauenburg*, on the Elbe, *Schwerin*, *Miklinburg* (Mecklenburg), the principalities of *Rügen*, *Werle*, and the lordships of *Rostock* and *Parchim*. The strong *Castle of Schwerin*, on the lake, was the residence of the Counts. There Count Henry, after the surprise and capture of King Waldemar II. at Lyöe, kept his liege-lord in the most dismal triennial prison, 1223–1226, in spite of all the exhortations of emperor and pope to procure his release. At *Mölln*, west of the former, Count Albert of Orlamünde, at the head of the Danish

[172] An old chronicler says about Lübeck, *that Denmark caressed the hen which laid it a golden egg without foreboding that a basilisk would be hatched from it.*"—The name of *Hanse—am See*—signifying commercial alliance among maritime towns, is older than the league. It appears in privileges granted by John Lackland of England to the Hamburgers in the twelfth century.

feudal army, was totally defeated by the Count of Holstein, and carried a prisoner to his unhappy king in the dungeon of Schwerin. *Jomsborg*, on the coast of Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder, the celebrated stronghold of the Joms-vikinger (295), was reduced and dismantled by King Waldemar I. in the year 1170. The principality of the beautiful island of Rugen, with its numerous creeks and bays, deep narrow gulfs, high picturesque mountains, boldly projecting promontories, and forest-clad valleys, became an important and permanent conquest of the Danish arms. Waldemar I. stormed *Arcona*, and destroyed the monstrous idol of Swantevit. Churches and schools were built, and the Bishop of Rügen was made suffragan of Roeskilde, in Sealand. All the Vendic coast-lands soon made a remarkable progress toward civilization by the introduction of Christianity, and the thousands of German colonists, who, by Henry the Lion, were settled on the fertile plains of Pomerania. The German nationality gradually got the upper hand; the Slavic tribes became Germanized, and, after a century and a half, disappeared altogether. Yet, though the Danes made frequent descents on the Prussian coast, to the east of the Vistula, and took a firm footing in Courland and Livonia, they did not penetrate into the interior, but left the conversion of the fierce Prussians to the sword and the cross of the celebrated military order of the Teutonic knights (339), who, after their departure from the coast of Syria, in 1229, made their appearance on the Vistula, where they continued the great work of conversion during the greater part of the thirteenth century.

III. The province of Esthonia (Esthland) extended along the Finnic gulf—*Kyriala-Bottn*—eastward to the Lake of Peipus, and was divided into the districts of *Harrien*, *Rotala*, *Virland*, *Jerven*, *Nurmegund*, and *Ungannia*, with the islands of *Oesel* and *Dagöe*. The Esthonians belonged to the Finnic or Chudish race. They were strong and active, cheerful and patient; and they fought for their heathen god, Tharapilla, and their independence, with undaunted bravery. King Waldemar II. first occupied the islands in 1210, and carried the banner of the cross to the coast of Reval, in 1219. Merchants and priests from Bremen, had already begun to settle at *Uxkull*, on the river Düna, where they attempted to convert the savage Livonians, and built the strongly-fortified city of Riga in 1168. But they found great opposition. Meinhard, the first bishop of Livonia, therefore gathered a body of German knights—*die Schwertritter*—who extended the Christian religion by their conquests, when King Waldemar II., with a fleet of 1400 vessels, in 1219, landed on the coast of Harrien, in Esthonia, and built the castles of *Reval* and *Narva*. In the neighborhood of Reval, at *Lyndinissa*, the Danish camp was surprised, on a dark night, July 15, 1219, by myriads of furious heathens, who penetrated, with fearful slaughter, to the royal tent. Overwhelmed by numbers, the Danes began to retreat; but the courage of King Waldemar soon restored the battle, which terminated with the defeat and subjection of the Esthonians.[173] *Reval*, the capital, became a flourishing city, and a member of the Hanseatic League. *Habsal* derived its name from the great Absalon, the Archbishop of Lund, who erected there the first cathedral, in the diocese of Oesel, the ruins of which are still seen. At *Warbola*, in Harrien, massive granite walls of one of the ancient castles, in which the Esthonians defended themselves against the Danes and the Teutonic knights, still remain. Esthland was an important acquisition. Its ecclesiastical province ranged under the see of Lund; but during the civil wars in Denmark, which followed on this glorious period, the country, in 1346, was mortgaged to the Teutonic Order, and lost for ever.

378. Of all the acquisitions south of the Eider, only the island of *Rügen*, the cities of *Stralsund*, *Tribsees*, *Barth*, *Gnoyen*, *Sültz*, and *Marlow*, in Vendland, remained in the possession of the Danish crown. Waldemar II., though now old and vanquished, was an active prince; he turned his attention to the internal organization of his realm, and caused a general survey of the kingdom to be taken, not unlike the *Doomsday Book* of William the Conqueror, and containing a complete account of the royal domains and feudal revenues of the crown. This curious statistical document—*Librum census Daniæ*—throws much light on the internal economy of Denmark during the thirteenth century. The whole kingdom was divided into small maritime districts, called *Styreshavne*, which furnished each one or more vessels, and a certain proportion of men for the defence of the coasts, and the equipment of expeditions against the Vendish pirates or other public enemies. *North Jutland* thus furnished 450 ships. *Schleswig* supplied an equal number; *Fyen* and the smaller adjacent islands, *Laaland* and *Langeland*, were rated at 100 sail; *Sealand*, *Möen*, *Falster*, and *Rügen*, under the see of Roeskilde, contributed 120 manned vessels; and *Skaane*, *Halland*, and *Blekinge*, subject to the Archbishop of Lund, sent 150 ships. This excellent institution went to decay during the civil wars between kings, clergy, and nobility, which ensued, and the coasts were again at the mercy of the pirates, or the still more dangerous encroachments of the powerful league of the Hanse towns. "For at the death of Waldemar Seier (Victory)," says the Chronicle of King Eric, "perished Denmark's crown of glory. From that time, wasted by intestine wars and mutual dissensions, she became the scorn of surrounding nations. Her sons not only lost the lands their forefathers had nobly won with sword and lance, but inflicted deadly wounds upon their poor, distracted country, miserably embroiled in the quarrels of six contending princes." The duchy of Schleswig became now the subject of contest between the royal brothers Eric and Abel, the sons of King Waldemar II. Abel, Duke of Schleswig, captured his brother in Schleswig, during a visit, and ordered him to be beheaded on a boat in the River Schley, and the body sunk. The treacherous Abel fell in battle against the *free* fishermen of the western coast, the Strand-Frisons, in 1252, and thus one scene of violence followed another, until the reign of the weak King Christopher II., when Denmark became divided among foreign feudatories; Count Geert (Gerhard), of Holstein, obtained Schleswig as a Danish fief, and all Jutland as a mortgage, while Count John of Itzehoe, occupied the islands, and Sweden claimed the provinces on her frontiers. Gerhard, the Great Holsteiner, marched a German army into Jutland, in 1340, with the intention of forming a German monarchy on the ruins of Denmark, but he fell beneath the sword of a Jutish nobleman, Sir Niels Ebbeson of Nörreriis. This event, so celebrated in the Danish annals, took place at Randers, where Sir Niels, with sixty-five trusty followers, during night, entering the castle, slew the hated tyrant, and, escaping in full gallop through the midst of the Germans, called the Jutes to arms. They flocked to the banner of their deliverer, and, though he fell in the battle of Skanderborg, against Iron-Henry, the son of Count Geert, the Danes succeeded in driving the invaders out of the country. The exiled Prince Waldemar, then returning to his native country,

[173] It was at the battle of Lyndinissa (Wolmar), the legend tells us, that a *red banner with a white cross, the Danebroge*, dropped down from the sky to encourage the retreating Danes. The fact seems to be, that the Pope, Innocent III., had sent King Waldemar a consecrated banner to be used in the holy war. The Order of the Knights of the Danebrog was instituted after the conquest of Esthonia; but the sacred standard was lost three centuries later, at the defeat of the Danes in Ditmarsken, in A. D. 1500.

ascended the throne of his forefathers, which, after a glorious reign of forty years,—1334–1375,—he left strengthened, and consolidated to his great daughter, Queen Margaret, the Semiramis of the North.

II. Territories of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia.

379. Limits and Tribes.—Ancient Prussia extended from the frontiers of Pomerania, west of the Vistula, eastward to the Niemen; and bordered south on the kingdom of Poland and the Upper Vistula. The soil of Western Prussia is sandy; heaths are succeeded by marshes, and the coast on the Baltic is terminated by downs which, on the outskirts of immense pine forests, unite with those in Pomerania. But the country between the Vistula and Memel, on the east, is more fertile—it is wood-clad, or studded with lakes; the highest hill is only 506 feet above the level of the Baltic. Very remarkable are the large estuaries, the *Frisic Haf*, and the *Curic Haf*, which by narrow strips of land are separated from the Baltic, with which they, however, stand in communication by shallow straits. That low and dreary region is inhabited by fishermen, who still call themselves *Cures*. The climate is tempestuous, and the frail cottages of this suffering race are often buried under heaps of sand. The ancient *Borussi*, *Pruczi*, or Prussians (91, 227), were of the *Lettic* tribe, fierce, warlike, but hospitable and honest; they were clad in furs and coarse linen garments; horse flesh and mare's milk were their food; they loved strong liquors, and fought with javelins and lances. In their sacred groves they worshipped the sun, the moon, and the stars, with horrible rites; their priests were all-powerful, and their women, serfs, arms, and horses, were generally burned on the same pile with the deceased chief. None of the Chudish or Lettic tribes made so obstinate a resistance against the Christian invaders as the Prussians. Supported by the Livonians, they defeated the Knights Sword Bearers in 1224, and destroyed monasteries and monks; they invaded Poland, and Duke Conrad of Mazovia then invited the Order of the Teutonic knights to occupy the frontier province of Culm, on the Vistula, against the heathens. The active Grand Master Herman von Salza sent Herman von Balk, with a division of one hundred knights and squires, to Poland, where these military monks commenced the subjugation of Prussia with a degree of courage that was only equalled by their cruelty. They fortified Culm; built Thorn in 1230, and after the most ruthless war and wonderful vicissitudes of victory and defeat, the military genius of their leaders, during fifty-three years,—1228–1281,—completed this astonishing conquest of a few thousand knights over the entire Prussian nation, that for four centuries had resisted the arms of Poland. In 1238, the Teutonic Order united with the Sword Knights of Livonia, and in 1309, the Grand Master Siegfried von Feuchtwangen transferred the seat of the order from Venice to Marienburgh, on the Nogat. Strong castles were built in every subdued district, and the poor vanquished barbarians were compelled to furnish the workmen. Churches, monasteries, and schools were likewise erected, and the German language was introduced; thousands of heathens were converted; while others fled for protection into Lithuania. The Prussian chiefs were admitted to the order of nobility, while the people exchanged their state of licentious freedom for the most rigid serfdom. Numerous German colonies were settled by the order; they built flourishing towns, to which almost republican privileges were granted. Thus were gradually formed the three orders of the provincial states, of which the diets were composed, the sovereignty remaining in the hands of the Teutonic Knights.

380. Division of the Territories, Constitution, and Government.—A. Prussia consisted of I. *Pomerellen*, or Western Prussia, between the left bank of the Vistula, the sea and the frontiers of *Pomerania;* II. *Culm* on the south; III. *Pomesania*, on the right bank of the river; IV. *Pogesania;* V. *Galindia;* VI. *Ermeland;* VII. *Natangen;* VIII. *Samland;* IX. *Nadrauen;* X. *Schalauen;* XI. *Bartia*, and XII. *Sudauen*—all the latter in Eastern Prussia. B. Szamaitia, on the east, was conquered from the Lithuanians, after a bloody war, in 1382. C. Courland, a fertile and beautiful country, northeast on the Baltic. D. Livonia, in the interior, with I. *Semgallia*, II. the archiepiscopal see of *Riga*, extending far into the interior with the suffragan bishopries of *Dorpat*, *Oesel*, *Reval*, and *Courland;* III. the territory of the Knights Sword Bearers—*Schwert-ritter*—in Central Livonia. After the union of this order with that of the Teutonic Knights, A. D. 1236, the province of Livonia was governed by their own general—*Heermeister*—who ranged under the Grand Master of the United Order in Marienburg.

E. Esthonia (Esthland), the old Danish conquest, (376) sold by King Waldemar IV. to the order in 1346. *Dagöe* was likewise ceded to the knights, but the larger island of Oesel remained with Denmark.

F. The island of Gothland, on the eastern coast of Sweden, with the commercial city of *Wisby*, which the order obtained in 1398 from the light-headed Albrecht of Mecklenburg after his defeat and imprisonment of Queen Margaret.

G. The Neumark, a part of Brandenburg, east of the *Oder*, mortgaged to the order by the penniless emperor Sigismond in 1402.

381. All these territories were divided into thirty Commanderies—*Comthure*—several of which were so large that they again became subdivided into Convents of Knights.

The permanent settlement of the whole order in Prussia by the Grand Master Siegfried von Feuchtwangen—†1312—imparted vigor and consistency to this singular religious and military society. The general chapter of the order possessed the highest legislative power. The Grand Commanders,—*Grosscomthure*,—the Priors and other officials ranged immediately under the Grand Master. The commanders held the sway in the principal castles of the commanderies. The Knights of the Order formed the first state, the native landed nobility the second, and the citizens—*Bürger*—of the towns the third. The German colonists, who during the fourteenth century flocked to Prussia, Poland and Hungary in the same manner as in the present nineteenth to America and Australia, introduced their agriculture and industry; the Prussians themselves were a cattle-breeding people; peace and prosperity prevailed for long periods throughout the land; and, under the severe and vigorous administration of able grand masters, it soon presented the appearance of a beautiful garden interspersed with hamlets, castles and the delightful country-seats of the knights. Prussia alone numbered, about A. D. 1400 (ten years before the fatal defeat of the order at Tannenberg), four bishops, four great commanders, twenty-eight commanders, forty-six priors—*Hauscomthure*—thirty-eight convents of knights; a vast host of subordinate officials, canons and priests, three thousand one hundred and sixty-two knights—*Deutschritter*—and six thousand two hundred squires, sergeants—*armigeri*—light horsemen and valets. The number of fortified cities was fifty-five, of castles forty-eight, of boroughs and hamlets eighteen thousand three hundred and sixty-eight. The regular and permanent revenues from the province were eight hundred thousand Rhenish guilders, without counting the more irregular receipts from the fisheries, the regalia of the amber, the custom-duties and the perquisites and fees of the tribunals. The flourishing commercial cities were mostly situated on the Baltic and the banks of the Vistula.

382. Cities and Castles.—*Gdansk*—Danzig, an old Danish colony at the mouth of the river, surrounded by immense fortifications that have supported many a siege, was enlarged and strengthened by the knights, who granted its industrious inhabitants important privileges and immunities. But becoming wealthy and possessing the exclusive navigation of the Vistula and the maritime commerce of Poland, the Danzigers would not submit tamely to the exactions of the haughty order; they revolted in 1454 and put themselves under the protection of the King of Poland. Marienburg, on the Nogat, a branch of the Vistula, was the capital and seat of the order from 1309 to 1466. The magnificent ruins of the Palace—*das Deutsche Haus*—with its porticoes, halls, chapels, armories and refectory, in the noblest style of the Gothic architecture of the age, remains in its ruins as a monument of the wealth and luxury of the order. Other fortified cities were *Elbing*, *Thorn*, *Culm*, *Marienwerder*, *Königsberg*, built in 1255, and *Memel*, which being in possession of the herring fisheries on the Finnic Gulf, became rich and populous, and, like Danzig, important members of the Hanseatic League. Cities in Livonia and Esthonia were *Liebau*, *Pilten*, *Reval*, *Dorpat*, *Narva*, and *Riga* on the Düna, the archiepiscopal see of the *Provincia Rigensis*.

383. Such was the organization of the mighty State of the Warrior-Monks of Saint Mary at the time (1309) when their unhappy brethren, the Knights Templars were groaning in the dungeons or expiring on the piles as heretics and sons of Belial—and the Hospitallers, still residing in the East, fought the battles of Christ against Mamlukes and Turks. Yet the quiet prosperity of the Teutonic Order became soon the chief cause of the pride, depravity and licentiousness of its members; indeed, the same vices characterize all societies of the same sort, composed only of the nobles of every nation, for the most part united by religious fanaticism or love of war and dominion. The order became insolent and corrupt—in the beginning the disorders were, of course, covered with the broad cloak of hypocrisy. The knights revelled and caroused within their castles, and made a show of their demure priestly mien and piety without,—and there remained of the pilgrim and the monk nothing but the cross and cowl. They forgot their vows—and, retired on their beautiful estates, they began to dream of domestic happiness; they contracted secret alliances of the heart, which gave rise to scandal against the order and undermined its influence. This forgetfulness of duty created accusations and feuds within the order itself; then quarrels with the secular prelates in the cities, and complaints of the young turbulent republics, who chafed and fretted beneath the iron rod of the military priesthood. The tyranny of the grand masters became so insupportable that both the native Prussians and German colonists chose rather to submit to the government of the frank and generous Poles. This warlike nation had in 1382 formed a political union with the Lithuanians by the marriage of their princess Hedevig with the Lithuanian Grand Duke, Jagellon. And when the order, foreseeing the storm, broke the peace in 1414, it was totally defeated in the terrible battle near *Tannenberg* (Grünwald) in southern Prussia, where the Grand Master Ulrich of Jungingen perished with the greater part of the knights and thirty thousand of their vassals and mercenaries.[174] From that day began the rapid decline of the *Deutschritters*. Jagellon with his victorious Poles advanced toward the sea-shore; one province after the other surrendered; Marienburg, the impregnable capital, fell; Danzig, Elbing, and Thorn, broke their chains in 1440; western Prussia revolted in 1454, and placed itself under the protection of king Casimir IV., and when peace was concluded in 1466 all western Prussia became incorporated into Poland, and the Teutonic Order, deprived of their finest provinces and their wealth, became themselves vassals of the Polish crown.

III. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

384. Origin, Development and Conquests of the Lithuanians.—On the downfall of the Russian power by the invasion of the Mongols in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Lithuanian tribes between the *Niemen* and the *Düna* at once entered upon the world's battle-field as a conquering nation. Their history is very remarkable, and presents a most extraordinary instance of a nation which, after having remained for centuries in a state of utter insignificance (226, 305), attained by its conquests and wise policy, in a comparatively short time (1235–1386), a station which rendered it for about a century the most formidable power in the north, while Russia herself was at the mercy of her Tartar oppressors. The home of this Slavic nation was the flat and marshy territory between the *Wilja* and the *Swieta*, tributaries of the Niemen, where they had recognized the supremacy of the Russian grand dukes, and paid a tribute answering to the rudeness and poverty of the people. But their chiefs soon took advantage of the internal dissensions among the Russian princes (302); they extended their conquests (1082–1221), to *Novogrodek*, *Polotzk*, and *Severia* (305), and assisted their neighbors, the Livonians and Prussians, in repelling the Knights Sword Bearers, the warrior-monks, who were converting them to Christianity with the broadsword. Yet Lithuania was still cut up into many small principalities, until the brave Ryngold, having united under his dominion all the conquered territories, assumed the title of *Grand Duke of Lithuania* in A. D. 1235. His son Mindag, under the pretence of becoming a Christian, received from Pope Innocent IV. the royal diadem, and was crowned at Novogrodek, the capital of Lithuania (now a small village south of the Niemen), by the Archbishop of Riga.[175] A new dynasty of Lithuanian grand dukes ascended the throne A. D. 1283, with Witenes, whose descendants, all talented princes, ruled with eminent success until the union of Lithuania with Poland, under Jagellon, in 1386.[176] Ghedymin, the son of

[174] The luxury and extravagance of the knights prepared their ruin. The Grand Master Wallenrode had assembled a large army on the banks of the Niemen in 1394 for the conquest of Lithuania. There he invited the knights to a magnificent entertainment. Waiting-brothers held canopies of cloth of gold above every knight at the table; thirty courses of the choicest dainties were served in dishes of gold and silver; all the goblets were likewise of gold, and each guest was permitted to carry away his cup and plate after the feast. This glittering army was totally routed by the Lithuanians, and forced in a few months afterwards to cross the Niemen, like that of Napoleon in 1812, in the most deplorable condition; while an epidemic disease soon cut off all those who had escaped the lance of the enemy. See, for the complete history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, the excellent works of John Voigt. *Geschichte Preussens*, Königsberg, 1828, Vol. I.–IV. and *Geschichte der Stadt Marienburg*, Königsberg, 1824.

[175] The Lithuanians were obstinate Pagans; they abhorred the priest-knights and their bloody baptism, and woe to the sword-monks who fell into their hands! They remained idolaters till the end of the fourteenth century. Their chief deity was *Perkunas*, the god of thunder, besides some other divinities presiding over seasons, elements, and particular occupations. They possessed sacred groves and fountains, and worshipped the fire and sacred serpents. The Lithuanian language was divided into two principal dialects, the Lithuanian Proper and the Lettian or Livonian. The former was the old Prussian language, which the Knights of the Teutonic Order tried all means to extirpate, though it was still spoken in the time of the Reformation. It is said to bear a stronger resemblance to the Sanscrit of India than any other known language.

[176] *Witenes*, Grand Duke or King of Lithuania, 1283–1315; *Ghedymin*,

Witenes, was a great prince. He made extensive conquests in southwestern Russia, and consolidated his power by insuring perfect protection to the religion, language and property of the Christian inhabitants of the conquered lands, though himself a worshipper of Perkunas, and his sacred snakes! His mild sway was preferred to that of the Mongols, whom he defeated; and the Greek Russians and Latin Russinians alike blessed his reign. Ghedymin built *Wilna*, which then became the capital, and fell in battle against the Teutonic knights in 1328. His son Olgerd extended his conquests to the Black Sea, subdued the Tartars of the Crimea, and presented himself thrice in triumph before the gates of Moscow in 1368, 1370 and '73. With the reign of his son, Jagellon, begins a new period in the history of Lithuania. At the time of the union with Poland, the grand duchy consisted of the following principalities: I. Wilno (Wilna), on the Wilja, with the new capital of that name; II. Polotcz, and III. Pskow, formerly independent States; IV. Witepsk; V. Druecz; VI. Mscislaw; VII. Severia, with the large city *Novogorod-Seversky*, on the Desma; VIII. Kiew (Kijof), with the celebrated city of that name on the Dnieper, then much sunk from its former splendor (302) by the devastations in the wars of the Mongols; IX. Braclau, southeast of Kiew; X. Podolia, or Camjeniec, on the frontier of the independent duchy of Halitch (303); XI. Wlodomirez, on the Bug; XII. Wolhynia, or Luck; XIII. Czernigow (303.); XIV. Turow; XV. Pinsk; XVI. Sluck; XVII. Minsk; XVIII. Novogrodek; XIX. Grodno (Troki); XX. Berzesk, and XXI. Samogitia, in the north, the contested territory on the borders of Prussia and Livonia, exposed to the continual forays of the Teutonic knights and the swarms of crusading adventurers from Germany who fought under their banners. These provinces appear later under the more familiar names of *Black*, *White*, and *Red Russia* (303), *Samogitia*, *Volhynia*, *Podolia*, *Podlesia*, and *Ukraine*. Lithuania is generally a flat and low country, the northwestern part (Samogitia) is very fertile, and so are the banks of the Niemen, which, moreover, present a beautiful scenery. But the greater part of the interior is covered with sand, marshes and fens, of terrible memory, from the campaigns of Charles XII. in 1709, and of Napoléon Bonaparte in 1812. The principal rivers are the Niemen, Dnieper, Berezina, Wilja, Bug, and many smaller tributaries.

IV. Empire of the Mongols.

385. Extent of their Conquests.—At Karakorum, on the southern slope of Mount Altai, in Mongolistan, arose, in A. D. 1216, the wild and gigantic conqueror Dshingis-Chan (Chimkhis-Chan), who, within eleven years, carried the arms of the Mongols from the frontiers of China, over the ruins of numberless cities and nations, westward through Tangut, Tshagatai (Tibet), and Iran (Persia), to the foot of Mount Caucasus, and the shores of the Mediterranean. Not a spark of noble fire was perceptible in the deeds of the savage and brutal Mongols, the descendants of the ancient Huns (89); desolation, bloodshed, and sensuality were their only delight; whole nations they swept from the face of the earth by their mere passage; *Samarkand*, *Bokhara*, *Otrar*, *Balkh*, *Nichapur*, the Mohammedan seats of commerce, literature and art, were destroyed. Djelah-ed-Din, the brave Khowaresmian Prince attempted resistance, but being overwhelmed, was forced to flee westward (276). Thus the torrent came on. Batu-Chan, the nephew of Dshingis-Chan, after the defeat of the Russian princes on the river *Kalka* in 1224 (304), overrun that unhappy country as far as the sources of the Volga and the Dnieper. *Kiew*, *Resan*, *Moscou*, *Smolensk*, and many other flourishing cities, were laid in ashes, the Russians enslaved, and the Mongol Chanate of the Golden Horde, of *Kaptchak*, founded by Batu-Chan in 1230. This empire extended westward to Lublin and Crakau on the upper Vistula, in Poland, along the Carpathian range to the Black Sea and the Crimea, and eastward across Mount Oural, along the Caspian and Aral Seas, toward the Siberian lakes and Mount Muztag, on the borders of Tshagatai. The citizens of Novogorod beheld, trembling, the approach of the ruthless hordes towards the banks of the Twertza; but on a sudden the Tartars wheeled westward, crossed the Vistula and the Oder, and vanquished the Poles and the Knights of the Teutonic Order, at Liegnitz, in Silesia, in 1241. Batu-Chan, after desolating Hungary with fire and sword, and defeating the Hungarians on the plain of Mohi, returned victorious, and gorged with spoils, to organize his conquests in Russia.

Novogorod was saved; she became the asylum of prince and serf; she joined the great Hanseatic Confederacy of the Baltic cities, and was soon placed in so excellent a state of defence that she alone remained flourishing, while the rest of Russia smarted under the iron rod of the Tartar for more than two centuries—from 1224–1487. While these barbarians occupied all the forest-lands toward Mount Oural, and fortified themselves permanently in Kasan, the Poles and Lithuanians invaded and conquered Smolensk and the southwestern provinces. Batu-Chan was alike great as a statesman and as an enterprising conqueror. But neither the Mongols nor their faithful companions, the steeds of the steppe, could enjoy or live in the cold and dreary regions of Moscou, on the Upper Volga. The Chan therefore retired, with all his army, to the smiling banks of the Caspian Sea and the Yaik; there he built his immense camp-town of *Saraï;* and his *Golden Tent* gave the name to the ruling Horde of the Kaptchak. The trade on the Caspian was restored, and the Mongols even became a commercial people. Batu-Chan left the Russian serfs their shadows of tributary princes, and the cunning Tartar fomented their petty jealousies and internal feuds: he ordered them down to the golden tent of Saraï, where he sat to decide their suits as a sovereign judge, and to punish every attempt at insurrection with the string or the scimitar.

V. The Kingdom of France under Philip Augus and Philip-le-Bel. 1180–1310.

386. Its Feudal Relations to England.—The conquest of England by Duke William of Normandy in 1066 became the origin of the protracted struggle between France and England, which for nearly three centuries formed the turning point of the most important political and geographical changes in those states during the middle ages; yet the rivalry between the French liege-lord and the Norman vassal did not reach the height of its violence until the middle of the twelfth century during the reigns of Louis VII. and Henry II. of Plantagenet, and of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and Philip August when the English heroes in spite of all their valor were defeated by the cunning politics of the French statesmen. The catastrophe in this earlier part of the contest for supremacy, took place in 1200, the epoch of the humiliation of John *Sansterre* (Lackland) and the confiscation of Normandy by the King of France. The relations between William the Conqueror and King Philip I. were already sufficiently hostile; Robert Court-hose of Normandy was supported by France in his feud against his brother Henry I. of England; but after the chivalrous battle of *Tinchebray* in 1106, Normandy was

1315–1341; *Olgerd*, 1341–1377; *Jagellon*, 1377–1434. He marries *Hedevig*, of Poland, 1386, unites the two crowns, and defeats the Order of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg, 1410.

again united to England. Under Louis VII. the danger for France became still greater. Immediately after the return of the pious king from the disastrous second crusade, his queen Eleanor, the heiress of Poitou and Guyenne, escaped from the arms of her silly husband, and married the young Count Henry Plantagenêt of Anjou and Maine. Called to the throne of England in 1153, Henry II. thus by inheritance and marriage obtained the better half of France. The orange-colored line in our map, dividing the Kingdom of France from north to south, indicates these important feudal relations of the twelfth century.

387. English Possessions in France.—The whole western portion of the kingdom from the British Channel to the Pyrenees, including *Normandy*, *Brittany*, *Anjou*, *Touraine* and *Maine*, *Poitou*, *Aquitaine* with *Auvergne* and *Gascogne* belonged to the English kings of the house of Plantagenêt either as immediate tenures or as mesne-feofs—*arrière-fiefs*. *Anjou*, *Touraine* and *Maine* they held as their paternal inheritance; *Normandy* and the feudal supremacy over *Brittany* they obtained as heirs of the Norman English kings, and *Poitou*, *Aquitaine* and *Gascogne* by the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor,—territories, the most fertile and flourishing in France, which in extent, population and wealth, far surpassed their possessions in the British Island beyond the Channel.

388. The *immediate* possessions of the French Crown were thus again reduced to the duchy of *Isle-de-France*, with its component counties of *Clermont*, *Dreux*, *Meulant*, *Valois*, *Paris*, *Corbeil*, *Orléans* and *Vexin*, and the viscounties of *Gatinois*, *Sées*, *Estampes* and *Melun*. The Bishops of *Laon*, *Beauvais* and *Noyon* held likewise their districts directly of the king, but the cities themselves formed already free communes (307), supporting, however, the royal cause. To the crown lands belonged, besides, *Bourges*, which King Philip I. had bought in 1095, and the districts of *Vassy* and *Attigny* in Champagne. In the north of France the Counts of Flanders, as great feudatories of the crown, but almost independent, extended their dominion over all the territories between the Scheldt and the German Sea; they possessed likewise temporarily the counties of *Amiens* and *Vermandois*, and held the important commercial republic of *Ghent* and the cities on the Scheldt under the suzerainty of the Romano-German Empire. On the east of the French crown lands we find the powerful families of the Counts of *Vermandois* (Champagne) and *Troyes* subdivided among the *Seven Peers* of Champagne and the Archbishop of Rheims. Southwest, on the Loire, lay the counties of *Chartres*, *Blois* and *Sancerre*, and the viscounty of *Château-Dun*. The duchy of Burgundy belonged to the younger branch of the Capetians; this first dynasty of the Burgundian dukes became extinct in 1361, when John the Bold, the youngest son of King John the Good of France, after the battle at Poitiers, began the second and more celebrated line of the *Ducs de Bourgogne*. The frontier lands at the northern base of the Pyrenees, Septimania (158), Toulouse, Carcassonne and Razès had by marriage passed to the Counts of Barcelona and the crown of Aragon on the union of those states in 1137 (318), and we have therefore given those districts the crimson color of the kingdom of Aragon.

389. The kingdom of Arelate, east of the Rhone, belonged during the twelfth century still to Germany (244), though French manners, language and interests were already predominant. It consisted of the following provinces: I. The Palatinate of Burgundy between the Sâone and Jura, which had passed to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa by his marriage with Beatrix of Burgundy (395). II. The duchy of Lesser Burgundy (comprehending Western and Southern Switzerland), from Mount Jura on the west to Mount Saint Gotthard on the east, stood under the vicariate of the Souabian Counts of Zähringen. III. The counties of Albon (afterwards the Dauphiny) and of Lyons. IV. The counties of Tararantaise and Maurienne in the Pennine Alps, which belonged to the powerful and warlike counts of the house of Savoy. V. Several smaller districts on the Rhone, such as the counties of *Génève*, the Seigneuries of *Villars*, *La Tour* and others.

390. The Ecclesiastical Division of France after the Crusades against the Reformers in Aquitaine.—Until the year 1322 the French Church was divided into the following ten archbishopries: I. Provincia Remensis, with the archiepiscopal see at Rheims, and eleven suffragan bishopries; 1, *Laudunum* (Lâon); 2, *Suessio* (Soissons); 3, *Belvacum* (Beauvais); 4, *Ambianum* (Amieus); 5, *Tornacum* (Tournay; 6, *Cameracum* (Cambray); 7, *Noviomagus* (Noyon); 8, *Arrebate* (Arras); 9, *Taruenna* (Terouanne); 10, *Silvanectæ* (Senlis); and 11, *Catalaunum* (Châlons sur Marne). Ancient monasteries, celebrated for the learning and piety of the monks, were *Corbeja* (Corvey), between Arras and Peronne, from which went forth Ansgarius, the apostle of Denmark, the Abbey of *Sancti Richerii*, near Abbeville (232), *Vallis Clara*, near Lâon, and many others.

II. Provincia Rotomagensis, embracing all Normandy, with the metropolitan see at Rouen, and the six suffragan churches: 1, *Ebroica* (Evreux); 2, *Lexovicum* (Lisieux); 3, *Bajoca* (Bayeux); 4, *Constantia* (Coutances); 5, *Abrinca* (Avranches); and 6, *Sagium* (Séez), on the borders of Maine. Among the numerous monasteries were renowned for the austerity of their descipline and the beauty of their architecture: *Bellosana* and *Vallis Beatæ Mariæ*, near Rouen; *La Trappe*, in a wild and secluded valley, among the dreary mountains of Evreux, where the austerity of the Trappist Monks almost surpassed the bounds of nature, but gathered penitents from the remotest regions; *Bella Stella*, of a softer name and, no doubt, a more reasonable discipline; *Fontanetum* and *Blancalanda*, on the charming hills of the Cotintin, in western Normandy.

III. Provincia Turonensis, embracing Touraine, Maine, Anjou, and Brittany, with the ancient and venerable see of Tours, on the Loire, already so well known from Old Gregory of Tours, the earliest French historian in the sixth century, and eleven bishopries: *Cenomannis* (Le-Mans); 2, *Andegavi* (Angers); 3, *Namnetæ* (Nantes); 4, *Venetia* (Vannes); 5, *Coriosopitæ* (Quimper); 6, *Sancti Pauli Leonensis* (Saint Paul de Leon), on the northern sea-coast; 7, *Trecora* (Treguier); 8, *Maclovium* (Saint-Malo); 9, *Dolus* (Dol); 10, *Redones* (Rennes); and 11, *Sancti Brioci* (Saint Brieue). Among the large number of pious institutions, we shall only record *Sanct. Gildasius in nemore*, and Saint Jacques de Montfort, in the hills near Rennes; *Gaudium Sanctæ Mariæ* (La Joye), on the coast of Vannes, and *Beata Maria de Meillerio*, north of Nantes, were celebrated nunneries in Brittany.

391. IV. Provincia Burdegalensis, embracing Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord, and Bordelais. The archiepiscopal see was in Bordeaux, and five suffragan bishops were ranged under it: 1, *Pictavium* (Poitiers); 2, *Sanctonum* (Saintes); 3, *Incolisma* (Angoulême); 4, *Petrocorium* (Périgueux), and 5, *Aginnum* (Agen); *Aurea Vallis*, *Gratia Dei*, *Stella*, and *Misericordia Dei*, were monasteries near Poitiers.

V. Provincia Auxitana, in Gaseogne with the see of Auch, on the Adour, and ten suffragan churches: 1. *Vasatæ* (Bazas); 2, *Aturum* (Atre); 3, *Lactora* (Lectoure); 4, *Tarba* (Tarbes); 5, *Convenæ Sancti Bertrandi* (Saint Bertrand); 6, *Consoranum Sancti Licerii* (Saint Lizier), both, in the

valley of the Pyrenees; 7, *Lascara* (Lescar); 8, *Olero* (Oléron); 9, *Bayona* (Bayonne); and 10, *Aquae* (Dax).

VI. Provincia Bituricensis, embracing Berry, Bourbon, Limosin, and Auvergne, with the archiepiscopal see in Bituрica (Bourges), and seven suffragans: 1, *Limovica* (Limoges); 2, *Cadurcum* (Cahors); 3, *Albiga* (Alby); 4, *Rutena* (Rhodéz); 5, *Memate* (Mende); 6, *Vellava*, *Anicium* (Puy); and 7, *Clarus Mons* (Clermont). Monasteries in the Limosin were *Palatium Beatæ Mariæ*, and *Vallis Lætа* in Auvergne; *Mons Petrosus*, *Vallis Lucida*, and *Monasterium Sancti Petri de Casis*.

VII. Provincia Senonensis, with the ancient see of Senones (Sens) and the central bishopries of, 1, *Parisii* (Paris); 2, *Meldæ* (Meaux); 3, *Trecæ* (Troyes); 4, *Carnutum* (Chartres); 5, *Aurelianum* (Orléans); and 6, *Autissiodunum* (Auxerre).

392. VIII. Provincia Lugdunensis, embracing the duchy of Burgundy, and the Lyonnais, with the archiepiscopal chair of Lyons, on the Rhone and Saône, and the five subordinate bishopries: 1, *Lingones* (Langres); 2, *Augustodunum* (Autun); 3, *Cabillonum* (Châlons sur Saône); *Matisco* (Maçon); and 5, *Belica* (Belley), on the Upper Rhone, in the gorges of Mount Jura. Among the celebrated convents were, *Claravallis* (Clairvaux), in Burgundy, of the order of the Cistercians, where Saint Bernard was the first abbot, in 1115, and whence he sallied forth to rouse the world for the second great crusade. There, too, he gave the rule to the Knights Templars, whom he considered as combining the most exalted virtues of the knight and the monk. The disgraced Abailard built his abbey of the *Paraclete* near Troyes, in 1121. He gave it later to Heloise, and was buried in the chapel at her side.[177] The convent was destroyed, like so many others, during the French Revolution; but the beautiful Gothic sepulchre of the faithful lovers stands now as one of the most touching monuments in the burial grounds of Père la Chaise, near Paris.

IX. Provincia Viennensis, with the archiepiscopal see of Vienne, on the Rhone, and the suffragans of, 1, *Geneva*, on the lake Leman; 2, *Sancti Johanni in Mauriana* (Saint Jean de Maurienne); 3, *Gratianopolis* (Grénoble); 4, *Valentia* (Valence); 5, *Vivarium* (Viviers); and 6, *Dia* (Die).

X. Provincia Narbonensis, embracing the ancient Septimania, along the shores of the Mediterranean, with the metropolitan see of Narbonne and nine suffragans: 1, *Tolosa* (Toulouse), on the Garonne; 2, *Carcasso* (Carcassonne); 3, *Biterra* (Béziers); 4, *Agathia* (Agde); 5, *Lutera* (Lodève); 6, *Magalona* (Magalonne, and, after the year 1323, in Montpellier); 7, *Uccia* (Uzes); 8, *Nemausus* (Nîmes); and 9, *Elena* (Elne), in Roussillon, on the frontier of Spain.

XI. Provincia Arelatensis, with the metropolitan see at Arelate (Arles), so celebrated on account of its splendid churches and monasteries, with the episcopacies, 1, *Tricastinum* (Trois-Châteaux); 2, *Vasio* (Vaison); 3, *Arausio* (Orange); 4, *Avenio* (Avignon); 5, *Carpentoracte* (Carpentras); 6, *Massilia* (Marseilles); 7, *Tolonium* (Toulon).

XII. Provincia Aquensis, with the celebrated see of Aquæ (Aix), and the suffragans; 1, *Vapincum* (Gap); 2, *Sistaricum* (Sistéron); 3, *Apte* (Apt); 4, *Regii* (Riez); and 5, *Forum Julii* (Fréjus).

XIII. Provincia Ebredunensis, comprising the valleys of the Cottian and Maritime Alps, with the metropolitan see of Embrun, and the suffragans; 1, *Dinia* (Digne); 2, *Sanitium* (Senez); *Glanateva* (Glandève); *Vintia* (Vence); and 5, *Grassa* (Grasse), formerly *Antipolis* or Antibes. In the last of these ecclesiastical provinces on the Alps and in Switzerland, were situated the two provinces of Besançon and Tarantaise, comprehending all the country from the Jura to the high Alps, with Savoy and the valley of Aosta, which, however, still ranged under the German empire.

393. Such was the general territorial division of France toward the close of the twelfth century. Philip Augustus compelled the sly and dastard John Lackland to relinquish all his feudal possessions in France except Guyenne. By the consolidation of these large provinces, the crown of France obtained an influence infinitely greater than that possessed by its numerous vassals individually. The crusades against the Waldenses and Albigenses, in southern France, contributed, likewise, powerfully to the extension of the royal prerogative, and though Saint Louis gave back some provinces (*Limosin*, *Quercy*, *Périgord*, and *Agénois*) to Henry III. of England, in 1258, in order to secure peace at home, while prosecuting his crusades in the East, yet he succeeded in alienating the valvasours from their liege-lords, the great feudatories, and favored the partitions of the large fiefs by divisions in the succession. But no other event was so favorable to the reunion of the territories in France as the crusades, in the campaigns of Acre, in 1189–1191; of Egypt, 1248–1249, and of Tunis, 1271. Hundreds of barons, knights, and signors perished by the sword of the infidels or the pestilence of the climate, and Philip le Bel appears already in 1310, as the powerful monarch of united France.[178]

VI. THE ROMANO-GERMANIC EMPIRE UNDER THE DYNASTY OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS, A. D. 1138–1268.

A, Germany, 1138–1273.

394. Limits, Princely Families, and Feudal Divisions.—During the earlier part of the reign of the Hohenstaufen, or Souabian dynasty, the most brilliant period in the annals of the empire, the frontiers and the influence of Germany extended even farther on the east and the south than they did in the preceding reigns of the Saxon and Franconian emperors. In the north, the Baltic, the river Eider, and the German Ocean or the North Sea, formed the ancient bound-

In this beautiful, but solitary retreat, Heloise, with her companions, fleeing the world in the bloom of youth, sought an asylum in her unhappy love.

> Ah! think at least thy flock deserves thy care,
> Plants of thy hand, and children of thy prayer;
> From the false world in early youth they fled,
> By thee to mountains, wilds, and deserts led;
> You raised these hallow'd walls; the desert smiled,
> And paradise was open'd in the wild.

Abailard died in 1142, at St. Marcel, near Chalons sur Saône; but Heloise demanded his ashes, and obtained them for her chapel in the Paraclete.

> Amid that scene, if some relenting eye
> Glance on the stone where our cold ashes lie,
> Devotion's self shall steal a thought from heaven,
> One human tear shall drop—and be forgiven.

[178] The crown acquired *Alençon*, 1195; *Auvergne*, 1198; *Artois*, 1199; *Evreux*, 1203; *Touraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, 1203; *Normandy*, 1205; *Poitou*, 1206; *Vermandois* and *Valois*, 1215; the portion of *Toulouse* west of the Rhone, 1229; *Perche*, 1240; *Maçon*, 1245; *Boulogne*, 1261; the rest of *Toulouse*, 1272; *Chartres*, 1284; *la Marche* and *Fougères* in Brittany, 1303; *Angoulême*, 1307; *Champagne*, 1328; *Guyenne*, 1472; *Anjou* and *Maine*, for the last time in 1481; the Archbishop of *Lyons* surrendered the secular jurisdiction to the king in 1311. *Dauphiné* escheated to the crown in 1343, and the duchy of *Burgundy*, after the fall of Charles the Bold in 1477. Flanders, with its important maritime cities, was incorporated so early as 1299, and the path seemed opened for the possession of all the Low Countries, but the tyranny and arrogance of the French inflamed the brave Flemish citizens to the heroical resistance which saved their old constitution at the peace of 1304.

ary. In the west, we follow again the line of the Scheldt, the Mosa, the Côte d'Or, the Saône, and the Rhone, to its discharge into the Mediterranean. In the south, the imperial seeptre of Frederic Barbarossa still extended over northern Italy, in spite of all the exertions of the Lombard Republics, and the opposition of the Romish Popes; and by the marriage of his son, Henry VI., with the heiress of the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in 1185, the imperial influence reached again to the extremities of the Italian peninsula and the islands. It was then that the Pope and the Lombard league, perceiving themselves outflanked and hemmed in by the arms of the Souabian emperors, roused themselves anew to that violent struggle, which fifty years later terminated with the downfall of the imperial power both in Germany and Italy, and the destruction of the unhappy Hohenstaufen house itself. On the east, the rivers Leitha and March remained the frontier-line against Hungarians and Sclavonians; the Upper Oder and the Lower Vistula still separated Germans from Poles, the latter having, during their successful wars with the Russians, obtained their entire independence of the German empire. Bohemia, on the contrary, had become more closely allied to Germany, having been erected into a kingdom by Frederic Barbarossa. It was already considered as an integral part of the empire, and the Bohemian King figured among the electors at the imperial diets. Entirely nominal and imaginary was the supremacy over Denmark which Frederic Barbarossa arrogated to himself at the diet of Besançon in 1162. Nay, the scale of fortune turned so rapidly, that the great and victorious kings, Knud VI. and Waldemar II., for more than thirty years—1190–1227—held possession of the lands on the Lower Elbe, Holstein with Hamburg and Lübeck, all Vendland and Pomerania, which were ceded to Denmark in the remarkable treaty of Trèves, by the young emperor, Frederic II., in 1215. Lorraine, divided into its two provinces of Lower Lorraine or Brabant, and Upper Lorraine or the duchy of Lotheringia (246), belonged still to Germany, and formed a secure and well-fortified barrier against France. The two Frederics maintained with a strong arm the German sovereignty over the palatinate and kingdom of Burgundy (244); but during the disorders of the interregnum—1252–1273, and by the neglect of the subsequent emperors, these important provinces became alienated and lost. It was the pretensions and jealousies of the two leading families in Germany, the Hohenstaufens and the Welfs, which gave rise to the violent struggle in that country and in Italy, causing the dissolution of the ancient duchies of Saxony, Franconia, and Souabia, the independence of the Italian and German cities, and the gradual downfall of the imperial authority. The great feudatories became sovereign princes in their own territories; the counts and valvasours sought protection as immediate vassals of the crown; and the cities formed armed confederacies against the nobility. Italy was lost for ever, and the old constitution of Conrad II. became changed in its principal features. In order to explain the great influence which the leading families of Germany exerted on account of their vast possessions, we shall here give a short description of their territories at the beginning of the contest about the succession, 1137–1170, on the death of Lothaire of Supplingenburg.

395. The family of HOHENSTAUFEN took its name from the high conical mountain—*der hohe Staufen*—in the valley of the Rems, four miles northeast of the town of *Geppingen* in Souabia (310). There the ancestor of the family, Frederic of Büren, had built a strong castle, the cradle of his chivalrous race;[179] a loyal adherent of Henry IV. in the days of adversity, he was rewarded by that unhappy monarch with the hand of his daughter Agnes and the duchy of Souabia as dower. This sudden elevation of an obscure warrior immediately caused the outbreak of protracted feuds between the Hohenstaufens, then so closely allied to the imperial interest, and the ambitious families, the Welfs in Bavaria and the Zähringers on the Rhine, which for many years brought desolation over Germany, but ultimately carried the Hohenstaufens victoriously to the imperial throne.[180]

Their possessions were, I., the duchy of SOUABIA; II. the duchy of FRANCONIA; III. the PALATINATE of the Rhine with the SPIRAGAU and ALSACE; IV. the palatinate of BURGUNDY, west of Mount Jura; V. PROVINCIA EGRA, on the frontiers of Bohemia; VI. the THURGAU in Switzerland and the WELFIC territories in Tyrol; VII. the numerous imperial fiefs in LOMBARDY; later, VIII. the kingdom of NAPLES with SICILY, SARDINIA and CORSICA, and IX. the kingdom of Jerusalem.

With such concentrated power still more strengthened by their energy and eminent talents, Frederic I. and Frederic II. attempted to re-establish the sovereign dominion of Charlemagne, but failed. The times had changed; Italy full of youthful enthusiasm for freedom, commerce and reform withstood the shock; the German feudatories long tired of the whip of a master, took advantage of the Italian campaigns and the defeats of the German emperor to throw off the yoke; they became independent princes, and the cities confederate republics; and the impartial historian, who philosophically looks back upon the development of the nations during the middle

[179] The ancient castle of *Staufen* in its ruins commands one of the most magnificent views in Germany. Sixty towns, villages and castles are seen scattered through the fertile and beautiful valley of the *Rems*; farther off, in the south, appears the towering ridge of the *Rauhe Alp*; and the blue lines of the *Schwarz-Wald* —the Black Forest—form the distant frame to the lovely picture. This paternal castle was the usual residence of Frederic Barbarossa, and saw in its good old times all the pomp and splendor of the last great and mighty emperor. It sank with the family that reared it; its noble ruins were in 1785 bought by the burghers of Geppingen, who demolished the castle in order to rebuild their town that had suffered from a fire. When we visited that interesting spot, during our rambles through Souabia in 1824, only the outer walls and a solitary tower remained of the imperial residence of the proudest dynasty of mediæval Germany. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

[180] HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN OR SOUABIA.

Frederic of *Büren*, Duke of Souabia, in 1080, † 1105, married AGNES, daughter of Henry IV., † 1143.

- *Frederic*, Duke of Souabia, † 1147, married, 1st, *Judith* of Bavaria; 2d, *Agnes* of Saarbrück.
  - FRED. I., *Barbarossa*, Emp., 1152, † 1190, married, 1st, *Adelheid* of Vohburg; 2d, *Beatrix* of Burgundy, † 1185.
    - HENRY VI., Emp., 1190, † 1197, married CONSTANCE of Naples, † 1198.
      - FREDERIC II., married, 1st, to CONSTANCE of Aragon, 1208, † 1222.
        - 2d. JOLANTE of Jerusalem, 1225, † 1228.
        - 3d. ISABEL of England, 1235, † 1241.
        - 4th. BIANCA of Lancia, 1250.
        - 5th. MATILDE of Antioch.
        - 6th. A German Countess.
          - 1. Henry, † 1242.
          - 2. CONRAD IV., Emperor, † 1254, Elizabeth of Bavaria.
            - CONRADIN, † 1268.
          - 3. *Margaret*, † 1272, Albert of Thuringia.
            - *Frederic* the Bitten.
          - 4. MANFRED, † 1266. Beatrix of Savoy.
            - CONSTANCE, Peter III. of Aragon.
          - 6. *Enzius*, King of Sardinia, † 1272.
    - *Frederic*, Duke of Souabia, † 1191.
    - Conrad, Duke of Souabia, † 1196.
    - Otho of Burgundy, † 1191.
      - Kunigunde, WENCESLAS of Bohemia.
        - Primislav III., Ottocar.
      - Beatrix, † 1213, the Emperor Otho IV.
    - PHILIP, 1208, Irene of Constantinople, † 1208.
- CONRAD III., King of Germany in 1138, † 1152.

ages, must confess that all the anarchy which followed was a smaller evil to humanity than the state of rigid vassalage which the Souabians attempted to enforce upon them. The two Frederics were the last emperors who wielded a real power during the middle ages; their successors became only shadow-kings, and were often the tools and toys of the hundreds of princes and free-towns who were fighting about the supremacy. With regard to his own personal merit, Frederic II., the last great Hohenstaufen, was the most distinguished man of his age. He stood high above the superstitions and prejudices of the time; but the lance of the knight was blunted by the cross of the priest. Frederic, the Arab, as he was called, was the noblest protector of science and art. He founded the University of Naples in 1224, and considerably enlarged the medical school of Salerno. At both places also, through his zeal, were formed the first collections of art, which, unfortunately, in the tumults of the following ages, were eventually destroyed. A splendid monument of his genius is preserved in the code of laws for his hereditary kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and which he caused to be composed by his minister Peter de Vincis. According to the plan of a truly great legislator, he was not influenced by the idea of erecting something entirely new, but he built upon the basis of the Norman institutions, adopting, however, whatever to him appeared good and necessary for his main object, the security and welfare of his Neapolitan people. Never has the contest between the ecclesiastic and secular power let loose so fierce passions as those of the Popes and the Hohenstaufens in the thirteenth century, nor has a generous family ever had so terrible a downfall as that of the innocent Conradino, the last of his race, who perished on the scaffold of Naples in 1268.

396. II. The Welfs (Guelfi) counted their ancestors back to the era of Charlemagne. Their paternal estates lay on the lake of *Bregentz* or *Constance*, Bodensee, eastward to the Lech, and were bounded on the south by the highest chains of the Rhætian Alps. The ancient line of this celebrated family became extinct with Welf III. in 1055; but Welf IV., the son of the Princess Kunitza, sister of Welf III., and the Italian Margrave Azzo of Este, became the founder of the younger line. This Welf IV. obtained from Henry IV. the investiture with the duchy of Bavaria.[181] The Welfic possessions were, I. the duchy of Bavaria; II. the duchy of Saxony with *Nordalbingia* or Holstein, *Slavia*, *Pomerania*, and other conquests from the Vends; III. the margravate of Este, in Italy. Such immense territories rendered Henry the Lion the most dangerous enemy of the Hohenstaufens. But when placed under the ban of the empire, in 1180, all the princes, great and small, bishops, and barons, fell upon the hunted lion, greedy after the spoils, which were distributed among them.

III. The Ascanians. Albert the Bear of Ascania, received at the dismemberment of Saxony, in 1180, the margravate of Brandenburg, with the prerogative of the ducal dignity in war, and the rights of an elector of the empire in his quality as arch-chamberlain.

IV. The Salians in Hesse and Thuringia.

V. The Etichones, in the duchy of Lotheringia.

VI. The Dukes of Brabant.

VII. The Counts of Luxemburg; and,

VIII. The Zaehringers, one of the most celebrated families on the Rhine, who possessed I. the Lesser Burgundy or Switzerland, and II. Baden and Breisgau, on the right bank of the Rhine, as fiefs of the empire; their hostility against the Hohenstaufens changed later to the most sincere friendship and intermarriage.

IX. The warlike Babenbergers defended the eastern frontiers towards Hungary, as Archdukes of Austria.

X. The Ortenburgers in the duchy of Carinthia, and,

XI. The Counts of Andechs, in Tyrol, were more distinguished than the small Counts of *Lenzburg*, *Kyburg*, and *Habsburg*, in *Switzerland*, the latter of whom, however, by inheritance of estates from the Zähringers, by bravery and talent, afterwards obtained the imperial dignity in the person of the noble-minded Count Rudolph of Habsburg, in 1273.

397. Such were the smaller satellites who moved around the brighter planets, the Hohenstaufens and the Welfs. On the death of the Emperor Lothaire II. in 1137, the Welf, Henry the Proud of Bavaria and Saxony, heir of the patrimony of his father-in-law, the Emperor Lothaire, and possessor of the crown jewels, stood boldly forward as a candidate for the imperial dignity. But the German princes, dreading so haughty and powerful a master, elected the Hohenstaufen Conrad, Duke of Franconia, in Frankfort, on February 22d, 1138. Henry of Bavaria dying, and his son Henry (the Lion) being still a child, the contest seemed at an end. But when Conrad III. declared the Welfic fiefs escheated to the crown, and gave the duchy of Bavaria to his half-brother, Leopold of Austria, and the duchy of Saxony to Count Albert the Bear, of Ascania, the whole Saxon people rose in defence of their young prince, and Count Welf of Altorf, the brother of Henry the Proud, throwing down the gauntlet in defence of his injured nephew, began the desolating war. The decisive battle between the hostile races was fought near Weinsberg, in Souabia, in 1140. It was here that the names of Welfs (Guelfs), and Waiblingers (Ghibelines), were heard for the first time. The battle-cry of the knights spurring on to the attack—"*Strike for the Welfs!*" "*Strike for the Waiblingers!*"[182] became afterwards for centuries the rallying words which cost so much blood beyond the Alps, though the early signification of them had been entirely changed. Count Welf was defeated and forced to surrender after an obstinate resistance in the city of Weinsberg. Yet he was generously treated by the chivalric Conrad.[183] The

181 YOUNGER LINE OF THE WELFS.

Welf, or Guelfo IV., created Duke of Bavaria, 1071, by Henry IV., † in Cyprus, 1101.

Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, † 1126, marries Wilfilde, daughter of Billung, Duke of Saxony and Lüneburg.	Welf of Este marries the Countess Mathildis, of Tuscany, † 1129.

Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, † 1139, marries Gertrude daughter of Emperor Lothaire II.

Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, deposed in 1180, † 1195.	Welf Duke of Tuscany.

Otho IV., Emperor, 1208, † 1218.	William of Lüneburg, first Duke of Brunswick, 1213, direct ancestor of Queen Victoria of England.

182 The Hohenstaufens obtained this by-name from a strong fortress, *Waiblingen* (Viblinga), now the small town of that name, on the Lower Rems, a few miles west of their castle of Staufen.

3 Conrad, exasperated at the heroic defence of Count Welf, his knights, and citizens, had resolved to destroy Weinsberg with fire and sword. He suspended, however, the last assault, and permitted the Weinsberg women previously to retire, and carry with them their *dearest jewels*. But how great was the astonishment of the emperor and his army when, at dawn of day, they beheld in long rows the countess and her fair companions, instead of carrying off their jewels and trinkets, staggering along beneath the weight of their husbands or dearest relatives. This affecting scene moved Conrad to tears, and when Frederic of Souabia, galloping up, upbraided him for his weakness, and denounced the treachery, Conrad spoke those noble words, which have been preserved for ages, *A royal word must not be twisted, nor ungenerously interpreted.* He dismounted, and, embracing the count and countess, the tragical scene terminated in the romantic spirit of the age, and the loyal old city of Weinsberg is still proud of the name of

second crusade to the east, in 1147–48, put a stop to the intestine dissensions, and his successor, Frederic Barbarossa, attempted to conciliate the Welfic house, by giving back the duchy of Bavaria to Henry the Lion, who, enthusiastically supported by the Saxons, had withstood victoriously the attacks of the Bear and the Bishops. By thus re-uniting the two most powerful duchies of Germany, and by extending his dominion over the Sclavonians, far away beyond the Elbe, this unruly and ambitious prince was enabled, in 1180, to renew the war with the rival house of Hohenstaufen, in which he was destroyed, and the German Welfs, in spite of the election of his son, Otho IV., in 1208, lost for ever all prospect of obtaining the imperial throne in Germany.

398. A. The Secular States, A. D. 1268.—I. The duchy of Lueneburg and Brunswick (the ancient Ostphalia). This small province on the Elbe was the only part of the large duchy of Saxony which remained in the possession of the Welfish family after the disgrace of Henry the Lion, and the dismemberment of Saxony, in 1180. The Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishops of Halberstadt and Münster, and many secular barons, divided Westphalia among themselves. The Archbishop of Bremen took possession of the mouth of the Elbe, *Stade* and *Ditmarsk*, whose inhabitants, the Ditmarskers (375), however, remained independent. The Counts of Oldenburg and Holstein ranged themselves directly under the empire. Luebeck, now an important city, after throwing off allegiance to Denmark (375), was raised to the dignity of an imperial free city by Frederic II. Glorious old Saxony was no more!

II. The margravate of Brandenburg.—All the Sclavonic conquests of Henry the Lion east of the Elbe were, in 1180, transferred to Albert the Bear. They were colonized by German settlers, and divided into the *Altmark*, *Mittelmark*, *Ukermark*, and *Neumark*, forming later, in union with Prussia, one of the most important states of Germany. Berlin, on the Spree, was then built, and became the capital.

III. The electorate of Saxony—*Kur-Sachsen*—on the Elbe, received the name of the old duchy, and was formed of parts of Thuringia.

IV. The landgravate of Thuringia was, 1247, conferred upon Otho, the Illustrious, of Meissen, who became the founder of the present Saxon houses.

V. The landgravate of Hassia (Hessen) on the west of the Thuringian Mountains.

VI. The duchy of Bavaria was in 1180 given to the brave warrior Otho of Wittelsbach, who in 1154 had saved the imperial army of Frederic Barbarossa in the celebrated defile of Verona, *le Chiuse di Verona*. The old duchy embraced *Carinthia*, *Austria*, and *Styria*. These important provinces had, however, already, in 1156, been separated from Bavaria. The latter was divided into *Upper* and *Lower* Bavaria. *Munich* was still a small borough. Landshut was the capital.

399. VII. The kingdom of Bohemia, with Moravia, recognized the sovereignty of the German emperor, and the Bohemian king still followed the banner of Frederic Barbarossa; but after the death of Frederic II. King Ottocar II. became almost entirely independent. Prague, on the Moldau, was the capital.

VIII. The archduchy of Austria (Eastern Mark) had been separated from Bavaria by Barbarossa in 1154. It was strengthened and endowed with privileges in order to enable the dukes to make efficient defence against the Hungarians on the frontier.[184] Somewhat later it embraced the duchies of *Styria*, *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*, with the county of Tyrol. All these fertile provinces remained for ever hereditary domains of the Habsburg family after the battle on the Marchfield, near Vienna, in 1278, in which Rudolph of Habsburg defeated King Ottocar of Bohemia, who perished in the struggle.

IX. The duchies of Souabia and Franconia existed no more The first was dismembered on the fall of the Hohenstaufens, and divided between the nobility and the church. Their rich possessions were wasted during the absence of the owners in Italy; and the unhappy Conradin gave all away to muster the 10,000 knights and men-at-arms for his fatal campaign to Italy in 1267. Bavaria obtained the Palatinate of the Rhine. Only the Counts of Wuertemburg succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the Souabian nobility. They had already chosen Stuttgard as their place of residence. After them, the Counts of Baden, scions of the Hohenstaufen race, acquired from the house of Zähringen the territory of the *Breisgau*, on the Upper Rhine—the beginning of the house of Baden. In Franconia the duchy had already become extinct, when the succession of the Salic house terminated in 1138. It had been divided between the ecclesiastical and temporal nobles; the Hohenstaufens, however, took the better part, and were called Dukes of Franconia, enjoying the palatinate (Ober-Pfalz) and the military service of the feudatories. Large portions were awarded to the Bishops of Wuertzburg, Bamberg, and the Abbot of Fulda (249). The families of Hohenlohe and Hohenzollern (the latter as Burgraves of Nüremburg) became celebrated in the succeeding period.

400. X. The duchy of Lesser Burgundy—*Burgundia Minor*—embraced at that time Central Switzerland. Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, together with the Thurgau, still belonged to Souabia. After the extinction of the Zähringen family, the imperial vicariate, or guardianship of the valleys of the Alps, was intrusted to the Counts of Habsburg, Kyburg or Savoy; the latter house, in the high Alps, having risen to great reputation and power. The Swiss were still a quiet and frugal race of herdsmen and hunters, enjoying their independence unmolested under their *landamans* or presidents, and settling all their disputes in their popular assemblies. Several cities in Burgundy, such as *Zürich*, *Bern*, *Soleure*, *Lausanne*, *Genève*, had become already important by the numbers, wealth, and industry of their citizens.

XI. The kingdom of Burgundy or Arelate (385).

XII. The duchy of Lorraine already, since the times of Otho of Saxony (246), divided into Upper and Lower Lorraine. The former was mostly in the hands of the Bishops of *Metz*, *Trèves*, *Spire*, and *Worms;* the rest belonged to the Counts of Alsace. The Lower Lorraine had become divided among the Dukes of *Brabant*, the Counts of *Holland*, *Limburg*, and *Lützelburg* (Luxemburg), in the forest of Ardennes. The latter family mounted the throne of Germany in the fourteenth century. Large possessions belonged to the Bishops of *Lüttich* and *Utrecht*. On the sea-coast lived the free-born Frisians, who still with the sword and mace defended the independence which they had inherited from their forefathers. When the German king, William of Holland, in the winter of the year 1256, marched against them with his army of chevaliers, and crossed the frozen lake near *Medenblic*, the

Weibertreu—woman's faith—which honors its towering fortress. This interesting event is recorded in the Chronicle of St. Pantaleon, contemporary with the period.

[184] Frederic I., in the act of donation, wrote in the original statute, that the new Duke of Austria should rank equal with the ancient *Archiducibus*—and, from this expression originated the subsequent title of *Archduke* of Austria.

ice broke under him, and remaining in his mail armor, and with his heavy war-horse sticking in the morass, the light-footed Frisians rushed upon him, and refusing money and promises, killed him with all his helpless men-at-arms.

401. B. The Ecclesiastical States.—Germany, with Burgundy and Savoy, included at this period eight archiepiscopal provinces: I. Mentz (Mainz), having under its jurisdiction fourteen bishopries, viz.:—*Worms*, *Spires*, *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Coire*, *Augsburg*, *Eichstädt*, *Würtzburg*, *Olmütz*, *Prague*, *Halberstadt*, *Hildesheim*, *Paderborn*, and *Verden*; II. Cologne, with five bishopries: *Liège* (Lüttich), *Utrecht*, *Münster*, *Osnabrück*, and *Minden*; III. Trèves (Trier), with three bishopries: *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; IV. Magdeburg, with five bishopries: *Brandenburg*, *Havelberg*, *Naumburg*, *Merseburg*, and *Meissen*; V. Bremen, with three bishopries: *Oldenburg* (afterwards Lübeck), *Mecklenburg* (afterwards Schwerin), and *Ratzeburg*; VI. Salzburg, with five bishopries: *Ratisbon*, *Passau*, *Freisingen*, *Brixen*, and *Görz* (Gurca), and finally the two provinces; VII. Bisuntina, with the archiepiscopal see in *Besançon*, embracing the whole of Burgundy, both the palatinate and the county of Lesser Burgundy (Switzerland) on both sides of Mount Jura and as far east as the Bernese Alps, with the two bishopries of *Bâle* (Basle), and *Lausanne*, on the Lake of Geneva; and VIII. Tarantasia, in Savoy, with the metropolitan church of *Moûtier en Tarantaise*, on the Upper Isère, in the valley of the Little Saint Bernard, and the two suffragans of *Sedunum* (Sion), in Wallis, and *Augusta* (Aosta), in the splendid valley of Dora Baltea, south of the pass of Great Saint Bernard.

Besides these are to be added, Bamberg, which was under the immediate control of the Pope, and *Cambray*, under that of the see of Rheims. Altogether they amounted to ten archbishopries, and forty-one bishopries. There existed, moreover, seventy sovereign prelates, abbots, abbesses, and three military orders; thus forming, in the whole, more than one hundred ecclesiastical States.

402. C. The Free Imperial Cities.—The German cities had had a rapid development since the tenth century (235). The Italian Republics, and the Free Communes in France (307), extended their influence to Germany. The emancipation began naturally enough with the cities in Burgundy, where the internal organization could more easily be formed on account of the many relics of ancient Roman municipal institutions still existing; on the foundation of these the independence of the cities arose, protected by the kings and clergy, in opposition to the nobility.

Though the political system of the Hohenstaufen emperors was adverse to the emancipation of the cities, yet they were often obliged, in their contests with the princes and prelates, to demand the aid of the faithful and wealthy burgesses, and to grant them privileges and immunities. The German cities, therefore, during that bustling period, daily increased in population and riches; and the crusades to the East and on the Baltic opened new resources for a more extensive commerce.[185]

[185] By command of the Pope, every serf who took the cross to proceed to the Holy Land would obtain his liberty from his lord; and thousands of poor tenants, therefore, swelled the ranks of the crusading armies. Others took refuge within the suburbs of the rising cities, where they found protection, and were called *Pfahlbürger*, or citizens of the stoccade, because they dwelt between the walls and the outworks. In case their lords sought to force them to return to their service, the powerful cities themselves would take up the quarrel; and being backed by the league, they were able to frustrate all the attempts of the nobles to maintain the rigid system of serfdom and vassalage of the earlier centuries.

The spirit for great undertakings and speculations was aroused; the costly wares of the southern countries were then brought more frequently, and in greater abundance, across the Alps. The Italian maritime towns—particularly Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—brought the merchandise of the Levant to their ports, from which it was conveyed along the commercial roads and rivers through the passes of the Alps, to Germany, and thence carried further on towards the territories bordering upon the North Sea and the Baltic. Thus the German cities formed the great emporium of commerce before the extension given to the navigation of the Atlantic in the fifteenth century. *Augsburg*, *Strasburg*, *Ratisbon*, *Nüremberg*, *Bamberg*, *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Mainz*, in the south and centre of Germany; in the north, *Cologne*, *Erfurt*, *Brunswick*, *Lüneburg*, *Hamburg*, *Bremen*, *Lübeck*, and many others, built and extended their walls and towers, and a continually increasing, active, and industrious population animated their streets. Their riches soon gave them the means to purchase their freedom from the princes, secular or ecclesiastic, who held them in dominion, and who, by their continual feuds, had become impoverished, and sought every means to restore their exhausted resources. The great point with the citizens was to get rid of the imperial or seigneurial bailiff, and to form their own municipal government, with civic magistrates or consul—*Bürgermeister*—and councillors—*Rathsherren*—at the head of the executive power; then to establish their city law,—*Stadtrecht*,—their courts of justice, and arm the citizens under the banner of the town. Yet the nobility, when too late, began to perceive the danger arising from such numerous corporations of organized and armed citizens; while the towns, on the other hand, foreseeing the opposition of the nobles, began to strengthen their cause by *confederacies* for the protection of their freedom, their independence, and their commerce generally.

403. Confederacies of the Cities.—I. The Hansa—*die Städte an der See*.—Already, early in the middle ages, the trading cities of Germany had formed alliances in other countries, and there established warehouses and factories. These unions were called Hansé. In the eleventh century there were German Hanses from Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Cologne, established in London (289). The two former concluded a treaty together in 1241, against Denmark, from whose dominion they had been liberated in 1227 (375). The Burgomaster in Lübeck, Alexander von Soltwedel, attacked and burnt Copenhagen in 1247. Seven maritime cities, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswalde, and Riga, together with the Germans at Wisbye, in Gothland, united their naval power to force King Eric, Priest-Hater, of Norway, to open his ports to these grasping Republicans. Bergen became afterwards the great emporium for their Norwegian commerce. This confederacy was so wisely organized, that it had a rapid development. About the year 1300, it numbered already sixty cities from the Lower Rhine, as far as Prussia and Livonia; later it included more than one hundred, and in the middle of the fourteenth century, the name of the Hansé became the dread and dismay of the proud kings of Scandinavia. In Germany there belonged to the Union, besides Luebeck and Hamburg, *Bremen*, *Stade*, *Kiel*, *Wismar*, *Rostock*, *Stralsund*, *Greifswalde*, *Stettin*, *Colberg*, *Stargard*, *Salzwedel*, *Magdeburg*, *Brunswick*, *Hildesheim*, *Hanover*, *Lüneburg*, *Osnabrück*, *Münster*, *Coesfeld*, *Dortmund*, *Soëst*, *Wesel*, *Duisburg*, *Cologne*, and others of less note: and confederates out of Germany—*Thorn*, *Danzig*, *Königsberg*, *Riga*, *Reval*, *Narva*, *Wisbye*, *Stockholm*, *Novgorod*, and others. Afterwards those enterprising merchants extended their alliance to the cities on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. France furnished to the

confederacy, *Calais*, *Rouen*, *St. Malo*, *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, and *Marseilles*; Spain, *Barcelona*, *Seville*, and *Cadiz*; England, *London*; Portugal, *Lisbon*; the Low Countries, *Antwerp*, *Bruges*, *Rotterdam*, *Ostend*, and *Dunkirk*; Italy, *Messina*, *Leghorn* and *Naples*. Lübeck remained at the head of the whole confederacy. The deputies from the cities met on their regular *Hansé days*, when assemblies were held. Large bodies of mercenary troops were taken into pay, and the whole military and naval departments were admirably organized under the supervision of the active and warlike Burgomasters of Lübeck. The Hanseatic Union was divided into four sections or *quarters*. I. The Wendish quarter, comprising Lübeck, Hamburg, and maritime cities of Pomerania and Mecklenburg; II. The Colognian quarter, with the cities in Friesland, Westphalia, and the Low Countries; III. The Brunswick quarter, comprising all the cities between the Weser and the Elbe; IV. The Prussian quarter, with *Danzig* for its capital, and comprehending all the commercial cities east of the Vistula. They wholly monopolized the trade in the Baltic, and chiefly that in the North Sea, and had four grand fortified dépôts at *Novgorod* in Russia, *Bergen* in Norway, *Bruges* in Flanders, and the Steel-yard in *London*. But the greatest extent of the League, its subsequent arrogant and grasping conduct, and its decline, belong to the next and last period of the middle ages.

404. II. The Confederacy of the Rhenish Cities—*der Rheinische Städtebund*—for offence and defence, formed itself in 1247–55, in imitation of the Hansé, and defended itself successfully against the petty princes on the Rhine, who from their castles attempted to stop the navigation of that superb river. All the cities from *Basle*, in Switzerland, down to *Wesel*, joined the confederacy, and even the haughty ecclesiastic sovereigns, Gerhard of Maintz, Conrad of Cologne, Arnold of Trèves, Jacob of Metz, the Abbot of Fulda—the counts, and barons, were forced by the arms of the merchants to enter the association. Yet, in spite of the wealth and power of its members, the Rhenish Union *never* acquired the importance and renown of the Hansé. The cities lay too much dispersed along the river, separated by the domains of warlike nobles; their interests were too much divided, nor had they the means of raising armies under skilful native leaders; foreign troops fought their battles, and though the confederacy succeeded at the time, it did not obtain any permanent influence, and was dissolved before the close of the fourteenth century. The *Souabian* Union arose at the time of the dissolution of the Rhenish League, and was better organized.

B. ITALY, A. D. 1100–1300.

405. I. The Italian Cities in the beginning of the Twelfth Century.—Two great and populous cities in the plain of Lombardy surpassed every other in power and wealth: Milan (Milano), which habitually directed the party of the church; and Papia (Pavia), which, in opposition to her rival, sided with the great feudatories and the empire. Both towns, however, had, during the reigns of Lothaire of Supplingenburg, and Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen, changed parties. The rivalry of those two families, the Welfs (Guelfs) and the Hohenstaufens (Ghibelines), from 1125 to 1152, extended its influence across the Alps to Italy, where the discord found a luxurious soil. Milan, victorious over her neighbors, had prostrated the towns of *Lodi* and *Como* (312); the former she razed, dispersing the inhabitants in open villages, and obliged the latter to pull down its fortifications. *Cremona* and *Novara*, fearing the same fate, united with Pavia, while *Tortona*, *Crema*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Placentia*, and *Parma*, anxious to preserve their republican governments, allied themselves closely with Milan. Among the cities of Piedmont, Turin took the lead, and disputed the authority of the powerful counts of Savoy, who styled themselves imperial vicars beyond the Alps. And there the towns were less successful, because they were surrounded by the great feudatories, the Marquises of Montferrat, and the Counts of Saluzzo and of Lomellino, who, in those more remote and mountainous regions, had survived the civil wars. Yet the want of union among the nobles rendered them less dangerous to the cities, and the strongly situated Asti was more powerful than they. The family of the Veronese marquises, who, from the times of the Lombard kings, had to defend the defiles of the Alps against the Germans, was extinct, and the great cities of *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Treviso*, and *Mantua*, nearly equal in power, maintained their independence. Bologna held the first rank among the towns south of the Po, and had become equally formidable on the side towards *Modena* and *Reggio*, and, on the other, towards *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlí*, and *Rimini*.

Tuscany had likewise seen her powerful marquises become extinct with Countess Mathildis, in 1115; and whilst the emperors and popes were quarrelling about the possession of her rich inheritance, the small and hitherto insignificant Florence began rapidly to rise into power by the destruction of her ancient rival, *Fiesole*, on Mount Apennine, and the command of the fertile valley of the Arno. Young and buoyant Florence did not yet exercise any dominion over the neighboring towns of *Pistoja*, *San Miniato*, and *Volterra*, or over the more remote towns of *Lucca*, *Arezzo*, *Cortona*, *Perugia* and *Siena*; but she was already considered as the head of the Tuscan League, and the more so because rich and enterprising *Pisa* at that period turned all her energies to her commerce and maritime expeditions. The ancient family of the Dukes of Spoleto had also become extinct, and the towns of Umbria, without yielding to the feeble remonstrances of the Pope, had regained their freedom; but their secluded positions in the valleys of Mount Apennine prevented them from rising into importance.

Rome herself, the old grandmother, indulged in the same spirit of independence which animated her young and numerous progeny around her. The first great and venerable reformer of the middle ages, Arnold of Brescia, the disciple of the celebrated and unhappy Abailard, in France, preached already, with the Bible in his hand, the reform of Church and State. He was called to Rome in 1144, where he, with a noble enthusiasm, founded a new Constitution, at the head of which he placed a Roman Senate, supported by republican assemblies of the people. Pope Eugene III. in vain sent forth his thunders, and was obliged to seek a refuge behind the walls of Saint Angelo.

406. The civil feuds between the ruling houses of Germany, and the disastrous events of the second crusade of Conrad III., had drawn the attention of the emperors away from Italy (1137–1154); and during the long struggle of the German Guelfs and Ghibelines, the Italian cities had already established their independence. The citizens no longer acknowledged the bishops, counts, or marquises as imperial vicars; nor were the latter able, without support from Germany, to sustain their authority. The cities had long ago elected their magistrates, whom they called Consuls. The number of these officers differed, in the different cities, from five to twenty. They administered justice, and commanded the militia of the towns. They were chosen from the three orders, namely: the *Capitani*, or high feudatories, who

sided with the citizens; the *Valvasours* or knights, and the burghers. The rural nobility, inspired with the enthusiasm of the age, enrolled themselves among the citizens, built towers and palaces in the towns, and formed the cavalry of the civic armies. A Council of Trust—*consilio di credenza*—consisting of a certain number of citizens of each class, formed the town council, which deliberated in secret. On important occasions the parliament—*conciones*, or general comitia of the people—were convoked, by the sound of the great bell, to give their opinion by acclamation on the propositions which already by the consuls had been carried through the Council of Trust. The decisions were then promulgated in the name of the *popolo* or commune. There was at that early period no distinction between the judicial and executive powers, nor any real legislation; and the right of making laws was still considered as a prerogative of the emperor as King of Lombardy, assisted by the great feudatories, the bishops and the counts, and by the imperial judges, at the general diets convoked for the purpose in the plain of Roncaglia, on the banks of the Po. Thus the cities still continued to acknowledge, at least nominally, the emperor's sovereignty over Italy, his right of exacting military service, of giving investitures of feudal tenures, of appointing imperial judges, distinct from the magistrates of the people, of demanding the *foderum* or provisions for his suite or army, whenever he crossed the Alps; and lastly, of sending from time to time his *missi* or vicars, who represented the person of the sovereign. Yet the continual dissensions both between the feudatories, their vassals and the cities, and between the cities against one another, had early called forth a warlike spirit, and highly developed military organization. The noble citizens made their appearance on horseback in complete armor; Milan alone mustered eight thousand men-at-arms. The rest of the citizens, according to their rank and wealth, formed the infantry, commanded by the consuls. The large banner of the city floated from a high pole fixed on a huge chariot—*carroccio*—drawn by teams of oxen. On a platform in front of the flagstaff stood the leaders of the army, and from thence they gave their directions during the combat. The carroccio formed the centre of the battle array, and its safety was intrusted to squadrons of the most gallant youths.[186]

Yet, most unhappily, every one of the rising republics immediately turned its activity against its neighbor; all was jealousy and hatred, and the exuberance of animal courage among the citizens spurred them to chivalrous battles, or to fight without benefit or purpose. This restless spirit and political blindness alloyed their *real love of freedom*, and made them more cruel tyrants to their weaker neighbors than the German emperors hitherto ever had been. They played over again the tragedy of ancient Hellas, with all the circumstances of inveterate hatred, unjust ambition, and atrocious retaliation, and thus called down upon themselves the terrible sword of Frederic Barbarossa, in 1154. The emperor was victorious; Milan was humiliated and destroyed; yet the heartless cruelty of the conqueror deprived him of the fruits of his triumph. The former oppressors became now the oppressed, and the iron rod of German despotism weighed heavily on Italy. Frederic was entirely ignorant of the great political development which had taken place beyond the Alps. The proud German prince was insensible to the beauty of Italian life and progress in civilization. In those lively, wealthy, and intelligent republicans, Barbarossa, cold, like the cuirass that covered his breast, saw nothing but insolent rebels, pilfering usurpers, who, during the disasters of the empire, had robbed their master, the Roman emperor, of his rights. His haughty bearing at the diet of Roncaglia; the inhuman treatment of Milan, Crema, and other captured cities; the extravagant interpretation of the concessions made; the unsparing rigor of the *podestas* or military governors, whom he imposed on the cities even most faithful to his cause, caused a general indignation throughout Italy. At last the fire broke out into an open flame, which blazed forth through all the cities of Lombardy, and extended to those of the marshes of Verona and Treviso, beyond the Adige. In April, 1167, the Lombard League of twenty-three cities laid the foundation of the independence of Italy.

407. II. Cities of the Lombard League, 1167–1210.—I. The Archbishopric of Mediolanum (Milan) was bounded on the north by the territory of Como, on the east by that of Bergamo, from which it was divided by the Adda; south, it touched the territories of Lodi and Pavia; and west, the Ticino separated it from Novara. The province of Milan was thus situated in the centre of the great plain of Lombardy, and watered by the *Lambro*, the *Olona*, and other tributaries of the Po. The great canal, *il Naviglio Grande*, united the Ticino with the Lambro, and flowed around the city. This great work, the most admirable hydraulic achievement of the middle ages, was undertaken by the Milanese at this period of commercial activity. The territory of Milan was divided into seven districts: 1, *Mediolanum*, with the capital of that name; 2, *Martesana;* 3, *Seprio;* 4, *Burgaria;* 5, *Bazana;* 6, *Triviglio;* and 7, *Staziona*, on the Lago Maggiore.

408. Milano, the populous and fortified metropolis, was rendered almost impregnable by the broad canals which protected the front of its immense walls. These were sixty feet in height, defended by many towers, battlements, and barbicans, rendering the approach extremely difficult. The only enemy whom the Milanese feared among so large a population was a famine. All the assaults of Frederic Barbarossa, in 1154 and 1162, were repelled. The proud emperor was thus obliged to transform the siege into a blockade, and cutting off the supplies from abroad, the starving multitudes within the walls were soon reduced to the last extremity. The haughty chivalry of Germany entered by the breach, and the hard-hearted monarch condemned the city to total destruction. This cruel and impolitic order was executed to the letter by the revengeful Italians of Lodi, Cremona, and Pavia, who rejoiced at the fall of their rival. Only the churches and convents were preserved; all other public and private dwellings, together with the numerous relics of Roman grandeur—such as temple-ruins, amphitheatres, and towers—disappeared entirely, and the plough was driven through the rubbish.[187]

Five years after this wanton demolition, the Lombards could bear their humiliation no longer; they rose in their might. The cities of Cremona, lately the bitter enemy of Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, and many others, signed the Lombard League against the German tyrant, sent off their militia to Milan, recalled its dispersed inhabitants, and began with true Italian enthusiasm its restoration. Soon the walls and towers of the new city rose more formidable than ever; and from that time it withstood all the attacks of its enemies

[186] This singular custom of the *carroccio*, which plays so prominent a part in the wars of the Italian Republics, was first introduced into Milan in 1039 by the unruly Bishop Heribert, during his contest with the nobles. By degrees every city adopted the carroccio, in imitation of the ark of the Israelites; it became a kind of palladium, the emblem of popular independence; and its loss in battle was considered as the greatest dishonor and national calamity.

[187] Milan has at present the aspect of a modern city; only eighteen weather-beaten marble columns in front of the church Sanct. Ambrogio, seem to have been spared, and remind us of the ancient capital of the Roman emperors in the fifth century.

Tritium (Trezzo), and *Vaprio*, on the Adda, were celebrated castles. *Rosiate*, *Binascum*, and *Melegnanum*, were boroughs in the south. *Lignanum* (Legnano), northwest of Milan, in the plain on which was fought, May 29, 1176, the decisive battle of Italian liberty. Frederic Barbarossa was there defeated by the citizens of Milan and their confederates. The brilliant squadrons of the Milanese youths—*le schiere della morte*—spurred against the German chivalry with such resistless fury that the whole hostile army was routed with tremendous slaughter. Old Barbarossa falling beneath his wounded steed, lay hidden among the slain, like Marshal Blücher at Ligny, 1815, and was with difficulty brought away by his faithful squires during the darkness of the night. While the joyful Italians were revelling after their victory, the vanquished emperor, in the disguise of a shepherd, passed their lines, and through by-paths succeeded in gaining Pavia, where his empress, Beatrix of Burgundy, and the court, were mourning his death. The whole German camp was taken; and the Italian prisoners and immense booty were recovered by the united Lombards, who by this blow terminated the long and bloody struggle in the peace of Constance, in 1183.

409. II. Bergonium (Bergamo), in a magnificent position, on a steep hill, in front of the Alps, and between the rivers Bremba and Serio, was one of the most active members of the Lombard confederacy. *Puntido*, west of Bergamo, was the convent where the treaty was signed by the *Rectors* or envoys of the cities, on the 7th of April, 1167.

III. Brexia (Brescia), east of Bergamo, still more celebrated by its heroic resistance during the siege by Frederic II. in 1252. The citizens defeated the Ghibelines in every sortie, and forced the emperor, with dishonor and loss, to raise the siege.

IV. Cremona, situated in a beautiful plain, and encompassed with ditches, walls, and towers, was earlier a Ghibeline city, which had faithfully adhered to the imperial party; but the haughty bearing and cruelty of its German *Podestà* so exasperated the hot-blooded Cremonese that they joined their arms to their brethren in the Lombard League in 1167. Soon, however, the old jealousies prevailed again, and the fickle Cremona ranged under the Ghibeline banner of Henry VI. against the Guelfic Republics, in 1195. *Curtis Nova* (Cortenuova), northeast of Cremona, where Frederic II., by skilful manœuvres, totally defeated the army of the Lombard League in 1237. The banner-carriage of the cities was lost, together with thousands of prisoners; and the Hohenstaufen star might again have arisen if the arrogance of Frederic, and his subsequent defeat before Brescia, had not clouded all the prospects of that incorrigible family.

410. V. Bononia (Bologna), the queen of the Romandiola (Romagna), south of the Po, was, after Milan, the strongest and most turbulent of the Italian Republics. Its fertile territory, watered by the Po and its tributaries, the *Rheno*, *Sarvana* and *Silaro*, embraced the counties, *Casalecchio*, *Pánico*, *Loglano*, *Medicina*, and *Argelata*, on the lower Po; and the warlike republic extended its dominion over all the smaller cities of Romagna (398).

Bologna was, during the middle ages, a splendid city. Situated at the northern base of Mount Apennine, it commanded a most delightful prospect towards the plain and the mountains. It was strongly fortified, and divided into four wards, the militia of which were led on by their respective banner-chiefs—*Gonfalonieri*. Frowning towers rose proudly above the palaces and churches in the interior Many of these strongholds have since been broken; but the *Asinelli Tower*, 380 feet high, and the somewhat lower *Garisenda*, both inclining several feet from their base, like the celebrated hanging tower of Pisa, to this day remind us of the republican times of old. Nor was Bologna less celebrated for its flourishing university, the first of modern Europe, where many thousands of students from north and west gathered to listen to the lectures of the great professors Irnerius, Bulgarus, Martinus de Gosi, Jacobus de Porta Ravennate, and Hugh Alberici, the able expounders of the Roman Law, which, after the discovery of the Justinian Pandects in 1137, began to be studied with renewed enthusiasm throughout all Italy. Bologna had already obtained its municipal independence by a charter from the emperor Henry V. in 1112, which granted it the privilege of coining money, and other important regalian rights. The citizens assembled in general comitia; they appointed their consuls and other magistrates. The nobles, who held feudal castles in the environs, were obliged to apply for citizenship in the town, and take up their residence among the burghers. These fierce republicans strenuously supported the Lombard League. They defeated King Enzio, the son of Frederic II., in the battle at Fossalta, in 1246, and kept the unhappy prince in captivity until his death, in 1272.

The factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelines proved the ruin of the prosperity and independence of Bologna. Ambitious and rival families sided under either banner. A private crime of the proud Lambertazzi, the head of the Ghibeline party, brought on the most frightful disasters.[188] The offended Geremei, the chief family of the Guelfs, drove the former, at the sword's point, out of the city, in 1274, with fifteen thousand of their partisans and defendants, who, finding support among the nobles in the mountains, led on by Guido da Montefeltro, Lord of Urbino, renewed the war, until Pope Nicholas III. procured the recall of the exiles.

411. VI.–XII. Venice, Vicenza, Padua, Trevizo, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza, took all a more or less active part in the Lombard League. At Venice, on the square of Saint Marc, the humbled Barbarossa bowed down before the Pope Alexander III., and concluded the armistice with the Republics in 1177, which was followed by their independence at the peace of Constance in 1183. On the plain of *Roncaglia*, east of Piacenza, the diets of the German kings and emperors were held in the presence of the feudatories and the deputies from the Italian cities. There laws were promulgated, and the feudal armies of Germany and Italy passed in review before the imperial tent. The splendid camps of so many thousands of princes and barons, adorned with shields, banners, and all the pomp of chivalry, extended for miles along the banks of the Nura and the Po. Religious processions al-

[188] Imilda de' Lambertazzi loved the young Boniface Geremei, whose family had long been separated by the most inveterate enmity from her own. During a secret interview, the lovers were surprised by the Lambertazzi, the brothers of the young lady. Imilda escaped, but the lover was stabbed to the heart by the poisoned daggers of the Lambertazzi. In her despair, Imilda returned; she found his body still warm, and a faint hope suggested the remedy of sucking the venom from his wounds. But it only communicated itself to her veins; and the two unhappy lovers were found by her attendants stretched lifeless by each other's side. So cruel an outrage wrought the Geremei to madness: they formed an alliance with the democratic party in the city, and with some neighboring republics: the Lambertazzi took the same measures among the nobility, and after the most frightful battle in the streets of Bologna of forty days' duration, wherein palaces and towers were stormed, and part of the city destroyed, all the Ghibelines were driven out, their houses razed, and their estates confiscated. [See the entertaining account of the revolution of Bologna, in Simonde de Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics*. Tome III., pp. 442 et seq.]

ternated with tournaments and banquets. From the Roncaglian plain the emperors generally went to *Monza*, near Milan, to take the iron crown of Lombardy, and disbanding the feudal armies they then returned to Germany. Such had been the custom for centuries, during the reign of the Saxon, Salian, Franconian, and Souabian dynasties, until the time of Frederic I., when the victory of the Lombard Republics occasioned a total change in the relations between Italy and the Germanic empire. Guelfic cities in the west were Cairium (Chieri), Asta (Asti), and Taurinum (Turin), which defended themselves against the imperial feudatories, the Marquises of Montferrat and Malaspina, and the Counts of Savoy and Saluzzo. They were therefore attacked by Frederic Barbarossa in 1154, and either demolished or given to the Marquis of Montferrat.

412. XIII. Terdona (Tortona), on the Scrivia, south of the Po, the faithful ally of Milan, was considered as the bulwark of the Guelfic cities. Situated on a steep height and strongly fortified, the heroic Tortonese withstood all the attacks of 100,000 Germans, and set a glorious example to the Lombard cities in their struggle for independence. Without relief from her allies, however, Tortona fell at last, in April, 1155, and was ruthlessly destroyed by Barbarossa; the proud ruins of the upper town still commemorate the fortitude and perseverance of the Italian Republicans of the twelfth century. XIV. Alessandria *della paglia* (the straw-thatched Alexandria) was built by the united efforts of the League, during the war, as a protection for Milan against the Ghibeline princes of Piedmont. That strong fortress is situated in an excellent military position at the junction of the *Tanaro* and *Bormida;* it received its name in honor of the Pope Alexander III. the head of the League, and in spite of the disdainful nickname of *della paglia*, it was speedily garrisoned by fifteen thousand combatants, who gallantly frustrated all the efforts of Frederic I. to destroy the rising city. XV. Como, and XVI. Lodi, though old enemies of Milan, were forced by their position to join the League: so were XVII. the fickle Vercelli, and XVIII. Novara, though they afterwards changed sides according to the interest of the moment. The League was soon strengthened by new members, viz. Mantua, important by its central position on the Adige, Ravenna, Rimini, Reggio, and Bobbio. All re-established their consular governments, and a kind of *federal diet* was assembled at Modena, composed of envoys from the various cities, who were styled *Rectors of the League.* But this appearance of a real federal union lasted only as long as the contest with Frederic Barbarossa, and dissolved itself quickly after the general peace of Constance in 1183.

413. III. Ghibeline Cities and Principalities in Northern Italy.—Pavia, the ancient capital of the Lombard kings (152), was the only one among the imperial or Ghibeline cities which remained the faithful ally of the Hohenstaufens, and even she was afterwards forced, by the preponderating influence of Milan, to side with the rest. *Como*, *Lodi*, *Cremona*, *Vercelli*, and *Novara* had the same fate; and only Parma, by its strength and position, was enabled more effectually to support the imperial cause, until she too, in 1248, by her rebellion, gave the sinking power of Frederic II. the last blow, from which it never rose again.

The following principalities were Ghibeline: I. The marquisate of Montferrat, in an important position between Asti and Pavia, rose from a small beginning, in the course of the tenth century, by donations of the emperors, to become one of the most distinguished families in the twelfth.[189] II. The margravate of Malaspina, south of the former, along Mount Apennine, embraced the important *Bobium* (Bobbio), on the upper valley of the Trebia, the defile of *Pontremoli*, and the *Lunisiana*, on the frontiers of Tuscany. By thus possessing the keys to the *Val d'Arno*, the Margraves of Malaspina held in their hands the balance of power between the Ghibeline chiefs in the north, and the rich Florentine Guelfs in the south; and they knew cleverly how to play the dice.

III. The county of Savoy, in the Alps. The history of the house of Savoy is one of the most interesting among the royal dynasties of Europe. By the eminent talents of the chiefs, and the unclouded success which attended their arms, they formed in the course of centuries that magnificent kingdom on both sides of the Alps and the shores of the Mediterranean, from which we in future hope and expect the deliverance and regeneration of Italy. The ancient Counts of Mauriana received from Henry V. of Germany the investiture of all Savoy as an imperial county. The counts successively extended their sway over parts of Burgundy and Piedmont, and possessed in the time of the Souabian dynasty the following provinces; A. North of the Alps; 1, the county of *Savoja*, with the city of *Chiambery*; 2, the county of *Tarantasia* (Tarantaise), commanding the defile over the Montem Maledictum (Lesser Saint Bernard), into the valley of Aosta; 3, the county of *Mauriana* (Maurienne), on the south, leading to the defile of Mount Cenis (155); 4–6, the baronies of *Bugey*, *Jays*, and *Aile;* 7, the county of *Waadt*,(Vaud) with parts of Lesser Burgundy, such as *Mouldon*, *Morat*, *Lausanne*, *Vivis* (Vevay), and the castle of *Chillon*, on the beautiful lake Leman; and 8, the duchy of *Chiablesa* (Chablais), on the southern banks of that lake.[190] B. South of the Alps; 9, the duchy of *Avosta* (Aosta), in the fertile valley of the Dora Baltea, with the city of *Castillione* and the castle of *Bardone* defending the descent to the plain of Piedmont; 10, the principality of *Intramonti* (Piedmont); and 11, the marquisate of *Susa*, at the foot of the Graian Alps. Such a union of provinces, commanding the defiles of the western Alps, placed the Counts of Savoy in hostile relations to their neighbors; but they defended their position with remarkable bravery and success. Count Amadeus III., the crusader, founded the splendid abbey of *Hautecombe*, on the Lake of Annecy, in Savoy. His son, Humbert III., the saint, compelled the Marquis of Saluzzo to acknowledge himself his vassal. He followed the banner of Frederic Barbarossa as feudatory of Burgundy, but when the scale of battle turned against the emperor, he kept aloof, and was punished with the loss of part of his dominions, and the destruction of Susa by the Germans in 1174, where the archives of the house of Savoy are said to have perished in the flames. His successors acted with admirable tact during the long struggle of the Guelf and Ghibeline parties; and though the dynasty of Savoy became split into two lines in 1285, the one in Savoy

[189] Conrad of Montferrat was the fellow-crusader of King Lion-Heart of England; a successor of that daring chief, Boniface of Montferrat, conquered the kingdom of Thessalonika in 1205 (354); and the unfortunate William of Montferrat, who died in 1292, was father-in-law to the Greek emperor, Andronicus Palaeologus.

[190] The shores of the lake were inherited by Count Peter of Savoy (1203–1268), a wise and chivalrous prince. He had long resided at the court of Henry III. of England, who, admiring his excellent qualities, made him Earl of Richmond, and gave him for his residence the palace called *Savoy House*, on the banks of the Thames. It was to the friendship of Richard of Cornwall, who was elected King of Germany, that Count Peter owed those extensive grants in Burgundy (Switzerland). Peter died at his favorite residence, the romantic castle of Chillon, in 1268, and lies buried in the abbey of Hautecombe. See interesting details in Johannes von Müller's *History of the Swiss Cantons*, Book I., chap. 16.

and the other in Piedmont, both were fortunately united again in 1363.[191]

414. IV. The Second Lombard League and the Ghibeline Principality of the Marca Trevisana, a. d. 1224–1268.—After the glorious peace of Constance, in 1183, Lombardy soon fell back into anarchy and civil feuds. The league was dissolved; the old animosities of the fiery republicans of so many contending cities broke forth with renewed fury. Milan again took the lead in the movement. Yet this time she suffered in her own bosom from intestine factions. Who could quell the hydra of civil discord, if not a distinguished foreign warrior, honest, impartial, unambitious? Such a chief, who, indifferent to the parties, would stand between them, and keep all alike down with the sword, the short-sighted Milanese believed they had found in Uberto Visconti, of Piacenza, whom they not only, in 1186, called to take the command of the republic, but even gave the formerly so odious name of Podestà—a name and office that had caused such general detestation throughout Italy during the reign of Frederic Barbarossa. The republic had scornfully rejected the good-natured and bluff German captains—now they chose the most reckless and unsparing of Italian tyrants. What a singular debility in human nature, and how often repeated in history! The Italians themselves call in their future oppressors, and give them the ominous name of *Podestà!* Milan, however, was at the height of her power; the number of her citizens was 200,000; she counted 13,000 private houses; her warlike nobility alone dwelt in sixty streets, all bristling with towers and battlemented palaces. The province of Milan itself furnished 240,000 combatants, and was defended by 150 castles, with adjoining boroughs. It was then that Milan, not content with the privileges obtained at the peace of Constance, and impelled by her hatred toward the family of the Hohenstaufens, placed herself at the head of *a second league* against Frederic II. All the cities of Central Lombardy, between the *Sesia* and the *Adige*, the Alps and the Ligurian Mountains—Pavia and Lodi, the subjects of Milan, Brescia, Bergamo, Piacenza, Mantua, Alessandria, and others, took up arms. Only Cremona and Parma remained still defenders of the empire. But the old spirit of independence no longer inspired the confederates; it was only a party struggle, fomented by violent Popes. The cities were defeated, and but for the rebellion of Parma in 1248, and the death of Frederic in 1250, the scale might yet have turned in favor of the Ghibeline arms. The cities of the March of Verona—*Marca Trevisana*—between the Adige, the Alps and the Adriatic—*Verona*, *Bassano*, *Vicenza*, *Trident*, *Padua*, and *Treviso* suffered a still greater defeat by the terrible Eccelino of Romano, the devoted Ghibeline feudatory of the Souabian dynasty. By extraordinary bravery, and unparalleled cruelty, he subdued the cities and put down the Guelfic party by the edge of the sword and the axe; and it was not until the year 1259 that a crusade preached by the pope put an end to the life and the tyranny of the monster, and liberated the shaken republics of northern Italy.

Yet the free constitutions could not be restored. Milan had already passed through another revolution, which placed the mechanics and lower classes, who formed an armed confraternity under the name of *Credenza di Sant' Ambrogio*, in opposition to the wealthy citizens—*La Motta*—and the nobles. Neither the podestà nor the consuls could restore order among the infuriated parties. A foreign prince, with his mercenary condottieri, was therefore called in, and the political power—*la signoria*—was intrusted to him for several years. These *signori* thus sprung up in every part of Lombardy and Romagna; surrounded by their men-at-arms—*lancie, barbute*—and a numerous infantry, they took possession of the castles, and obtaining the imperial vicariate from the German king for ready money, or the enfeoffment of the pope, they crushed the parties, together with the constitutions, and rendered themselves absolute sovereigns of the deluded commonwealths. Thus arose in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the principalities of the *Visconti* in Milan, the *Langoschi* in Pavia, the *Gonzaga* in Mantua, the *Este* in Ferrara, the *Della Scala* in Verona, the *Carrara* in Padua, the *Rusconi* in Como, the *Pichi* in Mirandola, the *Pii* in Carpi, the *Polenta* in Ravenna, the *Malatesta* in Rimini, the *Ordelaffi* in Forli, the *Manfredi* in Faenza, the *Alidosi* in Imola, the *Varani* in Camerino, the *Montefeltri* in Urbino, and others. The courts of these petty tyrants were the seats of learning, art, and elegance, on the one hand; and the most awful crimes and corruption on the other; the highest enjoyments of civilization alternating with the most violent catastrophes. The condottieri, with their hired bands of mail-clad men-at-arms, were as perfidious as the princes who had taken them into service, and they sometimes succeeded in mounting the throne themselves, as Francesco Sforza that of Milan in 1460. Only a few states, such as Venice, Florence, Genoa, and some smaller ones, defended the republican institutions, at least in the form, though they were not more fortunate than the others, and still more tyrannized by the fearful despotism of the *nobili*, as in Venice, by the anarchy among the civic classes in Florence, or the ambition and continual feuds of the aristocratical families in Genoa.

415. Guelfic and Ghibeline States of Tuscany.—The great contest between the Emperors and the Popes about the inheritance of the Countess Mathildis (312), had remained unsettled. The duchy of Spoleto, and the marches of Ancona, reverted to the church, but Tuscany, as an ancient fief of the empire, continued for a long time to be ruled by a marquis as imperial vicar, though the flourishing cities of that province organized themselves, in the spirit of the time, as independent republics. In these exertions they were encouraged by Pope Innocent III., who succeeded in forming a *Guelfic Confederacy* in Tuscany for the support of the Roman see, in imitation of that of Lombardy. The Tuscan republics were more attached to the Pope than the Lombards, and their league was expressly established *for the honor and aggrandizement of the apostolic see.* These cities were, *Florence*, *Pistoja*, *Lucca*, *Siena*, *Volterra*, and *Arezzo*, while *Pisa* remained strongly attached to the empire, and was considered as the head of the Ghibeline party in Tuscany. The feudatories and nobles who, by their opposition to the cities, appeared as zealous Ghibelines, were the count-palatines of Tuscia, on the southwestern coast of Massa and Carrara, the *Gherardeschi* and the *Ildebrandeschi*, on the coast, the *Uberti* and the *Pazzi*, in the upper Val d'Arno, the *Ubaldini* in the Mugello, the powerful *Guidi* in the Casentino, the *Tarlati* in the *Val di Chiana*, and many other noble families residing in their castles on both slopes of Mount Apennine.

416. I. The Republic of Florentia (Firenze), toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, was, by Mount Apennine,

[191] A detailed history of Savoy would be highly interesting. Under continual wars with the nobles of Dauphiné, the Swiss, and the house of Visconti, the Counts of Savoy nevertheless made the most important acquisitions: *Faucigny*, in 1233; *Béauge* and *Bresse*, 1285; *Ivrea*, in 1350. *Nizza*, and many other Italian cities, surrendered voluntarily to the distinguished Amadeus VII. Geneva placed herself under the protection of the powerful counts in 1401, and the Emperor Sigismond raised them to the ranks of *Dukes of Savoy* in 1416. A good history of Savoy is yet to be written.

separated on the north from the territory of Bologna, and on the east from Romagna; yet it possessed the counties of Mutilgnano and Mangona on its eastern slope. On the south it touched the republics of Arezzo and Siena, and on the west those of Pisa and Lucca. Its natural divisions were, on the east the valleys of the *Mugello* and *Casentino*, on the south the *val di Chiana* towards Arezzo, on the west the *val d'Elsa*, on the north the fiercely contested *val di Nievole* towards Lucca, and in the centre the fertile and beautiful valleys of the Arno, the Greba, and the Pesa. From the time of the death of the Countess Mathildis, in 1115, Florence and the other cities of Tuscany began to govern themselves as independent commonwealths, under the mighty protection of the popes. Florence had then a very limited territory—*Contado*—extending only a few miles round its walls; but the industry and speculative spirit of its citizens wonderfully enriched them. They had already commercial establishments in the Levant, in France, and in Flanders; they were money-lenders, jewellers, and goldsmiths. After having put an end to their rivalry with Fiesole on Mount Apennine by the destruction of that ancient city, the Florentines enlarged the circuit of their city in 1078; they defeated the imperial vicar and his knights at *Monte Cascioli*, in 1113, during the lifetime of the old countess, and soon appeared at the head of the Guelfic cities against the Ghibeline feudatories of Mount Apennine. This brilliant development of a community of merchants and mechanics, forced the nobles to seek their alliance, to sue for the citizenship, and to take up their residence within the walls of the town. Yet this otherwise invigorating union led to new internal disturbances, raised first in 1177 by the powerful family of the *Uberti*, and in 1215 by the *Buondelmonti* and *Donati*, which, after much bloodshed, and the destruction of the numerous towers and castles of these proud families in the city, terminated with the banishment of the whole Ghibeline party.[192]

All the attempts of the Ghibelines to return sword in hand were foiled, and the Florentines gradually became a stout, warlike people, who, not content with ruling over their community, marched boldly against Pistoja, Pisa, and Lucca. They likewise attacked the Ghibeline feudatories, the Ubaldini, and the Guidi, in the Apennines; in 1254, they took Volterra, and extended their commerce and industry with the success of their armies. Florence, however, in imitation of the Lombard republics, not secure under her consuls and *anziani*, placed a stranger as a condottiere, with his mercenary soldiery, at the head of her government. Another stranger, generally a neighboring nobleman, took the command of the civic companies of the *sestieri*, or wards. The victories of the brave King Manfred of Naples, in 1260, enlivened the hopes of the Ghibelines; they gathered their strength under the experienced Farinata degli Uberti, and defeated the Florentine army at *Monte Aperto*, with so tremendous a loss, that they victoriously took possession of Florence herself. The ascendency of the Florentine Ghibelines was, however, of short duration. They stood and fell with the Hohenstaufens, in Germany and Naples; the defeat and death of King Manfred, in 1266, and the still more tragical fate of the young and hopeful Conradino, in 1268, decided their overthrow and expulsion. The Guelfs, supported by King Charles of Anjou and Naples, now ruled the republic; but tranquillity was not restored, for the victors themselves divided into two hostile parties—the White and the Black—*i Bianchi ed i Neri*. The first, who formed the moderates, who desired a compromise with the unhappy Ghibelines, were in their turn expelled. Among them was the great statesman and greater poet Dante Alighieri, who, like most of the banished Whites, turned all his hope toward the generous German Emperor, Henry VII. of Luxemburg, and became a stout Ghibeline. In spite of all these commotions, Florence continued a populous and wealthy republic, more and more firmly consolidating its admirable democratic government. The city itself, situated on the beautiful banks of the Arno, became, during this interesting period, adorned with magnificent public buildings, the huge cathedral of *Santa Maria del Fiore*, of white and black marbles, the embattled *Palazzo Vecchio*, with its mighty tower, on the great square (1298), and other masterpieces of architecture, by Arnolfo di Lapo and Filippo Brunelleschi. Thus art and science went hand in hand with commerce and industry.[193] But the military honor of the Florentines suffered terribly by the numerous defeats which they sustained by the indifference or treachery of their condottieri or by the bustling indiscipline of their citizen-soldiers, who so often were prostrated by the lances of the Pisan chivalry.

417. II. The republic of Pisa extended from the *Val di Nievole*, along the lower Arno, to the coast of the Tuscan Sea. Its territory reached north to the river Macra, embracing, at times, the valley of *Lunigiana* and the wild region of *Garfagnana* on Mount Apennine, and south along the *Maremme* to the promontory of *Piombino*. Off the coast it possessed the smaller islands: *Melloria*, *Gorgona*, *Capraja*, *Planusa*, *Elba*, *Giglio*, and *Gianuli*, together with the southwestern part of *Sardinia*, and the eastern coast of *Corsica*. Pisa was situated on the banks of the lower Arno, four miles from *Porto Pisano* at the mouth of that river. The town was divided by the Arno into two nearly equal parts, connected by three bridges; the magnificent quays along the banks were lined with palaces, and in the interior the pilgrim of the middle ages admired a number of wonderfully beautiful buildings in the early Gothic architecture—the cathedral, baptistery, belfry and the Campo Santo—of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. More than 150,000 daring and active citizens, under their annual consuls and their bishops, hoisted their flag on every coast of the Mediterranean. About the year 1070 began her wars with the Genoese, which continued with various interruptions for more than two centuries, and ended with the downfall of noble and faithful Pisa. So strong were the Pisans at the time, that they sent an armament of three hundred ships of various sizes, having on board thirty-five thousand men and nine hundred horses, to the Balearic islands, which they conquered from the Arabs in conjunction with Count Raymondo IV. of Barcelona in 1117. Pisa took a glorious part in all the crusades on the coast of Syria, where she possessed factories and fortified bazaars. She remained the staunch ally of the Frederics during their good and evil fortune, but in 1282 she lost the great naval battle against the Genoese off the island of Melloria, in which, after the most desperate struggle, three thousand of her bravest warriors perished and thirteen thousand were carried prisoners to Genoa. Shortly after Corrado Doria attacked the Porto Pisano, at the mouth of the Arno, destroyed its towers, docks and naval establish-

[192] A nobleman of the family of the Buondelmonti had been betrothed to a young lady of the Uberti, whom he abandoned to marry another of the family of the Donati. The Uberti, resenting the insult, formed a conspiracy, and Mosca Lamberti exclaiming, *cosa fatta capo hà*, they assaulted and stabbed Buondelmonti on the bridge of Arno, and caused all Florence to rise in arms, supporting the one or the other party. See *Storie Fiorentine*, by Niccolò Machiavelli, Libro II., and Sismondi's *Italian Republics*, chap. XIII.

[193] During this brilliant period of Florentine history they first coined their *golden florins* of twenty-four carats, and the weight of a drachm, bearing the impression of John the Baptist, the patron of the city, and a lily, the device of Florence. The florin was then considered the finest coin in all Europe, and the Florentine merchants were flattered by princes and nations, enjoying every where extensive privileges and the highest reputation for integrity.

ments, captured its galleys, and sunk wrecks filled with stones at the entrance. From this blow unhappy Pisa never recovered. She lost her rank as a maritime power, after a glorious career of four centuries; Venice and Genoa were left alone to dispute for the naval supremacy of the Mediterranean, and after another century of the most astonishing display of faith and valor, brilliant victories and crushing defeats, Pisa bowed beneath the impending fate and opened her gates in 1405 to her mortal enemies—the Florentines.

418. III. The republic of Siena was bounded by Florence on the north, Pisa and the palatinate of Tuscia on the west, Arezzo on the east, and the papal states on the south. The city of *Sena* (Siena) on its hills in the centre of Tuscany, was one of the most picturesque towns of mediæval Italy. What traveller can without admiration and delight visit her venerable cathedral and other splendid churches, her *Piazza del Campo*, the forum of the ancient republic, with its huge city hall, and the *Mangia* tower, from the battlements of which he still discovers scores of embattled palaces and towers rising proudly above the mass of houses and streets below. The Sienese were likewise staunch Ghibelines. Siena extended her dominion over the *Maremme*, occupying the Tuscan palatinate, but she never became a naval power like Pisa. Her republican career was stormy, and after the fall of the house of Souabia in 1268, she soon fell under the Guelfic influence of Charles of Anjou at Naples.

419. IV. The republics of Arezzo and Lucca took likewise an active part in the wars and revolutions of the thirteenth century. The former as the retreat and asylum of the exiles from Florence; the latter, under its great citizen and chief Castruccio Castracani (1313–1328), renewing the drooping courage of the imperial party.

420. Other Cities, Castles, and Historical Sites in Tuscany.— *Vallombrosa*, the celebrated convent, was situated in a magnificent pine forest on the height of Mount Apennine, overlooking the upper valley of the Arno. The order of Vallombrosa was founded about the year 1039 by Giovanni Gualberto a young nobleman from Val di Pisa. The monasteries of Camaldoli, *San Romualdo* and *Paradisino*, were established by Saint Romuald, the founder of that order in 1012, among woody dells on the eastern slope of the mountain. *Campaldino* in the Casentino, where in the year 1289 the great battle was fought between the Guelfs of Florence and the Ghibeline exiles—*sbanditi*. Young Dante Alighieri, then still a Guelf, fought in the van of the cavalry and decided the victory for the Florentines. *Monte Aperto*, on the Arbia, east of Siena, where the Florentine democrats suffered the great defeat from the exiled Ghibelines and the German cavaliers of King Manfred, in 1265, with the loss of the carroccio, 10,000 slain and 30,000 prisoners. *Pistoja*, a beautiful city at the foot of the Apennine, where in 1296–1300 arose the feud between the *Bianchi* and *Neri* (White and Black), which spread to Florence and caused the exile of Dante and thousands of patriots. *Alto-Pascio*, a castle on the lake Fucecchio, where the Seignior of Lucca, Castruccio Castracani, by a shrewd stratagem, defeated the Florentine army in 1325. *Poggibonzi*, on the road to Siena, where, at the neighboring Buonconvento, the chivalrous and honest Emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg was poisoned in the sacrament by a monk, a. d. 1313. *Monte-Varchi*, in the Val di Chiana, *Monte-Murlo*, near Pistoja, *Serravalle*, *Monte Catini* and *Monte Sumano*, the latter in the beautiful Val di Nievole, were all strong castles and fortified boroughs, of melancholy memory to the Florentines, who there suffered the most disgraceful defeats from the Ghibelines of Pisa, or from their own exiled nobility. *Portus Liburni* (Livorno, Leghorn), on the coast opposite to the isle of Melloria, was then a small and insignificant harbor.

VII. Supremacy of the Roman See under Pope Innocent III.

421. Extent and Acquisitions.—The Sovereignty of the Church, for which Gregory VII. labored and died, was at last attained by Innocent III. at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This young and ambitious pope (1198–1216) renewed all the arrogant pretensions of the Roman See to the pretended donations of Constantine, Pepin and Charlemagne. The circumstances of the time were favorable, during the minority of Frederic II. The duchy of *Spoleto*, the March of *Ancona*, and the greater part of *Romagna*, as allodial possessions of Countess Mathildis, were occupied by the pope, who not being strong enough to keep such extensive territories under the Keys of Saint Peter, granted them as fiefs to the Marquis of Este. Thus the temporal sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome at last extended over the greater part of Central Italy, entirely independent of the German empire.

422. Provinces and Cities.—I. Patrimonium Sancti Petri (311) consisting of, A. The city of Rome with its environs; B. *Tuscia Romana*, north of the Tiber; C. *Sabina*; D. *Campania* (the valley of Ferentino and Anagnia); E. *Maritima*, the Pontine Swamps and the coast of Ostia, with the counties of *Savelli* and *Frangipani*. *Astura*, a city on the seashore, where the unhappy young Conradino of Souabia, after his defeat at Tagliacozzo in 1268, on his flight was betrayed and captured by the perfidious Giovanni Frangipani of Astura. II. The duchy of Spoleto with the cities of *Spoleto*, *Perugia* and *Assissi*, with the sepulchre of the fanatic Saint Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order of Mendicant Monks in 1210. Near Bibbiena, in the high range of the Apennines, stands the famous Convent of Laverna, still inhabited by a host of his Capuccin disciples. III. The March of Ancona, on the east of the Apennines, with the counties of *Montefeltro*, *Brancaleone*, *Fabriano*, and *Varani*. *Ancona* was then a powerful commercial city, with a republican form of government and the most friendly relations to the Emperors of Constantinople. Being a stronghold of the Guelfs and a dangerous rival of Venice, Ancona was in 1174 blockaded by the Venetian fleet, and at the same time closely besieged by the imperial army of Frederic Barbarossa, commanded by the jolly Archbishop Christian of Maintz. But the citizens defended themselves with heroical fortitude, and though suffering from the continual assaults of the drunken Germans, and from the most fearful famine in the city, yet they alike victoriously repelled the foes without and within, and on the approach of the army of the Lombard League, the bragging prelate raised the siege and made a speedy retreat.[194] IV. The province Romandiola (Romagna), north of the March of Ancona,

[194] The Archbishop of Maintz is an interesting specimen of a prelate of the twelfth century. His holiness read the mass with great dignity; he spoke eloquently the *German, French, Dutch, Greek, Lombard*, and *Chaldaic* languages. He mounted his war-steed like the boldest knight; wore a purple garment over his mail-armor, a golden helmet on his head, and brandished a heavy battle mace with iron spikes in his hand. He had slain nine enemies in battle, and as a severe judge had himself knocked out the teeth of numerous malefactors in the tribunal. The ecclesiastics and women of his camp were so well drilled in sieges that they had stormed and taken several almost impregnable castles; nay, it was even said that fair ladies and fleet horses were more expensive to the jolly archbishop than the whole imperial court to Frederic Barbarossa. See for curious details, Raumer's Hohenstaufen, Vol. II page 237.

with the counties of *Traversaria*, *Argenta*, *Bagnacavallo*, *Barbiano*, *Britonoro*, and *Malatesta*, and the small quiet Republic of *San Marino*, still existing to the present day. Cities were *Rimini*, *Ravenna*, *Sarsina*, *Favenza*, and *Imola*. The bold unruly character of the Romagnoles gave the popes more trouble than pleasure at the acquisition of that distant province. V. The city and territory of *Benevento* in the kingdom of Naples.

VIII. THE ANJOU DYNASTY IN NAPLES.

423. Conquest of Naples and Downfall of the Souabian House.—Neither the talents of Frederic II. nor the chivalrous bravery of King Manfred, his son, nor the youthful enthusiasm of his nephew, Conradino, were able to save the doomed house of Hohenstaufen. It was crushed by the inveterate hatred of four successive popes; and the invasion of Naples by Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, brought the fickle Neapolitan people under a French dynasty, that for nearly two centuries—1266–1442—contributed more to its corruption and misery, than to its civilization and prosperity. The Sicilians, however, soon rid themselves of the French adventurers by the massacre at Palermo, in 1282, where thousands of Frenchmen perished under the daggers of the insulted and oppressed islanders. Every town in Sicily (except *Sperlenga*) followed the bloody example of the capital; the tyranny of Charles the Butcher was overthrown, and the Sicilians, calling to their assistance Don Pedro III. of Aragon, transferred the crown of Sicily to him as the heir of the unhappy house of Hohenstaufen.[195]

The kingdom of Naples never enjoyed so tranquil and prosperous a reign as that of Frederic II. The active and enlightened emperor resided mostly in his hereditary kingdom, which he governed with all the affection and devotedness of a native prince. Art and science, agriculture and commerce, administration and army—attracted alike his attention and solicitude; but the institutions which his genius erected for the welfare of his beloved Naples remained undeveloped in consequence of the convulsions during the latter part of his reign, and were almost entirely destroyed by the subsequent invasion of the French.

424. Cities and Historical Sites.—Naples, then already the immense and populous capital of the kingdom, was embellished and strengthened by Frederic, who built the celebrated *Castello del Uovo*, now used as a state prison for Italian patriots by the despicable King Bomba. In 1224, he founded a university on the plan of that of Bologna, and improved and enlarged the medical college at Salerno. At both places, Frederic, in a time of superstition and ignorance, formed museums of art and antiquities, collections of coins and manuscripts, which, unfortunately, during the tumults of the French dominion, were eventually dispersed and lost. On the market-place of Naples—*Mercato del Carmine*—took place the 25th October, 1268, the unjust execution of the young Conradino of Souabia, with his illustrious companions in arms—German princes, Ghibeline nobles and citizens of Pisa, in the presence of Charles of Anjou and his French court. On the spot stands now the Church del Carmine, built by the sorrowing duchess Elizabeth, in memory of her son.[196] *Nocera de' Pagani*, south of Mount Vesuvius, *Luceria* and *Foggia*, in the Apulian plain, were Saracen colonies, inhabited by fifty thousand brave Arab horsemen and archers, who rendered the emperor and his son, Manfred, important service during their continual wars with the popes. At the neighboring *Castello Ferentino* Frederic II., weary of misfortune and of life, died in the arms of his beloved Bianca and his son Manfred, on the 13th of December, 1250. He lies buried in the cathedral of Palermo, and his body was still in perfect preservation when the sarcophagus was opened in 1783. On the plains of *Grandella*, near Benevento, Charles of Anjou gained the battle and the kingdom, on the 26th of February, 1266, against King Manfred, who there fell amongst heaps of slain Frenchmen. Between *Tagliacozzo* and *Alba*, on the plain of *Scurcola*, in the Abruzzi, was fought the last battle of the Hohenstaufens, on the 23d of August, 1268, in which Conradino and his Souabian chivalry were routed by King Charles of Anjou, by a stratagem of the old French crusader, Alard de Saint-Valery, and the bravery of William of Villehardoin, the Prince of Morea (358), who had followed the banner of the French usurper with all his vassals. A ruinous chapel of *Santa Maria della Vittoria* still stands on the banks of the rivulet *Salto*, the scene of the defeat. Conradino, separated from his friends, fled in disguise across the mountains to *Astura*, on the sea-shore, where he was betrayed by the Roman noble Frangipani, and delivered into the hands of Charles. Thus terminated the German dominion in Italy, and when the Lombard and Tuscan republics began to feel the weight of the French yoke, the Sicilian massacre, the capture of the French fleet off Messina by the Catalan Admiral Roger de Loria, and the subsequent death of Charles of Anjou, in 1284, restored the equilibrium, and left the Italians for two centuries in the enjoyment of their national liberty.

[195] Interesting details on the history of Sicily are found in Michele Amari's eloquent *Guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, lately published in Florence.

[196] In the subterranean vault of the church, the traveller still beholds a marble slab on the wall, with a black-letter inscription, indicating the sepulchre of Conradino and his faithful friend and fellow-sufferer, Count Frederic of Anspach.

CHAPTER X.

EUROPE, WESTERN ASIA, AND NORTHERN AFRICA.

THEIR POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY FROM THE CLOSE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH. A. D. 1300–1453.

425. General Remarks.—The religious fanaticism of the crusades had cost Europe more than five millions of men, and a vast number of its noblest families. Yet the consequences of those bloody wars in the East and on the Baltic were nevertheless of high importance for the future development and progress of the European society. In the north the *Danish* and *Teutonic* priests and knights extended the Christian religion among the heathen *Sclavonians*, *Letts*, and *Finns*, and flourishing cities arose on the banks of the Vistula and on the shores of the Baltic. In the East, though the crusaders, vanquished by the scimitar of the *Mamlukes*, were driven from all their conquests, they brought home with them multifarious knowledge, enlightened views and liberal opinions, gained by their intercourse with the Saracens, which were cherished in the commercial cities of Italy, and the newly established universities of France and Germany, whence they spread through all classes of society and began to prepare those reforms in Church and State which later marked the new era of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the commencement of the crusades toward the close of the eleventh century, the

mass of the people of Europe were either vassals or serfs: the incessant barbarous warfare between the feudal lords was particularly oppressive to the poor cultivators of the soil. Their huts were pillaged and their cattle driven away; their fields ravaged and themselves massacred from one end of Christian Europe to the other. A contemporaneous historian therefore says with justice, "that the *treuga Dei*—a truce of God then often proclaimed—did not produce so beneficial a calm as followed the departure of the thousands of crusaders—for then the whole earth seemed to be tranquillized at once." It was during that period of migrations that the free cities began to rise. Italy led on the van with her brilliant republics; France soon followed with her *Communes*, and Germany closed the rear with her *freie Reichstädte* or free imperial cities, and her Hanseatic League. So many feudal lords being withdrawn to the Levant, some cities disengaged themselves from their vassalage to the nobles; others following the example, arose against their bishops (307); they obtained charters from royal authority, conferring the guaranty of personal liberty on the citizens—the right of acquiring and disposing of property—the freedom from arbitrary taxation—the right of municipal administration, and the power of raising their own military force for the defence of their city and its precincts. Thus rose the third estate—*le tiers état*, or popular representation, by which the kings obtained a balance against the power of the feudal lords, and which mainly contributed to the dissolution of the feudal system toward the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The nobles in some countries, such as France, became subjects. The cities in the Low Countries and Germany advanced in industry and commerce; their wealth and power inspired them with sentiments of independence and liberty, and fostered that enthusiasm for science, art, mechanics and manufactures, which completed the emancipation of Europe.

426. During the era of the Crusades all nations had travelled and mixed; they had united together on the same battle-field under the banner of the Cross. In the following period, on the contrary, they became again occupied with their internal organizations at home, or in quarrelling with their neighbors; and no *universal* movement characterized the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The history of the world appears now under quite another aspect. The dark ages are at length passed—they lie behind us—we recognize the dawn of our own modern day in the ideas, language, manners, and wants of the nations; it is the era of *renaissance*, revival! The sources of history now send forth abundant streams; and we are able to trace out the events, and delineate the leading characters of the times. Germany separates herself from *Italy;* and during the rivalry between the *Austrian* and *Luxemburg* dynasties, her princes and prelates assert their territorial independence on the decline of the imperial power, whilst the cities, by their armed confederacies, control the influence of both princes and emperors. In France, on the contrary, the kings of the *Valois* family aspire boldly to a monarchical sovereignty, by the support of their parliaments, their *États généraux*, and by the redemption of the large fiefs, which now revert to the crown, and consolidate the household power of the kings.

427. In England, the *Magna Charta libertatum*, and the Houses of Lords and Commons subsequently established, circumscribe the despotic tendencies of the *Plantagenet* kings, while the glorious exertions of the *Norman* knighthood, and the *Saxon* yeomanry on the battle-fields of *Crecy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*, cement the fraternity and union of those noble races, and the bloody wars of the *Roses* restore the equilibrium between kings, aristocracy, and commoners. In the North, the Scandinavian nations stop their dissensions and attempt to join hands in the *Calmarian* Union. The Lechian and Lithuanian races do the same, and Poland becomes a mighty, conquering kingdom. Russia awakens from her long lethargy, and throws off the degrading yoke of her *Mongol* tyrants. Portugal, driving the *Moors* back to Africa, extends her dominion on that continent, and discovers unknown islands in the Atlantic Ocean. Spain, uniting her *Christian* kingdoms, conquers the *Mohammedan Granada*, and a New World beyond the seas, and prepares for the great part she is to perform under Charles V. The Popes of Rome, urged by the enlightened spirit of the times, secure that influence, by the alliance of the *Italian States* at home, which they have lost by the ecclesiastical councils of *Constance* and *Basle*, beyond the Alps. Hungary generously fights the battles of life and death on the Danube against the *Ottoman Turks*, whilst the Byzantine empire sinks beneath her destiny; yet the fugitive Greeks carry her language and literature to Italy, France, and Germany, where the era of learning and research begins.

Thus all the nations of the West have, more or less, directly profited by the crusades. Only those of the East, after their temporary victory, sank back into the sloth, mental ignorance, and moral degradation of Islamism, and crouched beneath the despotic dominion of Circassian Mamlukes, of Tartar-Mongol conquerors, and of Turkish Sultans.

428. Toward the middle of the fifteenth century, we find the following twenty-six independent states, or groups of states, in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, with whose description we shall close our essay on the Historical Geography of the Middle Ages. Five states are situated in the north of Europe: I. The kingdom of *England* and *Ireland;* II. The kingdom of *Scotland;* III. The three northern powers of the *Calmarian Union;* IV. The kingdom of *Poland* and *Lithuania;* V. The grand duchy of *Moskou*. Four states in Central Europe; VI. The kingdom of *France;* VII. The *Romano-Germanic* empire; VIII. The confederacy of the *Swiss* cantons; IX. The kingdom of *Hungary*. Eleven states in Southern Europe; X. The kingdom of *Portugal;* XI. That of *Castile;* XII. That of *Aragon;* XIII. That of *Navarra;* XIV. The Mohammedan kingdom of *Granada;* XV. The *Italian* principalities and republics; XVI. The *Papal* State; XVII. The kingdom of *Naples;* XVIII. The *Frankish* principalities in Greece; XIX. The expiring *Byzantine* empire; XX. The Porte of the *Ottoman Turks*, extending through Asia Minor. In Western Asia, three states; XXI. The Grand Comnenian empire of *Trebizond;* XXII. The empire of the *Mongols;* and XXIII. The Sultanate of the *Circassian Mamlukes* in Syria and Egypt; and finally, three states in Northern Africa; XXIV. The kingdom of *Tunis;* XXV. That of *Tlemesen;* and XXVI. That of *Fez* and *Morocco*.[197]

[197] Compare the accompanying map, No. 6. We have been obliged, on account of the narrow space allotted to us, to confine the VII. and VIII. periods, announced in our introductory chapter (2), to a more limited geographical description of Europe during the fifteenth century than we had intended. For more complete historical details on the progress of the constitutions and organizations of the times, we must refer the student to the works of Gibbon, Hallam, Lingard, Leo, Schlosser, Rehm, Rühs, Michelet, Sismondi, and others.

I. NORTHERN EUROPE.

I. The Kingdom of England and Ireland.

429. Acquisitions of the Plantagenet Dynasty: I. Ireland.—The conquest of the southeastern coast of Ireland by Henry II., in 1172, did not promote the civilization and happiness of the Irish nation (283). The seeds of discord, violence, and misery had been sown only more profusely in that beautiful but unhappy island. They seem to have partaken of the natural productiveness of the soil, and to have borne abundant harvests. From the departure of Henry II. from Ireland, in 1173, to the wars of the Roses in 1460, a period of nearly three hundred years, the history of that country presents only a long train of afflictions, of tyranny, suffering, and awful crimes. No history of any other of the mediæval nations of Europe affords a parallel to it! The island was entirely neglected by the English kings. The English delegates with royal powers whom they sent over were either too arrogant and violent in their administration, and too much disposed to enforce obedience, or too incompetent to effect the tranquillity of the country, from want of means. The proud English barons despised the native chiefs; and instead of gaining their respect and good will, they only inspired them with feelings of mortal hatred. In the whole northwest and south, the unsubdued Irish clans continued their vindictive wars, which were often fomented by the discontented English barons themselves, who, renouncing the allegiance to their native kings, joined the Irish, and adopted their manners, dress, and habits; thus the Celts, the ancient settlers, and the new comers, were enveloped in eternal contentions, violence and crime.[193] Whilst the Roman Church grasped at the lands, and enriched its fat prelates by donations and exactions, the necessities of the English kings compelled them to demand exorbitant supplies, which were spent in the wars on the Continent of France. The feudal laws of England and the customs of the native Irish were in continual conflict, and, consequently, the administration of justice was generally nothing else than the power of the strongest. The English territory, instead of extending into the interior, and embracing the whole island, receded towards the eastern coast; and the English province of *Pale*, which, during the twelfth century, had still included *Carrickfergus*, *Belfast*, *Armagh*, and *Carlingford*, left these places abandoned and in ruins beyond its boundaries toward the middle of the fifteenth. Nay, the position of the English had become entirely defensive, and it was only by the erection of strong castles in the counties of *Louth*, *Meath*, and *Kildare*, that the English border-wardens were enabled to check the incursions of the native Erins. *Dundalk* in the county of *Louth* was then the farthest fortress toward the north. The boundary line to the south of Dublin city, beyond which the king's writ was a dead letter, was fixed as far as *Tallaght* by the stream of the *Dodder*, a rivulet within three miles of Dublin, and thence by a trench with redoubts to *Newcastle* on the borders of *Kildare*; all the district to the south of this line, except a narrow band along the sea-coast to *Bray*, being in the undisputed possession of the Irish, two families of whom, the O'Birnes and the O'Tooles, asserted and maintained the rank of independent princes throughout the southern part of Dublin county and the mountainous district of *Winchiligo* since designated as the county of Wicklow. So powerful were the Irish chiefs during this period that their *cumrick* or protection was anxiously sought for by the English settlers within the borders of Pale, and secured by the payment of an annual tribute called *Black-rent*. Nor did the condition of Ireland become more tolerable after the close of the civil wars in England in 1485. Perkin Warbeck, the impostor, found a wide field for his extravagancies in Ireland, and it was not until after the most sanguinary defeat of the Irish at *Knoc-tuadh*, near Galway, in 1504, where they lost nine thousand slain against the Earl of Kildare and the English Barons, that beholding all their exertions of throwing off the yoke failing, their spirit of rebellion and self-reliance began to decline and the silence of the grave-yard for a length of time succeeded to the fierce yells of the battle-field.[199]

430. The most powerful English families in Ireland were the *Lacys* in the county of Meath, the *Fitzgeralds* in Kildare, the *Howards* of Caterlagh, the *Hastings*, *Valences* and *Grays* in Wexford, the fierce *Butlers* of Tipperary often siding with the Irish chiefs against the royal government; the *Talbots* of Waterford and the *Fitz-Stephens* of Cork in the south. In the north and west of the island, were the seats of the native princes, the *O'Neals*, the *Tyr-Conells* and the *Tyr-Owns* in Ulster; the still more turbulent *O'Conners* with their followers, the *Clan Donells*, the *O'Kelleys*, the *M'Dermots*, the *O'Mayles*, and the *O'Flairts* in Connaught, who being in the English interest followed the royal banner against the *M'Burghs* and the *O'Brians* in Munster and the *O'Carrols* in Louth. Yet the complications became the more inextricable, because the fiercest *Canfinnies* were residing on the borders of the English province or even within its precincts; these were the *O'Tooles* in the mountains, south of Dublin, and the *O'Moores* on the borders of the county of Kilkenny. The virulence of civil discord was still further augmented by religious controversy, and Henry VIII. attempted in vain to diminish the Papal power in Ireland as he had done successfully in England.

431. II. The counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland. These provinces not mentioned in the Doomsday-book of William the Conqueror, were long English fiefs held by the crown of Scotland (103, 284), until they were given back by King William the Lion, in 1175, after his defeat and capture at *Alnwick* in Northumberland. Cumberland was in 1237 finally annexed to the crown of England by Henry III.; Westmoreland passed to the Cliffords. But the feuds between the hostile neighbors, English and Scots, continuing for centuries, both counties, as well as Northumberland, were constantly the scene of contention, rapine and bloodshed. Agriculture became neglected and the cattle were the chief

[193] See the melancholy proofs in Thomas Moore's History of Ireland. Philadelphia, 1843. on every page.

[199] What a frightful picture does Thomas Moore give of the state of Ireland in the years of the Reformation 1516–1517. "The Lord Deputy Gerald, son and successor of the Earl of Kildare,—says the historian,—lost no time in following the example of his father. He attacked the country of Hugh O'Reilly, stormed and razed the castle of *Cavan*, and having slain O'Reilly himself, and many of his followers, chased the rest into their inaccessible fastnesses, and burned and ravaged their country. He then made an inroad into *Imaly*, where he slew Shane O'Toole, a chieftain of the mountainous district, and sent his head to the mayor in Dublin, (A. D. 1516.) Then advancing his standard into *Ely O'Carrol*, he took and demolished the castle of *Limevan*, surprised *Clonmel* and returned loaded with trophies and spoil! He then (A. D. 1517) marched into *Lecale*, took by storm the castle of *Dundrum*, defeated Phelim MacGenis, putting to death a number of his followers. From thence the Lord Deputy continuing his course into *Tyrone*, took and burnt the castle of *Dungannon*, and spread the horrors of fire and war throughout *the whole of that territory*. If such was the condition of the districts on the *Eastern* coast, within the limits of the *Pale* or English territory of Ireland, what must have been the feuds and horrors of the *Northern* and *Western* counties among the savage Irish clans themselves.—*History of Ireland*, page 399.

property of the people; castles and towers were erected in every strong position. The borderers acted mostly as light cavalry, called *prickers*. They rode small but nimble and well-trained horses, and were accompanied by warriors on foot who used the long-bow. This unsettled state along the borders prevailed through the whole period of the middle ages and down to later times.

III. The island of Man (224, 300), the Hebrides, and other western islands, had, in 1266, been ceded by the Norwegian King Magnus Lagabæter to Scotland. Baliol surrendered them in 1334 to Edward III., together with the city and county of Berwick, the bulwark of Scotland, which had rendered such capital service for centuries; yet the brave Scots soon after took it back again.

432. IV. Wales had in part maintained its independence from the times of William the Conqueror to Edward I.—1276–1283. Its mountainous and rugged territory was divided into several principalities, the most important of which were *Aberfraw* (Gwyned) in the north, and Powys (now Montgomeryshire) in the centre. Only the southeastern more open parts of the peninsula had earlier been occupied by Norman barons, who secured their possessions by numerous border castles towards the mountains. The Welsh, in their rude independence were divided into three classes: 1, the king—*Brenin*—and royal family; 2, the freemen—*Breyr*—and the unfree—*Bilain* or *Taeawg*. The king was surrounded by his officers—*Disdain*—among whom were the chaplain and the favorite bards. Wales was divided into *Cantrefs* and *Cymmwd*, answering to the natural limits of the narrow valleys, separated by ridges of the mountains. Edward I., at the head of a brilliant feudal army, soon forced the Welsh prince, Llewellyn, whom he had chased from one stronghold to another, to surrender and pay homage to the English crown. Yet the arrogant behavior of the British barons who were placed as governors in the pacified provinces, drove the fierce Welsh to despair. They rushed to arms, stormed the castle of *Hawarden*, near Chester, on the river Dee, and cut down the garrison to a man. The revenge of Edward was terrible. Llewellyn fell heroically fighting in battle; his brother David was tried before the peers of England, and most unjustly condemned to death. All the Welsh nobility then submitted to the conqueror; the laws and administration of England, with sheriffs and other officers of justice, were established in the principality, which, in spite of the mortal hate of the Welsh people, was divided into shires and baronies, and granted to the Clares, Pembrokes, Spencers, Bohuns, Grays, and other chivalrous nobles.

V. Scotland.—*Edinburg*, *Stirling*, *Perth*, the *Lowlands* and Border counties were temporarily occupied by the English during the dispute between John Baliol of Galloway and Robert Bruce of Annandale—1289–1307—about the succession to the Scottish throne. But the brilliant victory of Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, June 24th, 1314, against Edward II. and the English chivalry, secured the independence of Scotland, and of all the conquests that had cost so much blood and treasure, nothing remained except the border fortress Berwick-upon-Tweed.

VI. Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Normandy, Poitou, and Aquitaine, with *Auvergne* and *Gascogne*, were, during the reign of Henry II., united with the English crown, partly by inheritance of the Plantagenet dynasty, partly by the marriage of that prince with Eleanor of Poitou. Yet we have already seen the fate of these ephemeral acquisitions (386, 387). The later conquests in France by Edward III. and Henry V., glorious as were the victories gained on French battle-fields, brought England no real advantage; and of all her territories beyond the Channel, there remained, in the year 1453, only the county of Calais, on the coast of Artois, with the important city of *Calais*, the borough of *Oye*, and the castles of *Guisnes* and *Ardres*.

433. Internal Condition during the War of the Roses.—The changes which took place in the political and constitutional history of England, from the times of William the Conqueror to those of Henry VIII., are far more important than those of her historical geography. The counties and their subdivisions remained the same; yet they were augmented by the thirteen shires of Wales. The ecclesiastical division of England was in two archbishopries:—I., Provincia Eboracensis, with the archiepiscopal see of *Eboracum* (York), and the suffragans of *Durham* and *Carlisle*; and II., Provincia Cantuariensis, with the see *Cantuaria* (Dorovernum) or Canterbury, and the suffragans: *Lincoln*, *Northwicum*, *Ely*, *Londinum*, *Cicestria* (Chichester), *Vintonia* (Winchester), *Sarum* (Salisbury), *Bathonia* (Bath) and *Welles* (Wells), *Exonia* (Exeter), *Wigorn* (Worcester), *Hereforde*, *Licidfeld* (Lichfield); and in Wales *Llandaff*, *Menevia* (Saint Davids), *Bangor*, and *Saint Asaph*. The cathedrals of *York*, *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, *Lichfield*, and many others, stand as the noblest monuments of Norman architecture, which was carried to its perfection during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Celebrated convents and monasteries were *Tornesse* and *Carthmell* in Westmoreland; *Lindisfarne* and *St. Cuthbert*, in Northumberland; *Cruland*, *Edmundsbury*, and *Bardenea*, in East Anglia; *St. Albans*, *Westminster*, and *Readinga*, near London; *Bangor*, *Winloch*, and *Caermardon*, in Wales.

Agriculture, navigation, commerce, and mechanics, were much neglected in Old England; the island suffered often from famine. The products for export were lead, tin, butter, skins, and principally wool. A company formed itself in 1296 in the wool trade, the *merchant adventurers*, who attempted to deprive foreigners, and principally the Hansé towns, on the Baltic, of their exclusive privileges. The greatest merchants in England were foreigners; those of Lombardy lived in a very luxurious manner, and brought popular vengeance upon themselves by their heartless usury; such as the *Caurisini* of Rome, who charged sixty per cent. interest. The commerce with Germany was often interrupted by piracies, which the English during the civil wars considered as quite a lucrative and regular profession. Edward III. called Flemish weavers into the island, prohibited the use of foreign manufactures, and expelled with cruelty the Jews in 1290. But all these arbitrary measures were fatal to the prosperity of the country; the English nation was too much averted from the arts of peace by the wars on the continent; civil dissensions, religious persecution against the Lollards, the followers of Wicliffe, and the rancor of faction among the nobles at home, produced the same baneful effect. The period from the year 1399 to 1453 is eventful in foreign wars, brilliant victories, civil discord, and national calamities. The doubtful title of Henry IV. of Lancaster gave rise to that struggle which only terminated with the battle of Bosworth. In these contests the wealth of England was wasted, and her nobles slain. Eighty princes of the royal blood, and thousands of her barons and knights, perished either on the battle-fields or on the block during the war of the Roses. The most astonishing changes took place in the territorial possessions of the great families; many became extinct, and their estates passed into other hands. The Yorks, the Howards,

the Hastings, the Beauchamps, the Beauforts, the Somersets, the Surreys were swept away. The powerful Percys of Northumberland, the first and the last on the battle-fields, succeeded in weathering the storm. The Stanleys, Chandos, Danburys and Willoughbys rose in the sunshine of the Tudor favors. The population was much reduced; the total number of inhabitants in England, in 1485, was not more than three millions; it was distributed in a very different way from what it is at present; *Lancashire* and *Cumberland* were thinly peopled, while London and Westminster did not contain more than sixty or seventy thousand souls. Many towns had been changed into villages, others were levelled to the ground; large tracts of country were laid waste, yet it would be incorrect to imagine that nothing was gained from those fierce contentions. They were the precursors of the rapid improvements of the new era which dawned on England at the accession of Henry of Tudor, in 1485.[200]

434. Remarkable Cities and Historical Sites.—London, in the county of Middlesex, was, towards the close of the fifteenth century, still a city of no great extent and population. It continued to be inclosed within its old walls and moats, and reached from Tower-hill, on the east, to the tower of Montfichet, on the Fleet-ditch, west, where it bordered on the large suburb of Farringdon. Eight gates[201] opened upon the Moorfields and the scattered villages of *Mary-le-bone*, *St. Giles*, *Islington*, *Clerkenwell*, *Shoreditch*, *Bethlehem*, *Radcliff* and *Blackwell*, in the environs. Old London Bridge was the only communication between the city and *Southwark*, likewise a small town on the *Lambeth* moor. London had yet few public buildings besides its numerous churches, convents, hospitals, and other religious houses. The *Temple*, formerly belonging to the knights templars, the palaces of *Savoy* (413), *Durham* and *Scotland*, *White Hall* and *Westminster*, lay all on the Strand, along the Thames, at a distance of nearly four miles from the city gate. The streets were narrow, dark, muddy, and full of pits and sloughs. The houses consisted of plaster and timber, covered with thatched roofs, having each story overhanging that immediately beneath. Only the nobility had some large gloomy residences, where they displayed their extravagant magnificence in a half-barbarous style. The Plantagenet kings resided usually at Westminster, and Saint Peter's Abbey was the place of their coronation. The large hall (Westminster Hall) built by William Rufus, was pulled down and rebuilt by Richard II., such as we see it at present. The old Westminster Abbey of Edward the Confessor having been burned in 1087, was rebuilt during the reign of Henry III., but not finished until long after his death. Henry VII. built the extensive and beautiful chapel that bears his name, the last important addition made in the abbey before the Reformation. *Staines*, on the Thames, southeast of Windsor. There, on the *Runimede*, John Lackland (Sansterre) in the Easter-week, 1215, met the discontented barons and prelates, and signed, June 19, the celebrated great charter, which laid the foundation of the constitution of England. *Barnet*, in Hertford county, north of London: on Gladsmore Heath, north of that town, was fought, on April 14, 1471, the decisive battle between Edward IV. of York and Neville Earl of Warwick—*the Kingmaker*—at the head of the Lancasterians, in which the latter, with many of the nobility, perished on the field. An obelisk, erected on the spot in 1740, commemorates the event. *St. Albans*, northwest of Barnet, and thirty miles from London: here the first battle in the War of the Roses was fought May 22, 1454, in which the Duke of Northumberland, and the earls of Somerset and Stafford fell; King Henry VI. was captured by the Duke of York, and the Lancasterian army cut to pieces. In a second battle, on the same field, February 7, 1461, Queen Margaret of Anjou defeated the Earl of Warwick, and delivered her husband from the hands of the Yorkists. *Clarendon*, near Salisbury, in Wiltshire, on the outskirts of the New Forest, where Henry II., in 1164, in a general council of the nobility and prelates, gave the constitution of Clarendon, which defined the limits between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, with a view to stop the arrogance and increasing usurpations of the Pope and clergy. *Seven Oaks*, in Kent, southeast of London, where John Cade, the rebel, with his twenty thousand followers, on June 23, 1450, defeated and slew Sir Humphrey Stafford, King Henry's general, and, after the rout, marched to London, and encamped on Blackheath, while the king fled to Kenilworth. *Lynne*, on the sea-coast of Lincoln county: there King John attempting to cross the washes, to Lincoln, by high water, lost, in the sudden inundation, part of his mercenaries, all his carriages, treasures, and baggage, and arrived, sick and in despair, at the neighboring *Newark*, where he died October 17, 1216. *Lewes*, in Sussex: here the Earl of Leicester, May 14, 1264, routed the army of Henry III., in spite of the bravery of Prince Edward, and forced the king to surrender himself prisoner. *Kenilworth* Castle, in Warwick county, where Prince Edward surprised and defeated Simon de Montford, son of Leicester, in 1265. *Evesham*, in Worcester county, where, after the battle of Kenilworth, Prince Edward, on the 4th of August, by stratagem, surrounded, defeated, and slew the haughty Earl of Lancaster, and delivered his father, Henry III., from his captivity. In the neighborhood lies *Tewkesbury*, *Mortimer's Cross*, *Bloreheath;* and north, *Wakefield* and *Lowton*, in York county, *Hexham-on-the-Tyne* in Northumberland, and *Northampton*, east of Warwick,—all well-known cities from the bloody battles fought in their vicinity during the wars of the Roses (1452–1485). The castle of *Pomfret* (Pontefract), east of Wakefield, county of York, the prison of the unhappy Richard II., who was here ruthlessly slaughtered by Sir Piers Exton and his satellites in 1399. *Berkeley Castle*, on the gulf of Severn, in Gloucester county, where, on Sept. 21, 1327, Edward II. was treacherously and cruelly murdered with a hot iron by Gournay and Ogle, the creatnres of Queen Isabel and her paramour Mortimer. Famous historical places on the borders of Scotland during this period are:—*Neville's Cross*, near Durham, in Northumberland, where the spirited Queen Philippa, in the absence of Edward III. in France, with 12,000 men, totally defeated the Scottish army, and took King David Bruce prisoner, with his noblest barons, October 17, 1346. *North Allerton*, in Richmond county, north of York, *Alnwick*, *Otterburn*, *Homildon-Hill*, and *Halydon-Hill*, north of Berwick,—all battle-fields, on which the Scots were routed and cut to pieces by the chivalry of England. At Alnwick, King William the Lion was taken prisoner, in 1175, and forced to surrender his English fiefs (430). *Borough Bridge*, near Burton-upon-Trent, in York county, where Thomas Earl of Lancaster was defeated and taken prisoner, March 16, 1322, by Sir Andrew Harclay, and executed as a rebel. By the king's order the same cruel punishment was inflicted on the earl which he had formerly imposed on the king's favorite, Gaveston. *Shrewsbury*, a fine old city, on the banks of the Severn, was often visited by the English kings, on account of the military importance of its situation on the

[200] See interesting statistical details for this period in Malte Brun's Geography, Vol. III., page 1197, 4to. edition, and in Lingard's *History of England.*

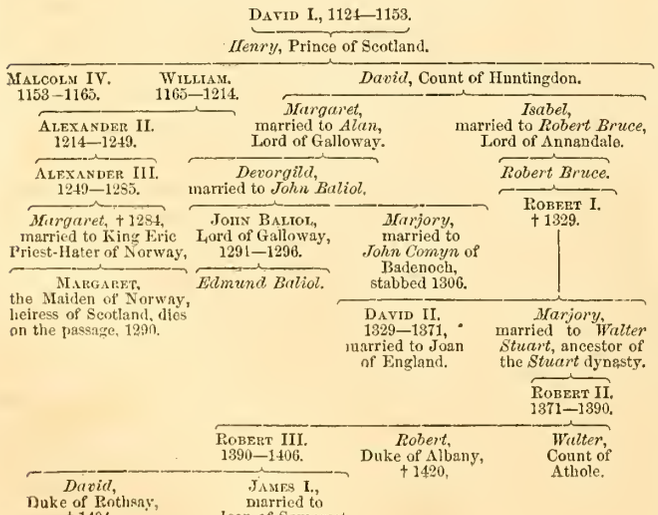
[201] These gates were from west to east: 1, *Ludgate;* 2, *Newgate;* 3, *Aldersgate;* 4, *Cripplegate;* 5, *Moorgate;* 6, *Bishopsgate;* 7, *Aldgate*, and 8, *Billingsgate*, on the Thames.

Welsh marches. Here was fought one of the most chivalrous battles of England, on July 21, 1402, between Henry Percy —the Hotspur—and Henry IV., in which Hotspur fell. Douglas was taken prisoner, and the King of England gained a complete victory; two thousand three hundred barons and knights, and more than six thousand private warriors perished on the field. *Bosworth*, on the Ashby canal, in Leicester county, was a small market town. Here was fought the last battle of the Roses, on the 22d August, 1485, in which the tyrant Richard III. fell, and Henry Tudor-Lancaster was raised to the English throne.

II. The Kingdom of Scotland.

435. Scotland under the Bruces and the Stuarts.—On the death of the Maiden of Norway in 1291, begins the contest about the throne of Scotland and the bloody wars with the kings of England, which, after the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, and the expulsion of the English, are mostly changed into mere border-forays. Later, however, when Scotland unites in alliance with France and attacks England, while she is actually engaged on the continent, those fierce and indecisive wars are renewed, and continue with greater fury until the reign of Henry VIII., when they terminate with the death of James IV. on Flodden Field in 1515. Among the number of the pretenders to the crown, John Baliol of Galloway and Robert Bruce of Annandale were the nearest akin to the defunct Malcolm dynasty.[202] Edward I., having been chosen umpire in the question of the succession in the assembly at the castle of Norham, on the Tweed, in June 1291, declared for Baliol, who closed the disgraceful scene by doing homage to Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland. This haughty and ambitious sovereign soon put his creature aside altogether, occupied all the castles and strongholds of Scotland with his English knights and garrisons, and treated the brave Scottish nation with heartless cruelty. The insurrection of Sir William Wallace was put down with the sword, and that noble-minded chief, betrayed by the traitor John of Monteith, was dragged to London and executed in 1304. But his spirit survived in the young Robert Bruce, who was crowned King of Scotland at Scone (220) in 1306, and under the most romantic adventures in the Highlands and on the Western Islands, succeeded in driving out the English and securing the independence of his kingdom by the brilliant victory over Edward II. at Bannockburn in 1314. His son David II., after new defeats and a long captivity in England, died childless in 1370, and the crown then passed to the

[202] GENEALOGY OF THE SCOTTISH KINGS.



talented but most unhappy house of the Stuarts. This family long ruled in Scotland; they mounted the throne of England in 1606, but under terrible disasters were expelled in the revolution of 1688, and perished in exile and misery. Their *mediæval* history in Scotland presents a fearful succession of border-forays, internal feuds between Highlands and Lowlands, between the nobles themselves, or against their kings, two of whom, James I. and III., were murdered, whilst James II. perished by the bursting of a bombard, and James IV. fell in the battle of Flodden. Yet, in spite of all these disorders and crimes, we discover the steady though slow progress of the Scottish nation. A constitutional government developed itself during the contest of the Baliols and Bruces, and the first parliament, consisting of clergy, nobility, and deputies from the cities, was assembled by Robert Bruce in 1326. The misfortune of Scotland lay in the unruly spirit of the great; the barons of the Lowlands at the head of their vassals and the Highland lairds with their clans, regarded the kings as their equals, and refused all obedience to the laws. The Lords of the Isles (287) often carried open war into the heart of the country; the Highland clans of the M'Dougalls of Lorn, the Campbells, the Rosses, the Crawfords, and principally the border family of the Douglases of Liddesdale, Galloway and Annandale, became so dangerous to the royal authority, that the mild James II. could only free himself by the assassination of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, the expulsion of the whole race, and the confiscation of their castles and immense estates. Nor were the prelates less warlike and quarrelsome than the nobles. The Bishop of St. Andrews did not obtain the archiepiscopal dignity before 1468; even then the clergy refused him their recognition, and the Parliament, in 1471, repelled energetically the encroachments of the Pope. From the times of David II. the estates met by delegates, called the *Lords of Articles*, who consulted about the laws; King and Parliament formed the legislative power, and a vast number of excellent decrees and police regulations were promulgated, which in other countries did not appear until centuries later. In the year 1457 the general exercise in arms was ordained, and often renewed. Every Scot from his twelfth to his sixteenth year had regularly to be drilled in archery. The *Lords of Session* formed, since James II., the High Court of Justice. The Scottish youths studied in the Universities of the continent. High schools or Colleges, were established at *St. Andrews* in 1411, at *Glasgow* in 1453, and at *Aberdeen* in 1493. The commerce of the Scots was insignificant, and they were often in open feud with the Hanseatic Confederacy. Cattle breeding was thriving, but agriculture neglected, nor did the fisheries on the coast prosper like those of the nations on the Baltic. Wool was manufactured, but Scottish industry was still far inferior even to that of England. The people were poor and barbarous, and fond of the wild life on the border (284), that curious mixture of chivalry and brigandage, while the domestic virtues, conjugal tenderness, chastity, paternal affection, honesty and heroic devotion and bravery, proved the true Scandinavian stem from which the noble Pictish race had sprung.

436. Cities, Castles and Historical Sites.—Edinburgh was still a small town, only important on account of its almost impregnable castle, which, however, was taken by stratagem and surprise, by the daring Randolph in 1312.—Stirling and Perth were the habitual residences of the Stuarts. In the latter city the awful murder of James I. by Sir Robert Graham and the Earl of Athole was perpetrated February 20th, 1437.—Near *Kingshorn*, on the coast of Fife, rises the precipice from which the good old Alexander III. was thrown down, with his steed, and perished on the rocks

below, still called *the King's Crag.*—*Ellerslie*, now Paisley, in Renfrew county, was the birthplace of William Wallace, the Protector of Scotland.—*Falkirk*, in Stirling county, where William Wallace and the Scots on the 22d of July, 1298, lost a great battle against King Edward I., in consequence of which all Scotland was occupied by the English.—*Roslyn*, in Edinburgh county, south of that city, a strong castle overhanging the deep glen; there John Comyn of Badenoch, after the battle of Falkirk, defeated three English divisions in one day, and raised the sunken spirits of the nation.—*Robroyston*, near Glasgow, the hiding-place of Wallace, where he was betrayed by Sir John Monteith and delivered up to the English.—*Dumfries*, in the Nithsdale, on the Solway bay, where in the church of the Minorites Robert Bruce stabbed Sir John Comyn, the Red, in February, 1306, and raised his banner against the English.—*Methven*, northwest of Perth, where Robert Bruce, immediately after his coronation at the Abbey of *Scone*, was met by the English Earl of Pembroke on the 19th of June, 1306, and suffered a complete defeat. *Dalric* in the county of Argyle, in a romantic site on Loch-Awe. In a narrow defile there, overhanging the lake and commanded by precipitous mountains, Robert Bruce, on his flight to the Western Islands, forced a passage for his army by heroical bravery against the treacherous M'Dougalls of Lorn. The king only lost his mantle, and the brooch which thus fell into the possession of John M'Dougall of Lorn is still preserved in that ancient family as a precious memorial of the feudal times. *Kildrummie Castle*, on the Don, west of Aberdeen, the refuge of Robert Bruce's wife and family, held long against the English, but surrendered at the fall of Nigel Bruce, the youngest brother of the king. *Douglas Castle*, on the river of the same name, in the upper county of Lanark, the paternal seat of that brave but turbulent family, became celebrated in the English wars under the name of *Castle Dangerous* by the various stratagems of good Lord James of Douglas who retook it from the English. *Bannockburn*, on the Bannock, five miles east of Stirling Castle, the well-known village, in the swamps of which Edward II. lost his chivalry and his supremacy over Scotland, on the 24th of June, 1314. Robert Bruce, Edward, his brother, the Lords Randolph and Douglas, and the Scottish spearmen, showed here an extraordinary bravery, and gained the finest victory that ever smiled on Scotland. *Abercorn Castle*, east of Bannockburn, on the shores of the Frith of Forth, where the arrogant Earl of Douglas met his sovereign in arms, in 1458, but during his idle bravado, was abandoned by his vassals, and obliged to fly to Douglas Dale. Other famous castles on the Border (286) were the *Hermitage*, in the morasses of Liddesdale, and *Arkenholme*, in Eskdale, where the elder Douglases, in their rebellion against King James II., suffered a severe defeat, and were forced, in consequence of it, to seek refuge in England in 1438, whence the Earl of Douglas returned, twenty years later, to die a monk in the Abbey of Lindores, on the Frith of Tay, in Fife county. *Lauder*, southeast of Abercorn, in Lauderdale; there Archibald Douglas, called *Bell-the-Cat*, at the head of the dissatisfied lords, arrested and hanged the mean counsellors and favorites of young James III., on *Lauder Bridge*, in 1482. South of Lauder, at *Holdoun* or *Halidon Hill*, near the Abbey of *Melrose* (286) Sir Walter Scott, the Lord of Buccleuch attempted, on the 25th of July, 1526, to deliver young King James V. from the tyrannical government of the Douglases, but was defeated with great loss by the Border clans of the Homes and Kers, who suddenly fell upon his rear, and forced his border riders to flight. *Sauchee*, a small hamlet, a mile southeast of Bannockburn, saw, on the 18th June, 1488, the disgraceful scene of the defeat of James III., in his war with his insurgent nobility, and the awful murder of the fleeing king in the *Beaton's Mill*, on the Stirling road. *Dupplin*, on the Earn, west of Perth, where Edmund Baliol, 12th of August, 1332, defeated the Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland, by a nightly surprise, and was raised to a tottering throne, which he lost as quickly, when he fled to England on an unsaddled horse. Yet King Edward III. came to his assistance, and the bloody defeat of the Scots at *Halidon Hill*, near Berwick, on the 19th of July, 1333, seemed again to turn the scale of victory in favor of the English by the surrender of that fortress and the southern counties. But the heroical defence of *Loch Leven Castle* by the gallant Alan Vipont, and of *Dunbar* by Black Agnes, Countess of March, steeled the courage of the Scots. Their ardent love of independence, and hatred of foreign tyranny, induced them to regain, by persevering and stubborn exertions, by stratagems and the boldest deeds, the strongholds they had lost. Thus *Edinburgh Castle* and *Perth* were retaken; and when, in 1341, the young David Bruce, on his return from France, landed at *Inver-Bervy*, on the coast of Kincardine, the Scots flocked to his banner; and Baliol, fleeing again to England, left the contested throne to the son of Robert Bruce.

437. The Hebrides, Shetland, and Orkney Islands, on the west and north of Scotland, were, during this period, united with the crown. The *Syderöer*, or Hebrides, had been conquered and colonized by the Northmen (224), and when they, during the reign of King Alexander III., were attacked by the Lords of Ross and other Scottish chiefs, King Hakon IV. of Norway—1207–1263—armed a powerful fleet and army, with which he occupied the islands of Arran and Bute, plundered the Scottish coast, and attempted a landing at *Largs*, in Renfrew county. But a sudden storm arising, the Norwegian fleet drove out to sea, while the Norwegian troops on shore were totally defeated and routed by the superior number of Scots whom Alexander Stuart, the grandfather of the first monarch of that name, led against them. Hakon, in his despair, retired to the Orkney Islands, to refit his fleet; but he died at Kirkwall in 1263. Magnus Lagabæter, his son and successor, immediately set on foot a negotiation with the Scots, which terminated in 1266 in a treaty of peace, wherein he renounced his pretensions to the Hebrides and all the other islands, including Man (224, 431), but excepting the Orkneys and Shetlands; a sum of money (4,000 marks) was paid by King Alexander III., and his daughter Margaret married the Norwegian crown-prince Eric. The more northern islands were, from the earliest times (101, 106), inhabited by the Northmen; and their laws, language, usages and manners, were there more firmly established than in the Hebrides and in Man. About the year 1380, during the reign of Robert II. Stuart, Henry Sinclair, Count of Caithness, on the Scottish coast, opposite the Orkneys, obtained the earldom of those islands, which included the Shetlands, from King Hakon VI. and Queen Margaret of Norway and Denmark, and this possession continued in his family for a century under the sovereignty of Norway. In the year 1469 James III. of Scotland married Margaret, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark and Norway, and with her he was to get a dowry of 60,000 florins; but the father-in-law, having no money, he arbitrarily mortgaged the Orkney and Shetland islands, and, as the Oldenburg kings of Denmark never redeemed their mortgage, the two groups of important islands remained, since that time, attached to the kingdom of Scotland. The Norse laws and usages, however, continued in full force in Shetland, and still differ in many parts from those of Scotland. The free property of lands was known by the term Udal—*Odel*—as in Norway (223), the proprietors being called Udallers—

Odelsbönder—and descended in the udaller's family. The chief judge was called Great Foad—*Foged*—or Law-man—*Laugmand*—and under him different officers attended to the good morals, police, and general administration of those industrious, kind-hearted, and hospitable islanders.

III. The Calmarian Union of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, A. D. 1397–1523.

438. Constitution and Government.—A new period in Scandinavian history commences with the union of the three crowns under Queen Margaret, the daughter of King Waldemar III. (378), a princess whose extraordinary talents and address have rendered her name illustrious as the Semiramis of the North. Yet happy circumstances facilitated the successful execution of her great designs. There were no prominent pretenders in Denmark and Norway, and the arrogant and heedless Albrecht of Mecklenburg, then King of Sweden, had alienated the good will and respect of the Swedish nation by his promoting worthless German knights to the most important offices in court and army, and thus gave Margaret an easy victory. Albrecht and his German chivalry, while crossing a frozen lake near *Falköping*, in order to attack the Danish army, met the fate of the English at Bannockburn, and the French at Poitiers—the ice gave way, and the German knights, on their barbed war-steeds, ingulfed in the morass, were slaughtered or captured by the nimble yeomanry of Denmark. Albrecht was taken, imprisoned, and not given freedom until he, seven years later, had renounced all pretensions to the northern crowns.[203] Margaret then called together commissioners from the diets of the three nations, who assembled at Calmar, on July 12, 1397. There the articles of the great Union were discussed and settled, and the kingdoms accepted young Prince Eric of Pomerania, the nephew of Margaret, for her successor. He was crowned with solemnity by the Archbishops of Lund and Upsala. By this deed the three northern sister nations were to form one permanent confederacy, and to be governed by the same monarch. The states were to choose the successor among the princes of the reigning king; and, in the event of there being no royal progeny, the vacant throne was to be filled by the consent and with the concurrence of the Union in the new election. The affairs of each kingdom were to be administered by its own laws and usages; but treaties with foreign powers were not to be concluded without common consent. An attack, however, upon any one of the confederated states was to be considered as an aggression upon all, and to be repelled by their joint forces. The Act of Calmar was a mere sketch, which left the widest field for able and intelligent monarchs to build up a magnificent empire in the north. The daughter of Waldemar ruled the immense territories from the Icy Ocean to the Eider,—a country destined by nature herself to unity, inhabited by a spirited and brave people, of the same race, language, and manners, who, if now united by constitution and government, might have formed one of the most important elements in the civilization and development of the political system of Europe; it might have flourished by commerce, navigation and fisheries, possessing all the coasts and islands of the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. The kindred dialects of Danish and Swedish would then have melted into one, and the full strength of the three numerous warlike tribes, if directed toward the protection and aggrandizement of the Union, would have been able, by so easily defensible coasts, to decide the supremacy in the North. The great mind of Margaret, no doubt, had a presentiment of the important results which might be obtained for the welfare of her people by this combination, and she flattered herself with the bright hope of having already gained her point by the unanimous election of a successor; but the prudent queen could hardly have chosen a more unworthy prince than Eric of Pomerania, who, immediately on her death, in 1412,[204] by his vain, cowardly, and unjust conduct, produced a reviving animosity and hatred between Danes and Swedes, which soon became the cause of civil dissensions and feuds that caused the Union to remain a phantom until it vanished at the Stockholm massacre by Christian the Tyrant, in 1523. Eric treated the Swedes with scorn as a conquered nation. Denmark considered herself as the principal state, the royal seat of the Union kings; she sent her nobles to govern Sweden with an iron rod; the Swedes felt indignant at this partiality, and were ever ready to rise in defence of their nationality; while the cities of the Hanseatic League, who by the most arrogant measures had appropriated to themselves the entire northern traffic, sought to counteract every union of the Scandinavian nations, and to maintain their hostility and internal weakness by all possible means. Thus the breach widened more and more. The Swedes raised Charles Knudson to the throne in 1448; and, though the Swedish clergy and part of the nobility sided with Denmark and called King Christian I. to the throne in 1471, the defeat of the Danish army near Stockholm, October 10, again dispelled all hope of a renewed union. During this long series of dissensions the constitutions of Denmark and Sweden had taken a different development. In Denmark, the nobility had fettered down the kings by capitulations, which brought almost the entire executive power into the hands of the state council —*Rigsraad*—composed of the most powerful nobles, while the free landholders—*the Bönder*—successively were deprived even of their personal liberty, and became the serfs—*tenants in soccage*—on the immense estates of the counts and barons. All the burdens of the State, save that of its defence, were thrown off the shoulders of the privileged classes, and heaped on the citizens and peasantry. Civilized Denmark sank, while barbarous Sweden rose. In the latter country, the nation was likewise represented by the state council; but the mass of the Swedish people had better preserved their independence than in Denmark; in the mountain regions there existed no nobility; there the free and proud highlander stalked about with the mien of a nobleman; only the armor

[203] The manners in Scandinavia were still very coarse during the fourteenth century. Albert of Mecklenburg used to call Margaret the Breechless Queen—*Dronning Buxelös*—and he sent her a whetstone, three feet in length, with the intimation to lay aside her sword and attend to sharpening her needles. This ungracious compliment the Danish Queen answered by sending him in return a chemise of hers attached to a flagstaff for his colors, when marching his army against her. Nor did this epigrammatic war terminate with the defeat of Albert at Falköping, for Margaret ordered her indisereet prisoner to her presence, and clapped a fool's cap, with a tail nineteen yards long, on his head, for a mock crown, and sent him, thus exposed to the scoffings of the populace, to the dreary prison vaults of Lindenholm Castle, in Skaane. Among the many curious historical relics, still deposited in the saeristy of the splendid cathedral of Upsala, the traveller will behold the enormous whetstone, the smock banner, and the lengthy fool's cap of Prince Albert.

[204] SOVEREIGNS OF THE CALMARIAN UNION, 1397–1523.

KINGS OF DENMARK.		ADMINISTRATORS OF SWEDEN.	
Margaret . . .	A. D. 1412	*Charles Knudson* usurps	
Eric, deposed . .	" 1439	the throne . . .	A. D. 1448
Christopher III. . .	" 1448	*Charles Knudson* expelled,	
Christian I., of Oldenburg	1481	but finally restored,	
Hans (John) . .	" 1513	and dies . . .	" 1470
Christian II. deposed .	" 1522	*Sten Sture*, the Elder .	" 1503
Flees to Germany .	" 1523	*Svante Sture* . .	" 1512
Captured and imprisoned	1532	*Sten Sture*, the Younger	" 1520
Dies in misery . .	" 1559	*Gustavus Vasa* (king, 1523)	1560

made the knight; every tenant who appeared mounted on his war-horse in steel armor, brandishing his lance at the military gatherings, enjoyed the privileges of the aristocracy itself, and this feeling of equality between yeoman and nobleman has been the palladium of the Swedish constitution down to the present day. However violent the parties of the church and the aristocracy became in their aspiration to power, they needed the support of the people, who universally decided the question against Denmark. And then the Knudsons, the Engelbrechtsons, and the Stures were decidedly statesmen and warriors of greater talents than the crowned Erics, Christophers, and Christians—all of them Germans by birth, who, in the distress of the times, were called to fill the Danish throne, and fought their battles, not with the sons of the land, but with bands of German mercenaries and poor adventurers, who flocked to Denmark to be defeated by the spears and halberds of the Dalecarlians in Sweden and the Ditmarskers in Holstein. The untoward relations of Sleswig, between Denmark and Holstein, maimed the strength of the former, and Sweden eluded her grasp. Different was the position of Norway; the turbulent princes of the dynasty of old Harald Haarfager had died off. Norway had no nobility; her *Odelsbönder* (223, 296) were freemen, living on their own estates; they wished for tranquillity, and were occupied with their fishing, agriculture, and bear-hunting, under the mild sway of the Danish kings, who seldom visited that distant country, though it must be owned that Norway made little or no progress; it had no national representation of its own, and took no part in the diets—*Rigsdage*—of Denmark; it had no university, and continued for nearly four centuries to send its youths for education to the colleges of Copenhagen. Thus Norway vanishes from history towards the close of the middle ages, after having performed so wild, but brilliant a part in the times of the Norman conquests and the crusades.

439. Divisions of Provinces, Cities, and Historical Sites.—As Sweden now enters boldly upon the great theatre of history, on which she is to perform so important a part in the following centuries, we shall give a more detailed account of her geography in the fifteenth century, and only indicate some few changes in Denmark and Norway.

I. The Kingdom of Sweden.—Before the union of the Suithian and Gothic tribes, Sweden had been divided into the two distinct kingdoms of Suithiod and Gothland (225). On the accession of the dynasty of the Folkungar, and the erection of the archiepiscopal see of Upsala (about A. D. 1250), a more regular government was established by Magnus I., *Ladulaas* (Barn-door Lock), who, in 1278, took the title of *King of the Swedes and the Goths.* In the fourteenth century the kingdom was divided into four regions containing twenty provinces:—I. Southern Region,—Gothland, *Göthaland* (Gothia), with the provinces, 1, *East Gothland*, 2, *West Gothland*, 3, *Smaaland*, and 4, *Dalsland*, which bordered east on the Baltic, south on Denmark, west on Norway, and north on the province of Sweden. The large lakes *Wenern* and *Wettern*, surrounded by forest-clad hills, occupied the centre; on the south, a fertile plain extended to the more dreary table-land of Smaaland, whose soil gave only a scanty produce of oats and barley. *Falköping*, on a small lake in West Gothland, where King Albrecht was totally defeated and captured by the Danish General Ivar Lykke, Feb. 24, 1389. *Calmar*, on the west of Smaaland, opposite the island of *Oeland.* In its old castle, formerly esteemed one of the keys of the kingdom, was held the congress of the northern nations in 1397, which acceded to the celebrated treaty of the *Calmarian Union. Bogesund*, south of Falköping, on the lake *Aasund.* Here, on the frozen lake, was fought the bloody battle in which Otto Krumpen, with the Danish army, defeated the Swedes, January 19, 1520. The Administrator of Sweden, Sten Sture, fell in the action, and Stockholm opened her gates to Christian the Tyrant, who soon was to deluge her streets with the blood of her noblest and most generous citizens.

440. II. Central Region.—Svealand, or Sweden, with the provinces, 5, *Södermanland*, 6, *Upland*, 7, *Westmanland*, 8, *Nerike*, 9, *Wærmeland*, 10, *Dalarne*, 11, *Gestrikland*, and 12, *Helsingeland*, bordering east on the Bothnian Gulf, south on Gothland, west and north on Norway (Herjedalen) and Norrland. The lake *Mälarn*, with its hundreds of islands, presents every where romantic views; the soil is good in many parts; horses, cattle, and sheep are numerous; yet the most interesting scenery of Svea is the mountain range of the Copper Mines—*Dalarne*—on the frontiers of Norway. Stockholm (225) was early the capital of the Swedish kings. Northwest of the city, on the steep eminence *Brunkeberg*, was fought the obstinate battle of the 10th October, 1471, in which King Christian I. and the Danish army were totally defeated by the Swedish yeomanry and the garrison of Stockholm. The king was wounded by an arrow; thousands of Danes perished in their disorderly retreat to the fleet; and camp, banners and kingdom were lost. On the great square in Stockholm, Christian II., the Tyrant, ordered ninety-four ecclesiastics, senators, knights, and burgomasters, the most distinguished and virtuous men in Sweden, to be beheaded, as guilty of heresy and schism, on the 8th of November, 1520. Loaded cannon were planted on the avenues; the troops occupied the streets, and the deathlike silence in the terrified city was only broken by the toll of the castle bell during this horrible scene, which cost the bigoted despot three crowns and a life of exile and misery.[205] *Strengnäs*, south, on the Mälarn. Here Gustav Vasa, after the expulsion of the Danes, assembled a diet, where he was unanimously called to the throne, on June 6, 1523. *Nyköping*, in Südermanland, on the coast of the Baltic, with a strong castle, in which King Birger of Sweden, in 1318, imprisoned his brothers Waldemar and Eric; and, throwing the keys of the prison into the sea, left the unhappy princes to perish by hunger. *Upsala*, the ancient seat of Paganism (106), had become that of learning by the erection of the celebrated university by Sten Sture, in 1477. *Falun*, situated in a deep valley, between lakes, near the *Dal-elf*, is the centre of the mining district—the ancient *Jernbæraland* (225), and the home of the brave and honest *Dalecarlians*, who, on the appearance of Gustav Vasa in the valley, rose in their might, defeated the mercenaries of King Christian II. in every battle, and carried the young hero in triumph to Stockholm in 1523.

441. III. Northern Region.—Norrland consisted of the provinces of 13, *Wester-Bottn*, 14, *Medelpad*, 15, *Angermanland*, and 16, the *Eastern Lapmark*, on the frontiers of Finnland. The large central regions, Jemteland and Herjedalen, belonged to Norway, and were not ceded to Sweden until the treaty of Brömsebro in the year 1645. *Hernösand*, *Luleaa*, *Piteaa* and *Umeaa*, are the only towns on these wild and dreary coasts. Northern Sweden was inhabited by Laplanders and Swedes; the former were either mountaineers, inhabitants of the forests, fishermen, or vagabonds, who hired themselves out to the Swedish farmers. The rigor of the cli

[205] More than six hundred men of high standing and influence were beheaded or hung in different parts of the realm, before the young Gustav Vasa, at the head of his mountaineers, drove the Danish tyrant out of the country.

mate, want and misery, and, in consequence, the barrenness of the Lapland women, prevented the increase of their population.

442. IV. Eastern Region.—Finnland, with the provinces, 17, *Nyland* or *Finnland Proper*, 18, *Tavastland*, 19, *Oester-Bottn*, and 20, *Savolax* or *Kyrialand*, on the frontiers of Permia, in Russia. Finnland is the *Region of Great Lakes*. That extensive country was inhabited by *Queans*, or Quains (225), *Tavastians*, *Karelians*, *Suomi*, *Finns*, and *Tchudes*, who all lived in eternal feuds with one another, until the cross banner of King Eric of Sweden appeared on the coast. After a most bloody war, which lasted for more than one century and a half— 1156 —the Finnish tribes were subdued and converted to Christianity. The Swedes built on the western coast the castles of *Korsholm*, *Björneborg*, *Nystad*, and *Aabo*, while the Russian armies invaded the eastern regions on the *Ladoga*. But after the defeat of the Russians on the Kalka, by the Mongols, in 1224 (304), they disappeared in the north, and the Swedes, under Birger Jarl, the founder of Stockholm (225), penetrated victoriously into the interior, and built the strong *Tavasthus*. The Marshal Jorkel Knudson conquered *Kyriala*, or Carelia, and founded *Viborg*, on the Finnic Gulf, and advancing boldly upon the Neva, built *Landscrona*, on the site of the present Saint Petersburg. But there the Swedes, for the first time, came in hostile contact with the Russians. The rich republicans of Novgorod could not suffer the mail-clad warriors of the north in so close a neighborhood. Swarms of Russians invaded Finnland, burning and destroying; several of the young Swedish colonies were laid in ashes, the settlers slaughtered, and their families carrried off. In 1318, the Russians besieged Aabo, and spread devastation through the lake districts; but the interest of both parties demanded peace, and the first treaty between Russia and Sweden was signed in 1323, at *Nöteborg*, on the Lake Ladoga, according to which the Swedes had to retire thirty-six versts west of the Neva, the mouth of which thus remained in the possession of the merchants of Great Novgorod, and the *Syster bäck* (Sister Brook) became thenceforth the frontier between the two hostile nations. The border forays, nevertheless, continued; the Swedish *crusading spirit* lasted longer than that of the southern nations; but it was not until the year 1462, when Ivan I., after his victories over the Mongols, had restored the Moscovite or Russian empire, that the war on the Baltic took a serious character. Finnland had become a highly flourishing country, and the strong fortresses of the Swedes repelled all the attacks of their barbarous neighbors.

443. II. The Kingdom of Norway had been divided into four provinces, or *Stifter:* 1, Aggershuus, 2, Christiansand, 3, Bergen, and 4, Trondhiem. It enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, and the national antipathy between Norwegians and Swedes had not yet taken the violent character which it afterwards assumed. Christiania, in Aggershuus, had become the capital. *Bergen*, the first city for commerce and wealth, had suffered much from the attacks of the Hanseatic League (403) until it entered the confederacy and became the great emporium for their northern commerce. *Opslo*, the ancient capital, near Christiania, became in 1508, the scene of the only rebellion which the Norwegians ever attempted against the Kings of Denmark. Herulf Hydefad, the leader, together with some other noblemen, bishops, and their partisans, were surrounded by Prince Christian, taken prisoners, and executed. It was, perhaps, the successful massacre in Opslo which, twelve years later, prompted him, as Danish king, to renew it on a larger scale in Stockholm.

444. III. The Kingdom of Denmark seemed to have been placed at the head of the Union, yet this honor cost her immensely dear—her liberty at home, and her treasures, armies, and reputation, abroad: weakened and crest-fallen, she relinquished her bloody grasp. Of all her German conquests there remained nothing but the islands of *Rügen* and *Oesel*. Waldemar III. had conquered the large and fertile island of Gothland (Gulland), in 1360, where he made a rich booty in the city of *Wisby*, the seat of the Hanseatic commerce, and the stronghold of the Baltic pirates. Copenhagen (293) became the permanent residence of the kings of Denmark in 1440, and a university was erected in 1479, which ever since has maintained its rank among the most distinguished in Europe. It was principally the downfall of Wisby which drew commerce to Copenhagen. Jealous of this new rival, the Hanseatic League sent, in 1428, a large fleet and 12,000 German troops against it; yet Queen Philippa, the daughter of Henry IV. of England, at the head of the citizens, defended it so heroically, that she defeated the Lübeckers in several successful sorties, and forced them to raise the siege. But instead of praise and affection, the admirable princess only received the grossest insult from her husband, King Eric, which caused her death. An important change had taken place in the geography of mediæval Denmark with regard to the duchy of Schleswig and its relations to the Counts of Holstein. On the extinction of the male line of King Abel's descendants, in 1375, the duchy of Schleswig (South Jutland) had reverted to the crown of Denmark. Yet Queen Margaret, desiring the aid of the Counts of Holstein against the overbearing Hanseatic Confederacy, bestowed the duchy upon Count Gerhard, of Rendsborg, as a Danish banner fief for the usual military service to the crown. Eric, her successor, proud of his power, demanded back the duchy, but the warlike Counts of Holstein were neither daunted by the arms of the three northern kingdoms, nor by the sentence and threats of the German Emperor Sigismond, who adjudged the whole of Schleswig to Denmark, in 1424. Henry of Holstein had defeated a Danish army of sixty thousand troops, at *Immervad*, before the Lübeckers besieged Copenhagen. Eric was deposed, and the first act of his successor, Christopher III., the Bavarian, was the recognition of the hereditary rights of the house of Schauenburg (377) to the duchy of Schleswig. At the diet in Colding, in 1439, Duke Adolph, the successor of Henry, who fell before Flensborg, in 1427, kneeling down before his liege lord, took the oath of allegiance, and received from the hand of the king the banner of investiture. Yet Denmark, who had gained nothing by her doubtful union with Sweden, felt most deeply this loss of her finest and most fertile province, and all her efforts now tended towards its recovery. The Danish nobility, in compliance with this feeling, after the death of King Christopher, in 1448, sent a deputation to Duke Adolph of *Schleswig-Holstein*, to offer him the crown of Denmark. The Holsteiner refused the honor, but directed the attention of the Danes to his young sister's son, Count Christian of Oldenborg, who accepted the crown, and became the founder of the present dynasty of Denmark, in the year 1448. On the subsequent death of Duke Adolph (1459), Christian inherited both Holstein and Schleswig, the latter of which ought then, as an escheated fief, to have been incorporated with the kingdom, or, at least, its relation to Denmark to have been plainly defined by a new investiture to the king, as Count of Holstein. But this important act was not called into existence on account of another difficulty. Duke Adolph of Holstein, moved, perhaps, by his old rancor toward Denmark, against whom he had spent his youth in hard fighting, and still more by his natural desire to preserve the *close union* of his two beautiful states, Schleswig and Holstein, had per-

suaded his young nephew, Christian of Oldenborg, at the time when the Danish crown was offered to him, to renounce his right to Schleswig *as King of Denmark*, and to promise that the duchy of Schleswig and the kingdom never should be united again under the same sceptre, and that the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein should remain for ever undivided—*ewich tosammende ungedelt.*[206] But the wary Christian, who wanted to stand well both with Danes and Germans, did not dare to claim his hereditary right in Holstein, and give Schleswig back to Denmark. He simply offered himself as a *candidate* for the free election of the Schleswig and the Holstein nobility. This he obtained; he then paid off the many claims of the collateral lines, such as the Counts of Schauenborg Pinneberg, persuaded the German Emperor Frederic III. to give Holstein the rank of a duchy, and left the feudal question about Schleswig undecided.[207]

445. The nobles of the Danish council, at that time, no doubt, considered this election of a Holstein prince to the throne of Denmark, as a masterly *coup d'état*, which thus peacefully brought both the duchies under the crown. Yet the inhabitants of the small district of *Ditmarsken* refused their homage. They formed a free commonwealth, which was governed by bailiffs and aldermen, and, united by the love of independence, they maintained themselves in this situation against all aggression. When, therefore, King Hans (John), in the year 1500, at the head of a large army of feudal chivalry and German lanceknechts attempted to invade their marches, the brave Ditmarskers defeated him on the dikes between *Meldorf* and *Hemmingsted*, on the 13th of February, with so terrible a slaughter that three hundred and sixty nobles and fifteen thousand soldiers perished on the battle-field. The king himself escaped with difficulty, having lost his banner, the celebrated old Danebroge (377), his camp and baggage, and was forced, through the mediation of the Hanseatic cities, to recognize the independence of the victors. Thus, then, does the middle age of Denmark close with a most disastrous defeat, and its modern era opens ominously enough with the massacres of Opslo and Stockholm, and the dissolution of the Calmarian Union.

IV. The Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

446. Extent and Flourishing State of Poland under the Jagellons.—A glance at the map of the fourteenth century will at once show the urgent political necessity of the fierce wars of the Polish kings against the Order of the Teutonic knights. By the cession of Samogitia (380) to the Order by Duke Witowd of Lithuania, in 1394, Poland had become entirely excluded from the Baltic coast; and the narrow-minded politics of the Teutonic knights did not fail to throw still greater impediments in the way of the exports of Poland and its communication with the Hanseatic cities on the Lower Vistula. Yet the important step for the final humiliation of the military hierarchy had already been taken, in A. D. 1386, by the marriage of Princess Hedwig, the younger daughter of King Louis of Anjou, with Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the alliance of the two powerful nations, the Poles and Lithuanians. But great difficulties—the ambition of the Lithuanian princes and the vanity and pride of the nations themselves—still protracted the permanent union and brotherhood of the Lithuanian and Polish nationalities. This auspicious event took place at last at Lublin, in 1568. The male line of the old Piast dynasty (250, 312) became extinct with Kasimir the Great in 1370.[208] The Jagellons followed from 1386 to 1572; yet Poland had already become an elective *aristocratic* republic since the celebrated diet of Chenciny, in 1331. During this period there were in Poland four distinct classes of inhabitants. First, the *Voivods* and *Starosts*, or earls, the high commanders of the provinces, who, together with the bishops, formed the council of the king. The second class formed the *Zemanié*, or landholders, great and small—some with thousands of acres and thousands of tenants, others with small farms, themselves tilling their fields—yet all were nobles, with emblazoned shields, fighting on horseback, and forming the Polish feudal army—*Pospolité Ruscénié*—of a hundred thousand cavalry. The third class were the tenants —the *Kmetons* or *Wiesniacy*—that is, people living in villages, the peasantry; they were a free and independent people, but they were mostly tenants doing service *in soccage* on the estates of the wealthier nobles; their public duty was to guard the castles—*Grod*—in time of war, and all those who volunteered to fight the battles of the country in the open field, on horseback, were ranked with the nobles or knights—*Szlachzikes*. The fourth class of people were the prisoners of war and their descendants; these were considered as slaves of the voivods or nobles who made them prisoners; their condition, however, was not worse than that of the English villains (284) and tenants at will. All the serfs were emancipated at once, and declared freemen, like the peasants, by the great national assembly held in the city of Wizlica, in 1347.

[206] The curious *Low-German* document of Count Christian of Oldenborg, containing this illegal promise, is dated June 28th, 1448, more than a year before his coronation at Copenhagen, as King of Denmark, October 28th, 1449. It had, of course, no validity, because Count Christian could not give away any territory or rights of the kingdom of Denmark, whose crown he did not yet wear; nay, he could not even do so after he was a crowned king, except with the consent of the states in a general diet or *Danehof*. This renunciation of the young candidate may, therefore, be considered null and void. Yet it has for centuries been the cause of much trouble to Denmark, and it was mainly on account of this antiquated and absurd document, that all the innocent blood was spilt during the late Schleswig war in 1848–1850—until at last the heavy sword of the victors at Bau, Dyppel, Fredericia, Idsted, and Frederikstad, has cut it to atoms, and proved that the duchy of Schleswig or *South Jutland*, is an integral part—the very flesh and bone of old Denmark.

[207] Our space does not permit us to give here the later history of the Schleswig-Holstein question, which belongs more properly to the Historical Geography of Modern Europe. See our first article in the New-York American Review: *Wars between the Danes and Germans for the possession of Schleswig.* Vol. II., No. 5, new series (September) 1848. The following articles describing the late events in Denmark, have not yet been published.

[208] Poland owes to Kasimir, the Peasant King, her constitution, consolidation, and greatness; he united the duchy of Halitch (302–312) with the kingdom in 1340; lightened the burdens of the *Kmetons*—peasants—and brought an admirable order in the administration of the kingdom. His nephew, Louis of Anjou, King of Hungaria, followed him on the throne until 1381. The beautiful Hedwig, youngest daughter of Louis, was then elected queen, and that virtuous princess, silencing the voice of her heart, gave generously her hand to the elderly heathen Duke Jagellon, on the 17th February, 1386, and secured thus the union of thirty millions, the wide extent and prosperity of glorious Poland. The Jagellon dynasty is the following:—*Jagellon* (Jagal, Jagiel), after his baptism, 14 February, 1386, called *Wladislaw II.*, 1386–1434; *Wladislaw III.*, his son, perishes in the battle at Varna, against the Ottomans, 1434–1444: *Kasimir IV.*, Grand Duke of Lithuania his brother, 1444–1492; *John I. Albert*, 1492–1501; *Alexander*, 1501–1506; *Sigismund I.*, 1506–1548; *Sigismund II.*, 1548–1572. This was the period of the farthest extent and highest bloom of Poland. It reached from Pomerania, on the Baltic, all along the frontiers of Silesia, Hungary, and Moldavia, to the shores of the Black Sea; embraced all Prussia, Samogitia, Courland, Livonia, and Esthland as feudal principalities, and ran eastward along the Düna, by Smolensk and Novgorod Seversky, through the Ukraine, to the mouth of the Dnieper. On the west, this immense frontier stood firm for centuries; but on the east began already (A. D. 1586) the fearful wars with the powerful Czars of Moscow. It was the term of the grandeur of Poland, and how terrible was her decline and fall!

This diet also limited the power of the kings, and extended the earlier constitution of Chenciny in 1331.[209]

447. The *cities* in Poland were not numerous; but they enjoyed nearly all the privileges of the German free towns; they were exempted from the feudal regulations, and Krakau, the beautiful capital of ancient Poland, on the Vistula, was a prominent member of the Hanseatic Confederacy. Yet commerce and industry could not flourish in Poland; the long exclusion from the Baltic, the oppressive rule of the nobility, the badness of the roads, and, most of all, the pernicious influence of the hundred thousands of Jews settled in the country—like a cloud of locusts—smothered already in the bud every generous attempt at national industry and commercial development. "Master Jew"—*Pan-Zyd*—was the mighty man, who ruled both kings and diets, and held the fate of the national credit and the treasury in his hands.

448. The Poles are the most spirited and handsome of all the Sclavonian nations. They are open, generous, and hospitable. Their bravery in war, and fortitude in adversity, are as unrivalled as their social and domestic virtues at home. The fair sex are celebrated in the north for their beauty and patriotism; they surpass the Russian women in symmetry of form, and the Germans in the delicacy of their complexion. The Polish ladies have an excellent education, and are more animated and agreeable in their manners than the women of Russia. After the alliance with Lithuania, and the victory at Tannenberg over the Teutonic knights, Poland enjoyed for more than a century a very happy position; the resources of the country increased by commerce, agriculture, and mining, after the road of the Vistula had become opened to the Baltic. The victorious arms of the Jagellon princes secured the distant frontiers; and, at home, the lively Polaks lived in plenty and pleasure. The nobles, and even the Jews, wore splendid dresses of velvet and silk, richly lined with sables and precious furs. In war, they disdained the heavy suits of plate-armor then in use, and preferred the light and graceful costume of the *Hulans*. Nor did they neglect literary polish and acquirements; their language and literature began to flourish, and the newly-established University of Krakau—1369—became crowded with learned professors and studious youths.[210]

449. Division into Provinces and Voivodats; Cities and Historical Sites.—A. The Kingdom of Poland (250, 312) comprehended: I. Polonia Magna, *Great Poland*, with the duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*. The former a most important province, situated on the *Vistula*, the *Bug*, and the *Narev*, had, since 1220, its own ducal dynasty, and was not united to the kingdom before 1463–76, and the western parts only in 1526; it contained the principalities of *Plock*, *Warsawa*, and *Czersk*, with the cities *Pultusk* and *Praga* on the eastern bank of the Vistula, opposite to *Wasawa* (Warsaw), then a small city. Cujavia, likewise long separated, and ruled by its own princes, fell back to the mother country in 1401. It was the border region toward Prussia, and continually exposed to the wars with the Teutonic Order. Its voivodats were *Dobryn*, *Wlaslaw*, *Dobrzyn*, and *Brzesc*, with the commercial cities of *Bromberg*, *Löbau*, *Coronovo* (Polish Crown), colonized with Germans. Voivodats, 1, *Posen*, on the frontier of Brandenburg; 2, *Kalisch*, east of Silesia; 3, *Wielun*, brought back to the crown in 1401; 4, *Sieradz*; 5, *Lenczyc*, on the Warthe; 6, *Rawa*, and 7, the principality *Lowicz*. II. Pomerellia, or *Polish Prussia*, which was ceded to Poland by the Teutonic Order, in the disastrous treaty of 1466, with the thriving cities *Danzig* (382), *Oliva*, *Elbing*, *Stargard*, *Graudenz*, *Culm*, the first conquest and colony of the knights in 1228; *Marienwerder* and *Marienburg*, with magnificent monuments of the order; *Thorn*, on the Vistula, the birthplace of the celebrated Pole, Nicholas Copernik (Copernicus), who, "diving through the mists of error, rendered venerable by time, discovered the true system of the world, and established for himself a name that will live while sun and moon endure." The first printed copy of his masterly work he received dying, on the 23d of May, 1543, and survived the joy only a few hours. *Ermeland*, inclosed in Prussia, with the city of *Braunsberg*, on the coast of the *Frische-Haff*; *Seeburg*, *Wartenstein*, and *Altenstein*, were strong castles of the knights. III. Podlachia, east of Mazovia, with *Augustowo*, *Bielsk*, and the extensive possessions of the Radzivil family.

450. II. Polonia Minor.—*Lesser Poland*—south of the former, bounded on the west by Silesia, south by the Carpathian range, separating it from Hungary, and east by Halitch. The principal voivodats were *Krakau*, *Sandomirz*, *Lublin*, and *Bochnia*. The principalities *Zator* and *Zips*, in the Carpathians, were acquisitions from Hungary. *Krakau*, on a high and picturesque site on the Vistula, was the ancient metropolis, where the kings were crowned and interred. Among the numerous mausoleums is that of Saint Stanislaus, Bishop of Krakau, whom King Boleslaus the Bold killed before the altar. Near Krakau lie the celebrated mines of fossil salt of *Bochnia* and *Wieliczka*, which were discovered, as is said, by Saint Cunegunda, a Hungarian princess, the wife of King Boleslaus V., in the year 1351, though the mines were neglected, and the works on a large scale did not begin regularly before 1442, under King Wladislaw III.[211] *Chenciny*, north of Krakau, where, in the first general diet of Poland, Wladislaw II. Loketek, in the year 1331, laid the foundation of the constitution of the kingdom, and the rank and privileges of the *Szlachzikes*, or nobles, were defined. *Wislica*, south-east of the former: here Kasimir the Great, the son of Wladislaw II., in another important diet held 1347, published new modifications of the earlier constitution, and the final union of Polonia Magna and Minor in one kingdom. All these fundamental laws were written in the Latin language. *Sandomirz* and *Lublin* were strong fortresses (312).

451. IV. Halitch (Halicz), or *Red Russia*, east of Lesser Poland, came to the crown in 1392. The city of Halitch, the earlier capital, on the Dniester, yielded later to Lemberg, which took its rank. At *Horodloie* an important diet was held in 1413, in which the Lithuanians were declared liable to the same taxes, and subject to the same laws, as the Poles. There, too, the arms of the two nations (the white eagle for Poland, the armed knight for Lithuania) were united,

[209] Poland succeeded in reforming her people by military merit and education; in the course of a single century about one-eighth of her population became nobles, and in 1500, when her population did not exceed *fifteen* millions, she boasted of four hundred and eighty thousand voters; while France, in 1847, after so many bloody revolutions, with a population of *thirty-five* millions, numbered only one hundred and eighty thousand voters,—three hundred thousand less than Poland numbered three centuries ago with her fifteen millions. The nobility of Poland sprang from among the people, and were the creation of an adopted reform of the nation; while the feudal nobility of the rest of Europe originated in the ascendency of a conquering race over the original inhabitants.

[210] See, for interesting details on this latter period of the mediæval history of Poland, the admirable work of Prof. Joachim Lelewel, in the German translation, *Geschichte Polens*, (Leipzig, 1847), with an Atlas, pp. 96, 100, 116–125.

[211] The entire city of Wieliczka is undermined; the works extend on every side some thousand feet, and the depth beneath the lowest part of the valley is about eight hundred feet.

and the grand dukes of the latter country were appointed by the Kings of Poland. Principalities were *Chelm* and *Belz;* cities, *Sambor* and *Busk.* V. Wolhynia, east of Halitch, and VI., Podolia, south of the former, old Lithuanian conquests, were, in 1392, likewise united to the Polish crown, to make Jagellon popular among his new subjects. Principalities were *Czartorisky*, *Korecz*, *Czaslaw*, and others. Cities, *Krzemieniec* and *Wladimir.* VII. The vast principality of Kiow (Kijow), on the Dnieper, with Bielograd and Perejaslaw. It extended southward below the waterfalls of that river; the whole southern region was inhabited by the Saporogian Cossacks, who appear for the first time about the year 1320. The origin of their military republic has been ascribed to the terror excited among the southern Sclavonians by the victories of the Lithuanian prince, Gedhemyn, on his desolating march to Kiow. Swarms of fugitives left their country, assembled at the mouth of the Dnieper, and formed a number of warlike colonies, which were compelled, in order to resist the aggressions both of Lithuanians and Mongols, to live on horseback, under a military government, and submit to the *lance-law.* Such a life has its own charms; thousands of new settlers—*Cossacks*, in the Tartar language signifying light-armed horsemen—arrived from the north; they built towns and villages, where they resided with their families during winter, but in summer they mounted their steeds, and galloped off to the eastern steppes, making continual inroads upon the Tartars. The unmarried young men were selected as an advanced guard against the enemy, and occupied the more exposed regions on the Dnieper and the shores of the Euxine. These warlike youths were the Saporogues, who drilled in this excellent military school, became the most esteemed and feared of the different Cossack hordes of the seventeenth century. Their country, between the Bug, Dnieper and Don, was also called Malo-Russia, or Lesser Russia, and the lower steppes Ukraine, which had an important part to perform in modern history.[212]

452. B. Grand duchy of Lithuania. I. Lithuania Proper, between the Njemen and the Düna with the voivodats, *Wilna*, *Troki*, *Keydany*, *Olszany*, *Braclaw*, and the cities Wilna and *Wilcika*, on the Wilja—*Grodno* and *Knowno*, on the Njemen. Lithuania proper is a very level country; the greater part of it is covered with sand, intersected with fens and marshes. The humid climate there is subject to oppressive heat, and to extreme cold. Three or four weeks of a Lithuanian winter proved fatal to the veterans of Napoleon, in 1812. The country is covered with immense forests, where bears, wolves, wild boars, and beavers are found in thousands. The inhabitants resemble the Poles and Russians, though they are even less advanced in civilization than these; struggling against poverty, oppressed by slavery, their appearance indicates their degraded condition. There are still several wealthy families of the ancient Polish nobility, among others the Radziwils, the Sapiehas, and the Oginski, but their gorgeous palaces are surrounded by wretched cottages. II. Samogitia (Szamaithen), extending from the Njemen along the coast of the Baltic, toward Livonia, was conquered by the Teutonic Order, as an important province for the communication with the State of their brothers, the Knights Swordbearers of Livonia; but after the most furious attacks of the Lithuanians, the knights found themselves obliged to give up the new, formidable castles which they had built on the Njemen, such as *Jurborg* and *Christmemel*, and retire from the country in 1409. The soil of Szamaithen is better than in other parts; the plains are well wooded, and large herds of the elk and urus wandered formerly in the forests. The Samogitians are a simple and superstitious, but brave people, who contended long against the Teutonic Knights, and adopted Christianity with great reluctance. Miedniki and Rosienna are the only towns which deserve such a name. III. White Russia, east of Lithuania proper, on the rivers Berezina, Druez, and Dnieper, extended eastward to the principality of Smolensk, and south to Black Russia. It was divided into the Voivodats, *Witepsk*, *Mzcislaw*, *Lukoml*, *Mohilew*, and *Minsk*, with the cities *Borissow* on the Berezina, *Mohilew*, *Bobry*, and *Czasniki.* The family of Radziwil had large territories in the west. IV. Black Russia, south of Lithuania proper and White Russia, belonged in part to the great families Sapicha, Radziwil, and Olelko. Nowogrodek was the principal city on the Njemen, which had witnessed many a hard fought battle of the Lithuanians with the Teutonic Knights. V. Podlesia, south of the former, is the marshy region of the numerous tributaries of the Pripjet, the Berczina, and the Dnieper; it is almost covered with swamps, on the outskirts of which lay the cities *Biala*, *Brzesc*, *Rosanna*, *Kamieniec*, *Slonim*, *Slucz*, *Bobruisk*, and *Rogatschew*, the latter forming a separate principality. On the east of these Lithuanian provinces lay VI., the principality of Pskow (Pleskow), VII., that of Smolensk, and farther southeast, VIII., the extensive Severian Lands, bordering on the Tcherkassian Cossacks, on the Don. Those immense tracts formed the border toward the grand duchy of Russia during the period of the Mongol Empire, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, yet after the restoration of the Moskowite power, under Czar Iwan the Great, about 1470, they were successively reconquered by the Russians; Severia in 1494–1526, and Smolensk in 1500.

453. C. Prussia.—The great battle at Tannenberg, in 1410, had already decided the fate of the Teutonic Order (383). The few fleeing knights that reached Marienburg were there besieged by Jagellon, and all the provinces, discontented with the military hierarchy of the steel-clad monks, hastened to submit to the victor. Lezkau, the burgomaster of Danzig, saved the knights from destruction, by closing the gates of that important maritime city against the Poles. But those suspicious tyrants, fearing the power and influence of that high-minded man, had the baseness and madness to assassinate him with their own daggers. This unheard-of crime at once opened the eyes of the Prussian people; Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, and other cities, as well as the nobility and secular clergy of the maritime provinces, entered into a league against the order in the year 1440. The whole of western Prussia revolted in 1454, and placed itself under the protection of King Kasimir IV. of Poland, who confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants, and guaranteed the Prussians their separate independent diets. Yet the knights made the most desperate resistance, supported by adventurers from Germany. The disastrous war which was the consequence of this revolt, lasted twelve years; and, in the course of it, the eastern part of Prussia, which had remained under the authority of the knights, was laid waste by the Poles; two thousand churches

[212] The Saporogian Cossacks belong to the *Russniaks* or *Ruthenians*, also called *Russinians* and *Malo-Russians.* This Sclavonian tribe, who are distinguished from the eastern Russians by their finer features, dark or hazel eyes, loftier stature, and more harmonious language, have a more generous and confiding character; the Malo-Russian never thinks of to-morrow; he enjoys his mild climate, and labors only when compelled by necessity. The free and fierce Cossacks show the Malo-Russian character in its opposition to that of the slavish, crouching *Weliko*, or Great Russians, who have become accustomed to the yoke by the lapse of ages. All the inhabitants of Southern Poland, Galicia, Ludomiria or Red Russia (Halitch), the Bukovina, also of the northeastern part of Hungary, and many scattered over Wallachia and Moldavia belong to this Russniak race. Yet the Cossacks of the Don are more mixed with pure Russians. The whole number of that race is given at thirteen millions.

were destroyed; and out of twenty-one thousand villages, eighteen thousand were reduced to ashes. The peace concluded at Thorn confirmed the Poles in the possession of Western Prussia, the territories of *Culm*, *Michelow*, and *Pomerellen* (380), together with the cities of *Marienburg*, *Stuhm*, *Elbing*, and *Christburg*, and the bishopric *Ermeland*, whose bishop had recognized the supremacy of Poland. *Natangen*, *Samland*, and the other eastern districts (380), the knights were permitted to retain by acknowledging themselves vassals of Poland. Yet the haughty warrior-monks could not long bear such a humiliation; they grasped the sword again in 1520, against King Sigismund I. of Poland. But the times of crusades, chivalry and monachism were passing away. The artillery of the Poles demolished without difficulty their strongest castles, and the light arquebusiers brought down the stoutest knights, who in vain filled Germany with their lamentations. The Reformation had thrown its light on the world, and now nobody cared for the monks in Prussia. In their despair, the knights chose for their grand master the young Prince Albert of Brandenburg, who, by the most remarkable artifice, secured his sovereignty through the destruction of the order. Albert visited Luther and Melancthon in Wittemberg, and learned from the great reformers the invalidity of the vows of monks and knights. Having thus become a Protestant, the Prince married Dorothea, Princess of Denmark, and invited his knights to follow his excellent example. No doubt the greater part of them preferred marriage to celibacy; they adopted the reform, renounced Rome and the Pope, and, from a rank equal to that of priestly sovereigns, the Teutonic knights now gladly descended to the condition of secular nobles. The closing scene took place in Krakau, April 8, 1525. On the square before the palace the royal throne had been erected, adorned with the united escutcheons of the White Eagle for Poland and the Mounted Knight for Lithuania. There Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, the grand master, with his Teutonic knights, knelt down before the Polish King Sigismund, and, surrendering the banner of the order, swore allegiance to his sovereign for the Prussian territories; Sigismund then in return embraced him as Duke of Prussia, and handed him the banner of his new dignity. Thus the order was expelled from the Baltic. A few stubborn old knights transferred their chapter to Mergentheim, in Würtemberg, where their order was suppressed by the Emperor Napoleon in 1809, and their estates sold and dispersed. Yet it appears that the skeletons of the order have recently been called forth from their sepulchres, and that their shadows still stalk about in Germany, with an Austrian archduke for their ghostly grand master—*Deutchmeister*.

454. D. Livonia, Esthonia and Courland had a somewhat different fate from that of Prussia. On the dissolution of the Teutonic Order in the latter county, the *Heermeister* of the Knights Swordbearers (380) proclaimed his independence, under the protection of the German Emperor Charles V. The knights therefore continued to occupy those coast-lands until the fearful advance of the Russians under the Czar Ivan Wasiljewitch II.; the sword-knights were defeated, and their castles stormed. Esthonia, with the capital, Reval, called in the Swedes, and surrendered to King Eric XIV. by capitulation. Denmark occupied the bishoprics Oesel, on the island, and Pilten, on the mainland, while Livonia hurried to do homage to King Sigismund II. of Poland, who, at the diet held in Wilna, November 28, 1561, united this country with Lithuania, but granted the two western provinces, Courland and Semigallia, as a secular hereditary duchy to the last grand master Gotthard Kettler.

455. E. Silesia, an important possession of the Polish crown, was ceded by the pacific King Kasimir to John of Bohemia, at the celebrated congress of Wischerad, in 1335, and lost for ever. That rich province had been awarded to princes of the royal family of the Piasts, and these appanages soon became separate states, which were again subdivided into a great number of small principalities. Weakened by the imprudence of its princes, Silesia excited the ambition of the chivalrous Luxemburger, John II., King of Bohemia, who, entering the country at the head of his knights, forced some fourteen Silesian dukes of the Piastian dynasty to submit to his arms and acknowledge themseves his vassals, in 1325. Only the Dukes of Schweidnitz and Jauer maintained their independence, and their resistance was facilitated by the mountainous position of their territory on the Sudetian range. But they were unsupported by Kasimir the Great; and when Poland thus wantonly renounced by solemn treaties its ancient and just claims to the sovereignty of that beautiful and important country, Charles IV., the son of John, and Emperor of Germany, was enabled to add all Silesia to the Bohemian crown, by an act of the empire in 1355; from that period the Sclavonic Silesians became Germanized by thousands of colonists, and continued thenceforth the allies, if not the vassals, of the empire.

V. Grand Duchy of Moscow.

456. Consolidation of the Russian Empire.—The victory of the Mongols, on the Kalka, had decided the fate of Russia (385). For more than two centuries and a half, from 1224 to 1480, that unhappy nation continued to be held in abject vassalage by the Mongols of Kaptchak, whose wild hordes overspread the eastern and southern provinces, and the plains between the Caspian and the Volga, on the banks of which river the *Golden Horde*, or imperial camp of the chans of the race of Batu, the nephew of Dshingis-Chan, was established. The farthest extent of the Mongol devastations is delineated in our map, running north, between Moscow and Novgorod, and westward into the heart of Lithuania. It appears, however, that the Lithuanian Dukes soon threw off the yoke; they took possession of *Smolensk*, the *Severian* Lands on the Desna, and *Kiow* on the Dnieper, and the Grand Duke Olgerd drove the horde beyond that river and the Doniec, in 1377. But other tribes of Tartars occupied parts of the Crimea, where they gave great trouble to the Genoese in their commercial colonies on the coast. At the extinction of the line of Batu-Chan, in 1361, disputes began to arise among the Mongol princes for the succession, and the fierce civil wars which ensued encouraged the Russians to resistance. In consequence of these disturbances, the Golden Horde became split into the Chanate of *Astrakan*, or Sarai, on the Volga, that of the *Crimea*, that of *Kasan*, on the western slope of Mount Oural, and that of *Turan*, or Ssibir, beyond the chain, on the east, in Siberia. Such an opportune division of power enabled Dimitri IV., *Donskoi*, in 1380, to defeat Mamai-Chan in the celebrated battle on the Don, in Rjaesan, from which the Russian hero took his name. Yet it was the invasion of the mighty Timur-Chan (Tamerlane), in 1389 and 1395, into the Kaptchak, that gave the fatal blow to the Mongol dominion. The Russians had now risen, and fearful battles were fought between those savage nations. Once more the Tartar sword prostrated Moscow in 1441, but Iwan III. the Great, inspired by his admirable wife, Sophia of Constantinople, at last succeeded in shaking off the still remaining vestiges of dependence on the Golden Horde, which was finally dissolved in 1480. Iwan then directed his arms against Kasan, which was made tributary, and thus strengthened, reduced the

principalities of Twer, Wereja, Rostow, and Jaroslaw—the Republic of Viätka, Obdoria, and Ugria did homage between 1480 and 1499. The Lithuanian princes of Severia, and the cities of Wiasma, Mstislaw, Smolensk, and many others, followed the example, and thus toward the close of the fifteenth century, the unity of the Russian monarchy was fully established. Iwan Wasiljewitch restored Russia to independence, but he laid the foundation of that boundless despotism which ever since has been the scourge of Russia. He extinguished every spark of democratic fire in the commercial republics of *Pleskow* and *Novgorod*, every trace of their popular institutions; life, honor, fortune, all depended on the whim of the autocrat; the former princes and their descendants now became the subjects of the *Czar of all the Russias*, as Iwan styled himself. Those princes, together with thirty Boyards of the high council, formed thenceforth an hereditary nobility, enjoying many privileges; they attended at court, and supplied the numerous officers around the throne; all the noble families were carefully inscribed in the *Radoslovnié-Knigi*. The citizens, even the wealthiest bankers of Novgorod, were considered as the serfs of the Czar; while the peasants sank back into the most abject slavery, and the lot of the thousands of Tartar prisoners of war was still worse. The penal code of Iwan distinguished itself by bloody austerity and by its ingenuity in devising the most excruciating torments; difficult cases were decided by combat; in civil law the decision depended entirely on the will of the judge, and the Czar was the sole dispenser of life and death. The military system of the Russians was as barbarous as their manners; they attacked their neighbors by surprise or stratagem, without any declaration of war; the mass of the male population were driven to the camp; the Russians fought on horseback, they rushed to battle with furious yells, following the red horse-tail banners of their chiefs. Long time after other nations, Poles, Swedes, and even Tartars were using fire-arms, the Russians only wielded their sabres and long Cossack-lances, until toward the middle of the sixteenth century the Czars of Moscow at last took into their service some thousand foreign mercenaries, drilled to handle the arquebuss and to serve the cannon. The Russians mustered by hundreds of thousands, as they served without pay or provision; they lived on the plunder they gathered from the nations exposed to their continual invasions. The Czar wielded the *knout*, or knotty Russian whip, with vigor on the shoulders of his priests and Boyards—he ate with his servants from the same dish: the food was coarse; cookery almost unknown; the early attempts at literature (304) had long been abandoned, and no spark of mental cultivation could now be discovered among the Russians; their clergy could not read, and they learned their prayers from hearsay. Their manners were gross, and, like the Tartars, their bridal festivals were attended with ceremonies of revolting indecency—finally, we plainly discover the deteriorating influence which the ages of bondage had left on the manners and institutions of the otherwise intelligent and good-natured Russian people, whose middle ages do not terminate until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the present dynasty of the Romanoffs mounted the Moscowite throne.

457. Divisions of the Empire, Cities, and Historical Sites.—Moscovia, or the Empire of the Czars, consisted, in the year 1500, of the following principalities and territories: I. the Grand Duchy of Moscow, bordering north on the territory of Novgorod, east on the chanate of Kasan, south on the grand duchy of Rjœsan, and west on the Lithuanian principalities of White and Black Russia (452). It was divided into a great number of principalities, which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had become united under the sceptre of the Czars of Moscow. In the ancient principality of that name, the cradle of the Russian empire, lies the immense city of Moscow, on the banks of the river *Moskwa*. The earlier capitals, *Susdal* and *Wladimir*, had sunk into decay during the intestine feuds, when Yourg I.—*Dolgoruki*—(George Long-hand), in 1156, built his new city around the villa of the Boyar Kutsehko, with whose beautiful wife the Czar had fallen in love. Moscow increased rapidly, and was fortified with wooden walls and towers; but it could not withstand the invasions of the Tartars, and was, in 1293 and 1439, burnt and levelled to the ground. Yet it soon recovered, and rose with greater splendor. Iwan I.—*Kalita*—(the Pourse, or the Generous), erected the first stone-built cathedrals in Russia, and the celebrated *Kreml*,—Kremlin or Castle—which became the imperial palace of the Czars. This immense mass of buildings was encompassed with high and thick walls, protected by battlements, and flanked with gigantic towers, and became the scene of many of the frightful catastrophes that shook the Russian throne, until the times of Czar Peter the Great, who removed his court to the marshy banks of the Neva.[213]

458. We give here the names of the smaller principalities, with the year of their annexation to the Grand Duchy of Moscow. In the north: *Wolok*, 1410; *Dmitrow*, 1472; *Pereslawl*, 1302; *Uglitch*, 1401; *Rostow*, 1389–1425; *Jaroslaw*, 1463; *Ustjusna*, 1425–1491; *Kubina*, 1425–1481; *Bjelosersk*, 1340–1435, and *Saoserje*, 1425–1481. These latter four territories had formerly belonged to the republic of Great Novgorod, and were given as appanages to prinees of the Grand Ducal family before they became annexed to the crown, as the double number of years will indicate. East of Moscow lay: *Galitsch*, 1340–1450; *Kostroma*, 146[illegible]; the large principality of *Susdal*, with the ancient capital of that name, 1392; *Gorodez*, 1392, and the important Nischni-Novgorod, 1392, on the Wolga; Wladimir, 1363–1389; *Meschtschera* and *Murom*, 1392, both on the banks of the Oka. South of Moscow lay: *Tarusa*, with the celebrated cities *Tula* and *Kaluga*, 1392; *Kolomna*, 1367; *Kasimow*, 1380; and *Jelez*, 1450. West of Moscow were situated the following: *Wereja*, 1485, with the city *Malo Jaroslawez*, where Napoleon Bonaparte suffered his first defeat, on the 24th October, 1812, and resolved upon his disastrous retreat; *Moshaisk*, 1303–1472; and *Rshew*, 1410–1503.

459. II. Principality and Republic of Novgorod, extending north of Moscow to the Finnic Gulf, the White Sea, the Icy Ocean, and Mount Oural. It embraced on the north and northeast the extensive provinces of *Savwolstchi* and *Udoria*—the ancient Biarmeland of the Northmen (226)—*Ugria*, the home of the Ugrians (Hungarians) in the valleys of the Ouralian range, and the small independent republic *Bielosersk*, on the White Lake. On the west lay, on the lake Ilmen, the celebrated Great Novgorod, the commercial republic (304), which, having victoriously escaped all the invasions of the Tartaro-Mongolian hordes, fell at last, in 1471, under the despotic sceptre of Iwan Wasiliwitch, after an attempt to throw off the yoke in 1478; the glorious city was treated

[213] Moscow has been rebuilt with great eleganee since the conflagration in 1812. It is at present the most extensive city in Europe, after Constantinople, though the number of its inhabitants is only 350,000. The *Kremlin*, which Napoleon in his ire attempted to blow up in vain, and the four hundred and fifty churches, monasteries, and nunneries of Moscow, all towering above the maze of houses and bazaars, with their gilt oriental cupolas, present a most magnifieent view, when beheld glittering in the morning sun from the high tower of Czar Iwan.

with the utmost barbarity by the Czar, who not only removed its treasures of gold, silver, and jewelry on three hundred carriages, but transported its most distinguished mercantile families to remote parts of his domains, and substituted for them more humble subjects from other places. By this tyrannical proceeding, the flourishing commerce of Weliki-Novgorod received a shock from which it never rose again. *Staraja-Russa*, an interesting old town, on the southern bank of the lake of Ilmen, with the monastery *Iwerskoi*, is considered as the early capital of Old Ruric and his Danish Varangians, on their first arrival in Gardarike (Russia) in 852 (226).

460. III. The principality and Republic Pskow (Pleskow), west of Novgorod, and bordering on Esthland, on the lake of Peïpus, a small but enterprising city, which deserved the name of the *Younger Sister* of Novgorod, conciliated the despotic Czar, and maintained her popular government until the year 1510. IV. The Republic of Wiætka, southeast of Novgorod; and V., that of Permia, at the base of Mount Oural, were both conquered by Iwan in 1472–1489; the latter was treated with the same cruelty as Novgorod, and sunk back into insignificance. VI. The Grand Duchy of Twer, northwest of Moscow, with the smaller states of *Cholm* and *Bjeshezk*, and the important city of Twer, on the Upper Volga, had, under its prudent duke, Michael Borissowitsch, maintained its independence by alliance with the Poles. But Michael was, in 1485, betrayed by his own boyars, and escaped the pursuing Russians only by the swiftness of his horse; his duchy and treasures were then captured by the Czar, who united the former with the crown lands. VII. The Principality of Rjæsan, south of Moscow, retained its princes until 1517, when it was incorporated into the Czar's dominions, together with the extensive Severian lands (452), Smolensk, and other conquests from Lithuania.

VIII. The Mongol Chanate of Kasan embraced the territories of the *Tchermessians* and *Mordwins* (226, 303), on the rivers Volga and Kama, toward Mount Oural. After the separation of the Kasanian Tartars from the Golden Horde of Sarai, they became exposed to the attacks of the Russians, and though their chans kept up a show of independence by paying tribute to the Czars of Moscow, they were, nevertheless, unable to withstand the invasions of Iwan II. Wasiliiwitch, who, springing mines below the walls, entered the city of Kasan, sword in hand, in 1552, and reduced the country as far as Siberia beyond the mountains. *Kasan* (Kozan, Oson), a handsome oriental city, situated on picturesque hills above the Volga, was the great emporium of Siberian commerce, and has maintained a shadow of its former importance by its university and other literary institutions. South of Kasan lie, on the Volga, the interesting ruins of *Bolgari* (Bolghar), the ancient capital of Great Bulgaria, the home of the wandering Bulgarians (195, 303). Arabic and Armenian inscriptions, Cufic coins (222), and many other remains of mediæval splendor are excavated in the environs, and excite the curiosity of the Russian antiquarians. The native inhabitants of Kasan, the Tchermessians, a mixture of Finns and Calmucks, are generally considered as the true descendants of the Huns (89); they are as deformed and savage as their forefathers; their religion is a curious mixture of Scandinavian (Odinian) and Oriental idolatry, and the Russian *knout* has not yet been able to whip them into civilization.

Such was the condition of the Russian Empire toward the beginning of the modern era, when, during the sixteenth century, the terrible Czars, with their hundred thousands of horsemen, inundated the lands on the Lower Wolga, Astrakhan (1554), Kabarda, on the Kuban, the steppes of the Cossacks, on the Don, as far as the Crimea, in 1577, and the chanate of Turan (Sibir), beyond Mount Oural, which opened to their ambition all the broad lands to the distant frontiers of China. Even the ocean put no stop to those conquests; for the bold Russians, crossing Behring's Straits, subdued a considerable part of the western coast of North America.

II. CENTRAL EUROPE.

VI. The Kingdom of France,

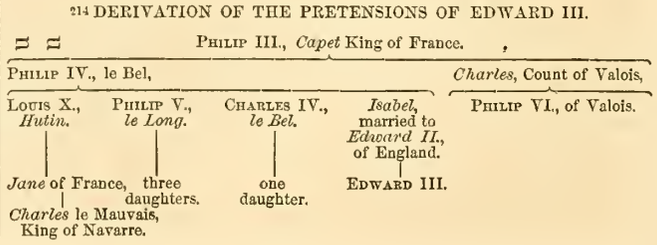
during the wars with England, A. D. 1360–1453.

461. Origin of the Contest.—We have already reviewed the first period of the rivalry of France and England (386–388). The second phase of that protracted struggle, known as *The Hundred Years' War*, begins, with the accession of Edward III. in England, A. D. 1327, and that of the family of Valois in France, in 1328, and extends through an alternation of frightful reverses and brilliant victories to the middle of the fifteenth century. The contest of this period becomes more general than the former, and is carried on with all the forces of both the rival nations. It is no longer a mere question about cities and provinces, or feudal homage to be rendered; the entire nationality of France is now at stake, and the proud King of England aims at nothing less than the conquest of the throne of France. Edward III., a youth fifteen years of age, who had been proclaimed King of England during the captivity of his unhappy father, Edward II., in 1327, laid claim at once to the inheritance of Charles IV., the last king of the Capetian dynasty, by right of his mother, Isabel of France.[214]

Thus, then, all that brilliant family of princes, who had sat near their father, Philip the Handsome, at the Council of Vienna was extinct! In the popular belief the curses of Pope Boniface and of the murdered knights templars had taken an awful effect. Yet four daughters and Charles of Navarre, the son of Jane, still survived. How, then, can the historian hesitate in condemning the injustice of King Edward's pretensions? Whether the *Salique Law* were or were not valid, no advantage could be gained by Edward; there stood in his way not only the express decision of the entire French nation, but, as our genealogical table shows, Jane of France daughter of Louis Hutin, then the three daughters of Philip le Long, and one daughter of the last King, Charles le-Bel. Aware of this, Edward set up a distinction, that though females were excluded from succession, the same rule did not apply to their *male* issue; and thus the British king philosopher pretended that though his mother Isabel could not herself become queen of France, she might transmit a title to him! But this was not only contrary to the commonest rules of inheritance, but Jane of France herself had a son, afterwards the famous Charles of Navarre, who stood one degree nearer to the crown than Edward.

462. Divisions.—Thus the most bloody and devastating war of kingly ambition and national antipathy broke out in 1339, and became the cause of great disasters and dismemberments of provinces, which completely modified and changed, at different returns, the whole political geography of France.

[214] DERIVATION OF THE PRETENSIONS OF EDWARD III.



The astonishing vicissitudes of alternate defeats and victories, which characterized this long and obstinate contest were the cause of the modifications. They may be reduced to four distinct periods, viz.: I. From the beginning of the war, in 1339, to the Treaty of *Brétigny*, in the year 1360; II. from 1360 to the death of King Charles V., in 1380; III. from 1380, and the renewal of the war, to the appearance of Joan of Arc at the siege of *Orléans*, in 1429; and, finally, IV. from the defeat of the English before that city to their ultimate expulsion from France, in 1453. Our circumscribed space will not permit us here to give any historical relation of events, moreover so well known; we shall therefore confine ourselves to some geographical details on the political geography of France during the first period, and then only indicate briefly the most important changes which that kingdom underwent during the three others.

§ I. France, at the time of the Treaty of Bretigny, A. D. 1360.

463. Historical Remarks.—The period between the battles of *Crécy* and *Poitiers*, down to the treaty of Brétigny, is the most disastrous and melancholy in the annals of France. The misfortunes which overwhelmed that unhappy country, in consequence of the shameful defeat at *Maupertuis*, near Poitiers, in 1356, and the capture of its king, reduced the French nation to the dire necessity of giving adhesion to the humiliating treaty, which, by raising up an entire independent sovereignty within her bosom, for the advantage of an odious rival, became at once the source of still greater calamities, the terrible effects of which continued to be felt long after the time when the original cause had ceased to exist. We shall here give an account of the provinces and other possessions assigned to the kings of France and England according to that treaty. In continuation of our earlier paragraphs (229–232), we shall make a distinction between those provinces of France which directly belonged to the *Royal Domain* and the others, which were possessed by the *great feudatories*, many of whom made common cause with the English. Finally, we shall give a short description of the cities, castles, and battle-fields with which the most interesting events of this period are connected.

I. Possessions of the King of France.

464. The Royal Domains.—The provinces which formed the Royal household power immediately after the treaty of Brétigny, in 1360, were the following, in the succession from north to south. I. Picardy, except the county of *Ponthieu* (232, IV.), situated at the mouth of the Somme, and which belonged to England. On the northeast of Amiens, the capital of the province, lies the small town of Crécy, so celebrated on account of the brilliant victory which Edward III. gained there, on the 26th of August, 1346, over Philip VI., by the bravery of his young son, the Black Prince, and the skill of the English archers.

II. The Isle of France, south of Picardy, with the capital Paris, on the Seine. It had already become a large city, and the regular residence of the Capetian kings (235). Two strong fortresses—*Le Grand* and *Le Petit Châtelet*—on the north and south banks of the river, defended the island of *Nôtre-Dame*. All the suburbs were inclosed by walls, and incorporated with the city. Under Philip August, a new wall, with numerous towers, was built, comprehending a more extensive inclosure than those of former times, and the larger streets and thoroughfares were paved. Outside the walls, on the northeast, lay the splendid castle *Le Temple*, an immense irregular pile, the seat of the Knights Templars, which, after the destruction of that Order, by Philip IV., in 1307, became the royal residence of the French monarchs. Other kings resided at the *Château de Vincennes*, east of Paris. On *Montmartre* stood an abbey, and all the environs were covered with vineyards. Paris possessed, at that time, two national colleges and three hospitals; several large market-places opened from the centre; aqueducts led into the city, and some fine fountains were erected. The space inclosed by the walls of Philip August was in many parts, particularly south of the Seine, unoccupied or covered with gardens and vineyards; but the vacancies soon became filled up with the huge monasteries, churches, and schools founded by Saint Louis, his grandson, and numerous palaces erected by succeeding princes; so that, in the reign of John II. (A. D. 1350–1356), Paris had outgrown its limits, and many edifices had been erected without the walls. In apprehension of an attack from the English after the battle of Poitiers, new walls were raised all along the north side of the river, comprehending a yet larger space than those of Philip August. The population of Paris at that time was about 150,000 souls. The state of morals was extremely bad; and the clergy, the monks, and nuns shared in the general corruption. The police was wretched; nor did there exist a regular municipal government. The provost of the traders—*Le prévôt des marchands*—was a person of considerable importance. All the merchants formed a brotherhood—*Confrérie*—which was called *la Hanse Parisienne;* it enjoyed several privileges and a limited judicial authority, but came gradually to occupy the place of a municipal body. Such was still the condition of Paris when it fell into the power of the English, in 1420.

III. The Orleanais, south of the Isle of France. The capital was Orleans, a strongly fortified city on the Loire. *Brétigny*, a village six miles southeast of Chartres, where, on the 1st of May, 1360, Edward and the Dauphin signed the notorious treaty, which at once put England in the full possession of some of the finest provinces of France: *Aquitaine*, *Calais*, with the counties of *Ponthieu*, *Guines*, and the viscounty of *Montreuil*, and obliged the prisoner King besides to pay the enormous sum of three millions of gold crowns for his ransom!

465. IV. The duchy of Normandy (236, XVI.) had been given by King John as an appanage to his eldest prince, who himself became king in 1364, under the name of Charles V. Three years before, Normandy had been reunited to the crown by an edict of King John. V. Maine, and VI. Anjou (238, XXII., XXIII.), had both, like Normandy, been united to the royal domains on the accession of John, in 1350. But he gave them, in 1356, in appanage to his second son, together with the barony of Château-du-Loir, on the frontier of Maine and Touraine, and the seigneury Chantoceaux, on that of Anjou and of Brittany.

VII. Touraine, east of Anjou; capital, Tours, the old city on the Loire. At the very time of the ratification of the treaty of Brétigny, it was given as appanage, with the title of duchy, to the fourth son of John, Philip the Bold, from whom the king took it back in 1363, when he gave him in exchange the duchy of *Burgundy* (239, 388). VIII. Berri, east of Touraine, with the capital Bourges, between the Loire and the Cher, was given in appanage by King John to his third son, called John, like himself, with the title of duchy.

IX. Dauphine, on the left bank of the Rhone, was already united to the crown since 1343, by the cession of Humbert II., the last Dauphin of Vienne, to Philip of Orléans, the younger son of Philip of Valois (386). The Emperor Charles IV., on whom Dauphiné depended as a fief of the German

empire, confirmed this transaction in 1357. VIENNE, on the Rhone, and *Grenoble* on the Isère, were then the principal cities of Dauphiné—and, finally, X. The seigneury of MONTPELLIER (243, LII.) which had been sold to the King of France, in 1349, by King Jayme II. of Mayorca.

466. PROVINCES POSSESSED BY THE GREAT FEUDATORIES.—These provinces, several of which King John united to the crown, in compensation for the loss that France had sustained in the treaty of Brétigny, were the following:

467. I. The county of FLANDERS (232, I.), north of France. This industrious and closely inhabited county presented the spectacle of a continuous city. But the inhabitants, mostly manufacturers and mechanics, were proud of their wealth and industry; they spurned all obedience to their counts, and when the French took possession of the country, they rose in bloody rebellion against Philip le Bel, in 1302–1305, and united with Edward III., in 1338, under their leader, the brewer Jacques van Artevelde, of Ghent. BRUGGE (Bruges), in a fertile and highly cultivated country, intersected with canals, was the populous capital of the province. There "the prodigious ant-hills and formidable wasp-nests of Flanders" were put in motion on the 21st of March, 1302. The burgesses, mechanics, monks, and women, rushed upon the French, who were ruthlessly slaughtered; the massacre continued for three days, and 1200 knights and 200 sergeants and archers fell victims to the popular fury. *Kortryck* (Courtray), south of Brügge, where the tumultuous army of Flemish republicans, with their *gutentags* (heavy stakes, shod with iron), defeated the feudal army of France, on the 11th of July, 1302. Thousands of French nobles found their death in the ditches, and this glorious feat of the Flemings was called *the battle of the spurs*, because the victors found more than four thousand gilded spurs upon the field. All the environs of Courtray are famous in history for the great number of battles fought there. At *Mons en Puelle*, Philip le Bel took revenge on the Flemings, defeating them with great loss, in 1304. *Cassel*, west of Mons, where the Flemings were again routed in 1328. Another severe defeat they suffered by Charles VI. of France, at *Rosbecque*, west of Cassel, in 1382. *Sluys*, on the sea-coast, north of Brügge. In the harbor of this town the war between the English and French was opened in 1340, by a bloody naval battle, in which the latter lost their entire fleet of a hundred vessels, and thirty thousand men. The moral effect of this naval disaster was fatal to the French: they lost all heart at sea, and the straits remained open to the English for centuries. At *Bovines*, east of Cassel, the French chivalry of Philip August gave, in 1216, a distinguished proof of their superiority over the Germans, in one of the most brilliant battles of the middle ages, defeating the Emperor Otho IV., the Welf, and pursuing the Germans back into Lorraine.

GHENT (Gand), on the Scheldt, the ancient capital of Flanders, which, in the time of Charles V., surpassed Paris in extent. The small islands between the rivers Scheldt, Lys, Moere, and Lieve, on which the city is built, were united by more than three hundred bridges. Its magnificent cathedrals and public buildings are still speaking monuments of its wealth and importance during the days of independence in the middle ages. Ghent was the native city of the brewer Artevelde, who swayed all Flanders with the power of a sovereign. The Count of Flanders possessed besides, in France, with the title of *pair*, the counties of RETHEL (234, VIII.) and NEVERS (239, XXX.), with the barony of DONZI. The county of HAINAUT, east of Flanders, with the capital of *Valenciennes*. The county of CAMBRAI, south of Hainaut, belonged to the Bishop of Cambrai, to whom it had been given by King Henry II., in the year 1007.

468. II. The duchy of BURGUNDY (239, XXVIII.) comprehended, besides the counties of *Boulogne* (232, III.) and *Artois*, on the north of Picardy—that of *Auvergne* (240, XXXIII.), southwest of Burgundy. On the battle-field of Poitiers, John the Good, surrounded by enemies, had been bravely defended by his youngest son, Philip the Bold. From tenderness for this son, he gave him Burgundy, and when Philip afterwards married Margaret of Flanders, he united all the Burgundian lands. This powerful state, under the ambitious and warlike dukes of the Second Burgundian dynasty, brought the greatest disasters on France by their alliance with the kings of England. *Dijon*, on the *Ouche* and the *Suzon*, which unite in the city, stands in the middle of a delightful and highly cultivated plain, terminated with verdant hills, all covered with the famous vineyards of Burgundy. The ancient palace of the dukes adorns the great square, and the ramparts that surround the city are shaded by lofty trees. The cathedral, St. Michael, and other churches, are built in the boldest Gothic architecture. Dijon is one of those fine old cities that carry the traveller at once among the monuments and scenery of the middle ages. CLERMONT, at the base of the Puy de Dôme, was the capital of Auvergne, and the lively, manufacturing ARRAS that of Artois. The eastern part of Old Burgundy, beyond the Saône, was called the FREE COUNTY (Franche Comté), with *Besançon*, on the river Doubs, for its capital. It belonged to the Germanic empire, together with *Lorraine*, *Alsace*, on the Rhine, and *Bresse* and *Bugey*, on the Saône and Rhone—the latter of these was already held by the counts of Savoy (413).

III. The counties of CHAMPAIGN (234, X.) and of IV. BRIE (west on the Seine), were united with the crown lands at the same time as the duchy of Burgundy. TROYES was the capital, where the marrirge between Henry V. of England, and Catherine of France, the daughter af Charles VI., was celebrated on 21st May, 1420. *Rheims*, so rich in ancient buildings and historical recollections, was, in vain, besieged by Edward III. in 1359, who intended there to be crowned King of France.

469. V. The BOURBONNAIS, the ancient lordship of the Bourbon family (238, XXVII.), was erected into a dukedom and peerage by Charles le Bel, in 1327. The Duke Louis the Good, who owned it at the time we speak of, possessed besides the county of *Clermont*, in BEAUVAISIS, which, in 1358, was enlarged by the liberality of the Dauphin Charles, then regent of the kingdom, in order to compensate the old duke for the fearful ravages which the English bands committed throughout the country. MOULINS, on the river Allier, became at that time the capital of the Dukes of Bourbon.

VI. The county of LA MARCHE, southwest of Bourbonnais, was erected into a peerage by Philip le Long, in 1316, and became later, in 1342, the inheritance of the younger branch of the Bourbon family. The county of PONTHIEU, which Philip IV. of Valois had confiscated on the English and given to the Duke of Bourbon, was, at the treaty of Brétigny, restored to England.

VII. The county of LYONNAIS and of FOREZ, southeast of Bourbonnais, and separated from Auvergne by the high range of the Cevennes. Capital cities were LYONS, on the union of the Saône and Rhône, and MONTBRISON southwest, in the upper valley of the Loire. Lyons formed an archbishopric

which depended on the German Empire. Frederic Barbarossa gave that prelate the vicariate of the empire, with all the regalian rights over the city. Yet the industrious and wealthy citizens of Lyons soon got into difficulties with their ecclesiastical prince; they called in the French king, who, after many troubles with Pope Boniface VIII. cut the matter short by occupying Lyons and its territory with his army, in 1311. Germany, as usual, did not stir, and lost thus one of her most important possessions. The Count of Lyonnais perished, in 1361, together with the Constable Jacob of Bourbon, in the sanguinary battle they fought against the robber hordes from the English war, who called themselves *the Grand Company of Sluggards*—les Tard-venus. The battle took place at *Brignais*, some miles southwest of Lyons.

470. VIII. The county of Toulouse (243) embraced at that period all *Languedoc*, from the banks of the Garonne, eastward, to the Rhone. The capital was the splendid Toulouse, on the Garonne. This province, which had belonged to France since the year 1224, was not united to the Crown lands until 1361, together with Burgundy and Champaign.

IX. The duchy of Bretagne (Brittany, 237, XX.), east of Maine and Anjou, became, during the period we are delineating, the scene of one of the most interesting episodes of the English wars. On the death of John III., Duke of Brittany, in 1341, John of Montfort and Charles of Blois both claimed the succession to the duchy.[215] Charles de Blois claimed in right of his wife, Joan of Penthièvre, the lawful heiress, and was supported by France. John of Montfort, however, took possession of the duchy, and sought protection from King Edward III. of England; thus the singular case occurred, that the latter, who claimed the crown of France through a *female*, supported Montfort against a female claim; while Philip VI. of France, whose right rested upon the *exclusion* of females from the succession, aided a female in her claim to the ducal coronet of Brittany. The Breton war from 1341–1365 presents a series of remarkable events. Brittany became the Troy of the fourteenth century; kings, barons, and knights-errant flocked to the country; the names of Beaumanoir, of Clisson, of Dugueselin, threw a brilliancy over the chivalrous deeds performed there; nor were the women less distinguished than the men, and the three heroines, Joan of Montfort, Joan of Penthièvre, and the widow of Clisson, by their courage, fortitude, and conjugal affection, excited the highest admiration in an age of poetry and romance. The treaty of *Guérande*, in 1365, secured the duchy of Brittany to the house of Montfort. Nantes, on the right bank of the Loire, was the capital of Brittany. It was invested, in 1341, by the army of Charles of Blois, who, launching into the city the heads of thirty Breton knights of the Montfort party, so terrified the townsmen that they surrendered the city and John of Montfort, who was carried a prisoner to Paris. *Hennebon*, on the river Blavet, was heroically defended by the Countess of Montfort against all the forces of Charles of Blois, until the arrival of the English fleet.[216] Vannes, near the western gulf of *Morbihan*, was the ancient capital of Armorica (70, XI.). Rennes, on the Vilaine, in the interior, the residence of the Dukes of Brittany, while their tombs were deposited in the sepulchral vaults of *Ploërmel*, in the west. The oak of *the Thirty* stands in the plain between Ploërmel and Josselin, where, on the 27th March, 1351, thirty Breton knights and squires fought in a deadly tournament with a similar number of English. After extraordinary feats of bravery, the Bretons gained the day, by one of their knights breaking, on horseback, the ranks of the English, the greater part of whom were killed. All Brittany rejoiced. La Roche-Derien, north, near *Treguier*, where, in 1347, Charles of Blois was surprised and taken prisoner by the widow of Clisson, at the head of a small body of English knights. His wife, Joan of Penthièvre, sustained his cause with a valor equal to that of the Countess of Montfort, and the hatred of the Bretons for the English induced many of them to embrace her party. *Auray*, southeast of Hennebon, on the coast of Morbihan, where, in 1364, the decisive battle was fought, in which the young Count of Montfort and Olivier of Clisson overthrew the army of Charles de Blois, who himself fell in the struggle. *Guesclin*, near *Saint Malo*, on the northern coast, the paternal castle of the celebrated knight and general, Bertrand du Guesclin, who so quickly drove the English out of their French conquests.

[215] *Arthur II.*, Duke of Brittany, †1312.

First wife, *Mary*, heiress of the Viscount of Limoges.		Second wife, *Yolande* of Dreux, heiress of Montfort.
John III. Duke of Brittany, †1341.	*Guy de Penthièvre*, Joan, lawful heiress of Brittany, married to *Charles* of Chatillon and Blois, killed at Auray, 1364.	*John IV.* of Montfort, the Pretender, †1345, married with the celebrated *Joan* of Flanders, Countess of Montfort.
	John of Brittany, Count of Penthievre.	*John V.* †1399.

[216] Froissart tells us that when the brave old Sir Walter Manny, after the defeat of the besiegers, entered the gate of Hennebon, the noble Countess descended from the castle to welcome her deliverers, "she kissed Sir Walter and all his companions, one after the other, *two or three times*, and one might well say that she was a valiant and splendid lady."

II. Possessions of the King of England.

471. Provinces and Towns which they Contained.—The duchy of Aquitaine was, in the treaty of Brétigny, erected into an independent sovereignty in favor of the King of England. This duchy consisted of *Guyenne* and *Gascogne*, which the predecessors of Edward III. had held as fiefs of the French crown, and of which *Bordeaux* and *Auch* were the capitals. To this sovereignty were annexed the following provinces:

472. The *town*, *castle*, and *county* of Poitiers (240, XXXIX.) and of all Poitou, together with the fiefs of *Thouars* and the district of *Belleville*, in the same province. The refusal of King John the Good to surrender the latter to the English gave cause to prolonged contestations. The woody ridge of *Maupertuis*, east of Poitiers, was the battle-field, where, on the 19th September, 1356, the English archers, almost without opposition, destroyed the brilliant chivalry of France, and King John surrendered himself a prisoner to the Black Prince.

The *city* and *castle* of Xainctes (Saintes) and all Saintonge (241), together with Aunix, and the important maritime city of *Rochelle*, its port and fortress.

The *city* and *castle* of Angolesme (Angoulême), on the Charente, and the county of Angolesmois (Angoumois) (240, XXXVIII.), on the east of Saintonge.

The *city* and *castle* of Limoges, on the Vienne, and the whole of Limosin, on the southeast of Angoumois.

473. The *city*, *castle*, and *county* of Pierregort (le Périgord) (240, XXXVII.), southeast of Limosin, and the entire province of Pierreguys (Périgueux), on the river Isle.

The *city* and *castle* of Caours (Cahors), on the river Lot, and the district of Caourcin (Querci, 243), on the southeast of Périgord.

The *city* and *castle* of Rodeis (Rhodez), near the Aveyron, and the district of Rovergue (243, LI.), southeast of Querci.

The *city* and *castle* of Agen, on the Garonne, and the district of Agenois, in the centre of Guyenne.

The *county* of Gaure, a dismembered part of the southeastern Armagnac, on the River Gers, with the small town of *Florence* for its capital.

The *city*, *castle*, and *district* of Tarbes, on the Adour, and the *county* of Bigorre (242, XLVIII.), in which this town is situated. The county extends into the valleys of the Pyrenees.

All those possessions belonged to the French crown, and could be surrendered to the English king as *allodial property*, while the many noblemen, whose domains lay within the limits fixed by the treaty, could only be ordered to do homage to the King of England; these were, besides the Viscount of *Limoges*, and the Count of *Périgord*, I. The Count of Armagnac, a branch of whom held the county of *Gaure;* II., the Count of Isle Jourdain, east of Armagnac; III., the Count of Foix. These lords were mentioned in the treaty, because they were almost entirely independent of the French crown, and remained sword in hand, defending their liberty against the English kings. The viscounty of Bearn and the county of Comminges (242, XLVII., XLIX.) are not mentioned in the treaty, but they belonged to the surrendered provinces since they formed part of Gascogne.

474. Besides these provinces, situated on the southwest of France, the King of England obtained, likewise, on the coast of the British Channel and the Straits of Calais, two districts of no great extent, but in a high degree important, on account of their position opposite the shores of England. They were:

I. The duchy of Ponthieu (232, IV.), together with Montreuil and its territory, at the mouth of the rivers *Somme*, *Authie*, and *Canche*, where the French used to fit out their fleets for their intended naval expeditions against England.

II. The small *district* of Calais, with the seigneury of Sangatte, and the *city* and *castle* of Calais, lately so celebrated by its protracted siege and the patriotic devotion of Eustache de Saint Pierre, in 1347, who brought the keys of the city to the haughty conqueror. Farther: the *towns* and *castles* of Coulogne, Hames, Wale (Valdun), Merch (Marc), northeast of Coulogne, and Oye—and the *city*, *castle*, and *county* of Guines (232, II.), south of Calais. The county of Ponthieu was separated from the district of Calais by the county of Boulogne. The treaty of Brétigny conferred moreover on the English, the islands lying off the coast of the ceded provinces, viz., *Noirmoutier* and *Dieu* belonging to Poitou; *Ré* to Aunis, and *Oleron* to Saintonge.

475. The victorious English army had in the year 1360, possession of nearly all the central provinces of France; of *Champaign*, *Brie*, *Nivernais*, *Auxerrois*, *Bourgogne*, *Orléanais*, *Isle de France*, *Perche*, *le Pays Chartrain*, *Drouais* (county of Dreux), *Berry*, *Bourbonnais*, the counties of *Mâcon* and *Lyon*, *Auvergne*, *Touraine*, *Normandy*, *Anjou*, and *Maine!*—eighty-two cities and fortresses were occupied by them; but on the faithful execution of the treaty, they began to march off, and all the provinces were successively given back to King John.

§ II. France at the Death of Charles V., A. D. 1380.

476. English Possessions in France.—The Gascon Lords were too proud to do homage to the Prince of Wales. They all conspired against the English, and the Counts of *Armagnac*, *Périgord*, and *Comminges*, the Lord of *Albret*, and many other feudatories of *Upper Gascogne*, were the first to draw the sword So did the clergy; and sixty towns, burghs or castles, expelled the English. Popular preachers advocated the cause of the pious Charles V. from their pulpits, and all the cities which opened their gates to their native king, obtained confirmation and increase of their privileges. The war had already broken out in *Ponthieu*, in 1368, where Abbeville joyfully received the French army; in a week they reconquered the whole province. *Quercy* (473) revolted in 1369; *Angoumois* and *Saintonge* (472) were taken with steel gauntlets by Du Gueselin, in 1372. *Limosin*, *Rovergue*, and *Aunis* followed the example, and *La Rochelle* obtained important privileges. *Thouars* surrendered, and the signal defeat of the English at *Chizey*, southeast of Niort, caused the joyful submission of all *Poitou*. *Brittany* was still in their possession; but the old Du Gueselin, in 1373, drove them into *Brest*, and a few other places of retreat on the coast. Still they besieged *Nantes*, which was bravely defended by the Breton Barons. In 1374 the English raised the siege, and left the province, whose duke then submitted to the King of France. After a truce of two years, signed at *Bruges*, in Flanders, 1375, the war broke out again, and continued during the lifetime of Charles V.; the French took some towns and castles in the north, and blockaded the English garrisons in *Guines* and *Calais*, the only places that remained to them in that part of France.

477. Yet the English still occupied in the west, the strong maritime cities of *Cherburg*, *Brest*, *Mortagne*, and *Bordeaux*, on the Gironde, together with *Bayonne*, at the mouth of the Adour, and some castles in Guyenne and Gascogne.

§ III. France at the Arrival of Jeanne d'Arc, to the Siege of Orleans, A. D. 1429.

478. Historical Remarks.—The insanity of King Charles VI., the dissatisfaction and revolts excited in the provinces by the hateful conduct of the king's uncles; the civil feuds between Burgundians and Armagnacs, and the foul murders of the Dukes of Orléans and of Burgundy, had left France split into parties, and without protection against the ambitious plans of the young King Henry V. of England, Taking advantage of the miserable condition of France, he boldly demanded the restitution of all the provinces ceded to England by the treaty of Brétigny. Soon after, in 1415, his fleet entered the mouth of the Seine, and disembarked a powerful army on the shore of *Harfleur*. That wealthy and commercial city of Normandy surrendered five weeks afterwards, while the royal government in Paris did nothing to save it. Yet sickness spread among the English troops, thousands were carried off; the country around remained hostile: the aspect of affairs thus changing, Henry resolved, by rapid marches, to gain Calais. The French had, in the mean time, gathered their strength. The nobility, full of enthusiasm, appeared in the field, and the Constable of France, with sixty thousand brilliant troops, mostly steel-clad cavalry, pursued the ten thousand English on their hurried retreat through Picardy. After a most distressing march, King Henry succeeded in crossing the river Somme, at *Béthencourt*, at a short distance above *Peronne*, but while pressing on northward to Calais, he meets the whole French army at *Agincourt*, cutting off his retreat; only a battle can save the English, and they boldly prepare for the struggle. This astonishing battle, or rather slaughter, takes place on the 24th of October, 1415, on a swampy ground between forests, and terminates with the total defeat and rout

of the French army. More than ten thousand French, almost all of generous blood, covered the battle-field. Among the prisoners made were the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the Counts of Eu, Vendôme, Richmont, the Marshal of Boucicaut, and hundreds of Barons—an entire French colony transported into England. This shameful defeat, and the atrocious murder of the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of *Montereau*, four years afterwards, became a source of the frightful disasters which overwhelmed that unhappy country during the following years. Henry enters Paris triumphantly, marries Catherine of Valois, is declared heir to the kingdom, while the Dauphin, driven south across the Loire, is scornfully called the *King of Bourges*. Yet we shall now see that he was not yet brought to such a point of despair as to deserve that title.

I. Provinces Obeying the Authority of the Dauphin as King Charles VII.

479. Their Name and Situation.—At the moment when the devoted virgin, Joan of Arc, by her sudden appearance and words of hope, began to revive the courage and confidence of the French, in 1428, King Charles VII. possessed still the greater part of the provinces situated south of the Loire, viz.: Touraine, which he had obtained as appanage during the lifetime of his father, when he was still only Count of *Ponthieu*. *Chinon*, a fine castle, southeast of Tours, the old capital of the province, on the river *Vienne*, was then the residence of the fugitive monarch, and there, surrounded by his court, he received Joan of Arc. *Loches*, southeast of the river Indre, was the birth-place of the beautiful Agnes Sorel.

Orléanais (464), north of the Loire, was then invaded by the English—who were actively engaged in the siege of the city of Orléans, when Joan of Arc arrived for its relief. *Ruvray Saint Denis*, north of Orléans, where the French suffered the severe defeat by Sir John Falstaff, called the *Battle of the Herrings*.[217] *Patay*, a few miles northwest of the former, where Talbot and Falstaff were borne down at the lance's point of the French chevaliers, and the former made prisoner; the bodies of two thousand English strewed the plain. The maid of Orléans shed tears at the sight.

480. Berri (465), south of Orléanais, had been given to Charles VII., together with Poitou, when he, in 1417, inherited the title of Dauphin. *Bourges*, his capital, was scoffingly called that of the pigmy kingdom of Charles VII.

Poitou, west of Berri, belonged, as we said, to the appanage which Charles VII. had received as Dauphin; he united it with the crown, from which it was never separated afterwards. This province had remained like the preceding, exempted from the misfortunes of the war; such was likewise the case with La Marche, Limosin, Aunis, and Saintonge.

The powerful Count of Foix, who had united Béarn and Bigorre to his own inheritance, demanded, in 1424, as the prize of his allegiance to King Charles VII., the government of Languedoc. The Count of La Marche, James of Bourbon, held possession of that province, but was found willing to resign it the next year, reserving for himself only the county of *Castres*. The viscounty of Narbonne likewise passed into the house of Foix in 1447, having been bought by Count Gaston IV.

481. Guienne, with the exception of *Bordeaux* and its environs—the *Bordelais*—which were occupied by the English, was, like Gascogne, governed by the same Count of Foix and by his brother, the Count of Comminges, with an almost absolute independence; both brothers kept up a kind of neutrality towards their neighbors, the English.

The Counts of Armagnac possessed the greater part of Gascogne, with almost perfect independence, and arrogantly styled themselves "*by grace of God*," yet they still recognized the authority of the king. Their lands lay together in two groups, in Rovergue, on the Cevennes, and in Gascogne, on the Pyrenees. There, too, the Count of Astarac (242, XLVI.), the chief of an ancient family on the east of the Armagnac territories, had always shown himself as a faithful vassal of the French kings. This was likewise the case with the Lord of Albret (242, XLIII.), who, besides his viscounty in the *Landes* (Heathes) of Gascogne, possessed the viscounty of Tartas and the county of Dreux, in Normandy, then occupied by the English; as a compensation he received the county of Gaure, a dismembered portion of Fézenzac.[218]

482. Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Beaujolais, and Lyonnais, all appertaining to the Duke of Bourbon, the prisoner of the English at the battle of Agincourt, were governed by his son, the Count of Clermont, who, though he kept up a show of neutrality between the contending parties, had yet fought in the ranks of the French at the battle of Herrings (479).

483. Dauphiné, between the Rhone and the Alps. It was to this quiet and happy region that Charles and Agnes Sorel intended to flee, in order to escape the bloody scenes of the war in which the Dauphin was then engaged with the English. Yet the enthusiastic reception of Joan of Arc, and her first brilliant victory, soon brought the French prince back to his duty.

II. Provinces Conquered by the English.

484. These Provinces extended from the Somme to the Loire, and were the following:

I. Isle de France, on both the banks of the Seine. Paris, its capital, fell into the power of the English in 1420, and was then in such a state of decay, in consequence of the terrible civil war of the Armagnac and Burgundian parties, that twenty thousand buildings were ruined and abandoned. The English government and army kept Paris for sixteen years, and it was not until 1436, after the separation of Burgundy from the alliance with England, that the last bodies of men-at-arms of that country left the Bastile and the Chatelets, and under the hootings and maddening cries of the Parisian people, left the city and retired to the north. *Montereau*, south of Paris. Here was perpetrated one of the most awful crimes during the civil wars of unhappy France: the massacre of the Duke of Burgundy, John the Dauntless, during his interview with the Dauphin on the bridge over the river Aube, on the 10th September, 1419—*Meaux*, on the Marne, was the refuge of the Duchesses of Orléans and Normandy and numbers of noble ladies, demoiselles and children, during the rebellion of the peasantry—the *Jacquerie*—who had risen against

[217] The battle was fought during Lent, 1429, and took its name from the great transport of wagons, with provisions, particularly barrels with herrings—an indispensable provision for lent—which the brave Falstaff carried along with his army to reinforce the English before Orléans. Yet on the road he was attacked by the impetuous La Hire, the Scotch auxiliaries, and the army of the Count of Clermont. After a brilliant defence behind the herring barrels, the English charged and defeated the French, but the barrels having burst open by the shots and knocks, the field seemed strewed with herrings rather than corpses, and the French, satirical as usual, called the fight *la journée des harengs*.

[218] *Roussillon* had belonged to the crown of Aragon since 1172, and is, therefore, not mentioned here.

the nobles and were demolishing the castles in 1358. In the market-place of Meaux, the poor ladies were besieged by the infuriated peasants, in imminent danger of suffering outrage and murder—when most unexpectedly the Count of Foix and the Captal of Buch, with a band of knights threw themselves headlong among the boors, and after a terrific slaughter drove them into the river and saved the honor and the life of the fair ones. Meaux was a brave and faithful city; it sent its bailiff at the head of its civic bands to the battle-field of Agincourt, where they were scornfully abandoned by the chivalry and perished miserably by the arrows and battle-axes of the English yeomanry. *Senlis*, north of Paris, *Saint Quentin* in Vermandois, and *Caen* in Normandy, sent likewise their bailiffs and national guards to Agincourt and shared the fate of the rest. *Saint Denis*, the sanctuary of French Royalty, witnessed in 1422 the funeral pomp of Charles VI. and the proclamation and ceremonious inauguration of Henry VI. as King of France and England.

II. Normandy was totally conquered and occupied by the English after the battle of Agincourt. Rouen was captured by Henry V. in 1419 after a fearful siege, during which fifty thousand helpless citizens, old men, women and children, perished miserably in the fosse between the English camp and the walls of the city, from which they had been expelled as unable to bear arms. On the market-place of Rouen the innocent Maid of Orléans, the victim of the bigotry and hatred of the English prelates, suffered a cruel death on 30th of May, 1431.[219]

III. Champagne, with La Brie, east of the Isle de France, had long been bravely defended by La Hire, until he was compelled to evacuate them in 1424. In Troyes, the capital of this province, the treaty between Henry V. and the imbecile Charles VI. had been signed in 1420, by which the Dauphin was declared unworthy of the crown, and France delivered over to the King of England.

IV. Picardy was partly possessed by the Duke of Burgundy and partly by the English; the latter held the counties of Ponthieu and Boulogne with the Calésis. *Compiègne*, on the Oise, into which the Maid of Orléans had thrown herself for its defence, and where, during a sortie on the 23d May, 1430, she was dastardly abandoned by the French knights, captured by the Burgundian traitors and sold to her mortal enemies the English.

V. Bordelais, or the city of *Bordeaux*, with its environs, had remained in the possession of the English ever since the first conquest; they held likewise a number of castles and strongholds in *Guyenne* and *Gascogne*.

III. Provinces in Alliance with the English.

485. These consisted principally in the extensive states of the Duke Philip-le-Bon, of Burgundy, who in order to take revenge on the murderers of his father had thrown himself into the English alliance. The possessions of this powerful feudatory embraced the two Burgundies, the *duchy* and the *free county* (Franche Comté), the latter a fief of the German Empire. The county of *Macon* (239, XXXII.), included within the duchy, had, like Paris and so many other cities, sent its bravest citizens with their bailiff and town-banner to the battle at Agincourt, where they all perished miserably with the other foot-soldiers.

The counties of Flanders and Artois, and the Marquisate of Namur on the east.

The counties of Réthel (consisting of the northern part of Champagne), Étampes, Nevèrs with the barony of Donzi, likewise situated in *Nivernais*, belonged since the division made in 1401 by Philip the Bold and his wife Margaret to the younger branch of the Burgundian dynasty. The duke had, moreover, since 1427, pretensions to the counties of *Hainaut*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*, on the coasts of the North Sea.

IV. Neutral Provinces.

486. Several feudatories attempted to escape the devastation of the war, by observing a strict neutrality between France and England during the contest. These provinces were the following. Brittany (Bretagne), whose Duke John V. (470) although a friend and ally of the English, remained neutral while the war was raging throughout France.

Anjou, Maine, Provence and the Barrois, or Duchy of *Bar*, which latter consisted of the western portion of *Lorraine*. All the eastern parts of that country belonged still to the Germanic Empire; but Bar soon fell to the all-powerful house of Anjou, already in possession of the three first mentioned provinces. The beautiful woodlands on the frontiers of Lorraine had not been exempted from partial excursions of English and Burgundian bands. Bar-le Duc, on the *Onain*, was the capital. On the banks of the Meuse lay the small village of *Domremi* belonging to the Diocese of *Toul*, in which the brave and beautiful Jeanne d'Arc was born in the year 1409, the third daughter of a laborer, Jacques d'Arc and of Isabella Romée. The fountain where Joan watered her sheep, and the oak tree beneath which she meditated the delivery of France, were long in the remembrance of the villagers.[220] *Vaucouleur*, a few miles from Domremi, on the Upper Meuse, and the outskirts of the *Argonne* forest, had formerly belonged to the celebrated crusading family of Joinville, whose territories were lying in the neighborhood; but Philip VI. had obliged the Joinvilles to cede this frontier town to him in 1335. There Joan met the generous knight Beaudricourt, who furnished her with armor, horses and knights, to accomplish her important mission across the hostile country to the distant residence of the French Court at Chinon, on the south of the Loire.

[219] When Jeanne d'Arc set foot on the top of the pile and she beheld the great city below, the motionless, silent crowd of the thousands filling the square and every roof around, she could not refrain from exclaiming "*Ah Rouen, Rouen, much do I fear you will suffer from my death!*" She, who had saved the people and whom both king and people now deserted, gave voice to no other sentiment, when dying, than that of compassion for them. Meanwhile the flames rose. . . . When they first seized her the unhappy maiden shrieked for *holy water*—but soon recovering, she called only on God, on her angels and her saints. "*Yes, my voices were from God, my vision has not deceived me.*" In the midst of the flames she called on her Saviour . . . at last her head sunk on her bosom, the smoke enveloped her, and when it disappeared her blackened body was seen hanging over the chain with which she was fastened to the stake. Lamentations and cries re-echoed through the square; only the English men-at-arms, on horseback, surrounding the pile laughed, or attempted to laugh, at the torments of the witch. Some, however, had better feelings, and one of the English chancellors present said aloud on returning from the dismal scene, "We are lost: we have burnt a saint—the retribution will be fearful!" and that Englishman spoke a true word.

[220] There may still be seen at this day, above the door of the hut where Jeanne d'Arc lived, three escutcheons carved on stone—that of Louis XI. who beautified the cottage—that which was undoubtedly given to one of her brothers, along with the surname of *Du Lis*;—and a third, charged with a star and three ploughshares to image the mission of the Pucelle and the humble condition of her parents. The talented daughter of King Louis Philippe, the late Princess of Würtemberg, placed some years ago her fine marble statue of the maiden of Lorraine on the market-place of the village.

We shall here make no mention of *Alsace*, which at that time still formed an integral part of the Germanic Empire, and was, at the period we describe, held by the Elector-Palatine Louis the Bearded, with the rank of an imperial vicar or *Landvogt*.

§ IV. The Period of the Expulsion of the English, A. D. 1453.

487. Historical Remarks.—The twenty-four years from the victories of the Maid of Orléans in 1429 to the termination of the war in 1453, were a period of the most terrible calamities for poor France. The northern provinces of that beautiful country had become a desert. In the centre, the *Béauce* was so covered with copse-wood that armies sought and could not find one another. Hundreds of villages lay in ruins, entirely abandoned, the inhabitants had fled to perish from want in the cities. Misery and famine had converted Paris herself into a focus of disgusting diseases, which by a common name were called the plague. Charles VII. had a glimpse of the fearful sight of his capital, and fled from it. The English made no attempt to return to it. Both parties kept at a distance, as if in concert.[221] Yet Charles, from a wanton Dauphin in the school of adversity, became a wise and active monarch; under his energetic administration, France was cured—while England, overstraining herself in her continental excursions, fell sick, and during her lethargy and internal convulsions, the French recovered their courage and patriotism; *Burgundy* gave up her unnatural alliance in the treaty of *Arras;* the English were driven away from one province after the other. Master Bureau, the great engineer, brought his heavy artillery to play upon English knights and archers; in spite of all their prowess they sunk by thousands —last of all old Talbot, on the *Dordogne*, where the total prostration of the English, in 1453, opened the gates of *Bordeaux* to the persevering King Charles. Thus, of all their brilliant conquests, nothing remained except the city of *Calais* and the neighboring castles of *Guines* and *Hames* on the channel. The same year witnessed the downfall of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Turks stand victorious in Europe, and the middle ages are at an end. Let us take a parting glance at France in her general division between her king and the great feudatories of the crown.

I. The Royal Domains in 1453.

488. Designation of the Provinces.—The provinces composing the Royal domains at the accession of Louis XI. and before the battle of Montlhéry, were the following.

The county of Paris (235), the primitive domain of the reigning dynasty, reconquered from the English in 1429, together with the whole of Isle de France. The first attempt of Charles VII. to reconquer Paris in 1429 was unsuccessful. During the headlong assault on the walls, the Maid of Orléans, who led on the troops, was wounded, and the attack repelled, but in 1436 the French monarch held his triumphal entry among ruins and skeletons.

The counties of Étampes (483), Mantes, Montfort and Vertus, were held by the Dukes of Brittany. The Barony of Montmorency, north of Paris, belonged to one of the most ancient and distinguished families in France, which, a century later—1554—obtained likewise the county of Dammartin, northeast of the capital.

[221] The wolves alone came prowling to Paris, entering at night in search of corpses. In September, 1438, they devoured fourteen persons between *Montmartre* and the *Porte Saint Antoine*. The bands of robbers or marauding soldiers that scoured the country were still more dangerous; they put a stop to all travel and commerce, and there was no refuge for the inhabitants, save in the castles of the nobility.

Southern Picardy, or the portion of that province lying south of the river Somme, belonged likewise to the crown. The district north of the Somme, with the cities on its banks, had been given to the Duke of Burgundy (483). The extent of Picardy toward the south was, at the time before us, greater than at a later period. It embraced then the county of Valois, with the capital *Crépi*, the county and lordship of *Couci* in the ancient *Vermandois* (233), and other estates, all belonging to the younger branch of the royal family of France, the *Valois-Orléans;* they were not united with the crown until the accession of Louis XII. of Orléans in 1498. The county of Soissons (233, VI.), east of this province, belonged to Joan of Bar, the wife of Louis of Luxemburg, who was count of *Saint Pol* in Artois, of *Brienne* in Champagne, and of *Ligny* in the Barrois, one of the most powerful and illustrious feudatories of France. The county of Clermont (469), in Beauvaisis, formed part of the domains of the house of Bourbon (497).

489. The counties of Champagne and Brie. *Rheims*, on the small river Vesle, the venerable metropolitan of the realm, saw, in 1429, the day of joy and enthusiasm, when Charles VII., accompanied by the Maid of Orléans and her victorious army, was crowned King of France, and *Troyes*, *Châlons*, *Laon*, *Soissons*, *Château-Thierry*, *Provins*, and all the surrounding cities surrendered to the oriflamme. The county of Réthel, on the north of Champagne, was then likewise in the possession of a branch of the house of Burgundy (483).—Another alienation was that of the principality of Sedan, east of Réthel, which, together with the duchy of Bouillon, formed part of the large possessions of the counts of *La Marck*, Dukes of *Clèves* on the Rhine. The county of Joigny, southwest of Champagne, belonged at this period to Louis de la Trémoille, who enjoyed the title of Signior *Doyen* of the seven *count-peers* of Champagne.[222] The lordship of Joinville belonged to the counts of *Vaudemont*, on the frontiers of Lorraine.

490. Normandy (236) was reconquered from the English in a single campaign by the brave Dunois—1449, 1450—with the enthusiastic assistance, however, of the Norman population; the cities of *Pont-de-l'Arche*, *Pont-Audemer*, *Lisieux*, *Gournay*, *Verneuil*, *Évreux*, *Louviers*, and *Alençon*, vied with one another to throw open their gates. Rouen was long defended by the iron arm of Talbot. Charles VII. entered with pomp on the 20th November, 1449, nine years after the awful sacrifice of that devoted Maid to whom he owed his crown and France its independence. *Harfleur*, the great military dépôt of the English, surrendered a month later. *Honfleur*, on the opposite bank, at the mouth of the Seine, followed the example, and the brilliant victory of the French at *Formigny*, west of Bayeux, on the shores of the channel, opened them Lower Normandy, viz. *Vire*, *Bayeux*, *Avranches*, and *Caen*, the capital of this province, which was besieged by King Charles VI. himself. *Falaise*, *Domfront*, and the strong *Cherburg*, though protected in vain by the sea and numerous garrisons, all fell successively into the power of the French. The King did not possess the southern part of Lower Normandy; it formed the large duchy of Alençon, since 1404 united to the counties of Perche and Beaumont: the Duke of Alençon having been taken prisoner by the English in the battle of *Verneuil*, in 1424, sold the more distant barony of Fougères to the Duke of Brittany to pay off his ransom. The counties of Aumale, on the frontiers of Normandy and Picardy, of Harcourt, south of Rouen, and of Mortain, southwest of Normandy,

[222] These seven nobles were the Counts of *Joigny*, *Réthel*, *Brienne*, *Portien Grandpré*, *Rouci* and *Braine-Valéon*.

were, at the time we describe, united under the sway of the widowed countess of *Vaudemont*, who transmitted them to her nephew, Réné II. Duke of Lorraine, in 1476. The county of Eu, southwest of Aumale, was held by Charles of Artois, for whose benefit Charles VII. erected it into a peerage in 1458. The county of Évreux, had, in 1404, fallen back to the crown.

491. Orléanais (464, III.) was reconquered from the English immediately after the great victory of the Maid of Orléans and the generals of Charles VII. at Patay. The faithful city of Orléans herself, owed her rescue to the young heroine, who by her mere advance at the head of her knights and men-at-arms, so frightened the superstitious islanders that they raised the siege, and fled in disorder before a woman on the 29th April, 1429. The duchy of Orléans was in 1392 given in appanage by Charles VI., to his brother Louis I. of Orléans-Valois. It became afterwards, like Valois (486), united to the crown on the accession of Louis XII. The county of Chartres (235) on the southwest of this province, the viscounty of Chateaudun and the county of Blois (238 XXV.) had passed since the year 1234 from the suzerainty of the Counts of Champagne to that of the King of France. The county of Dreux (236 XVII.), on the northwest of Chartres, had of late been joined to the possessions of the house of Orléans. This county had been given in 1382 by King Charles VI. to his son Charles VII., who in 1441 granted it as a compensation to the faithful and distinguished house of Albret (470), from whom it then devolved on the Orléans.

Berri (478), whose political position had not undergone any change since the last period, was, in the year 1453, given in appanage by the king to his second son Charles. The latter, however, ceded it to his brother Louis XI. in 1463, for Normandy. The county of Sancerre, on the southeast of Berri, had already in 1334 become a fief of the crown, and was then held by Count John IV. one of the bravest generals of France, whom the king had made high admiral of the kingdom.

492. Touraine (465) belonged to the Duke of Anjou since the year 1424, but King Charles VII. had reserved for himself the regalian rights and the town and castle of *Chinon*, on the Vienne, his favorite residence.

Poitou, La Marche, Limosin, Aunis and Saintonge (476), remained all in the same political condition as they were during the preceding period. The viscounty of Limoges belonged to John of Blois, who likewise held the counties of Penthièvre (in the north of Brittany) and of Périgord, consisting of the northern portion of Guienne. Charles of Orléans had sold it to the Count of Penthièvre in 1437. The viscounty of Turenne, south of Lower Limosin, had passed in 1444, by marriage, into a branch of the house of La Tour d'Auvergne. The county of Angoulême (472), situated between these provinces, belonged to the domains of the powerful house of Orléans.

493. Guienne and Gascogne (479), which in 1452 were reconquered by the brave Dunois at the lance's point, had again recognized the royal authority. Bayonne, on the Adour, was the only city which defended itself with obstinacy. *Bordeaux*, *Fronsac* and *Dax* opened their gates with joy. Many castles in the interior, commanded by English knights, held bravely out for a time, and received succor from England in October, 1452; but they were successfully reduced in the following year. The last battle in the war was fought at Chatillon de Périgord, on the Dordogne, where the old Talbot perished on the 17th July, 1453, before the batteries of the great French engineer, Master Jean Bureau.[223]

Béarn, and the counties of Foix and Languedoc, were in the same political condition. The latter had five seneschal courts—*Sénéchausées*,—*Toulouse*, *Carcassonne*, *Narbonne*, *Béziers*, *Beaucaire*, and besides the seigniory of *Montpellier*, and the counties of *Alby*, *Lodève*, *Nîmes*, *Uzès*, and several others. Dauphiné (481) finally with the counties of *Valentinois* and *Diois*. *Valence*, the capital of the former, in a charming site, on the left bank of the Rhône. *Die*, the capital of the latter, more southeast, formed the appanage of the Dauphin from the time of Louis XI.

II. Domains of the Great Feudatories, a. d. 1453.

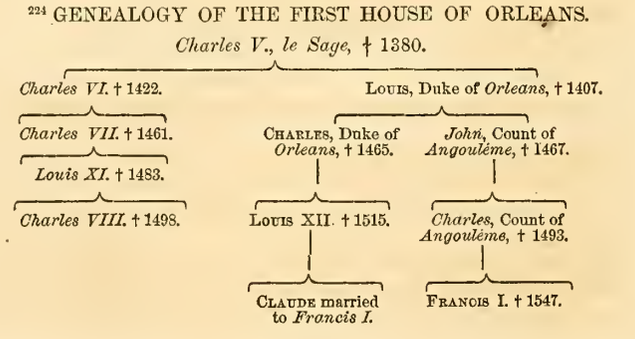
494. Their Extent.—The Royal Provinces we have described and inclosed—among which we have mentioned many feudal domains not belonging to the crown—did not yet embrace half the territory of France. All the rest was still divided among the vassals, the most distinguished of whom we shall here give an account of. Five were the leading houses; the first four of whom were allied to the reigning dynasty of Valois.

I. The House of Valois-Orléans. The first family of that name sprung from Louis, second surviving son of Charles V., the earliest prince who bore the title of Duke of Orléans, and who, as we have mentioned, was assassinated at Paris, in 1407, by his cousin and rival, Jean Sans-Peur, Duke of Burgundy. The results of this crime were the conflicts of the two factions of Burgundians and Armagnacs, and the easy conquest of France by Henry V. The history of the first Duke of Orléans is also memorable for his marriage with Valentina Visconti, daughter of Jean Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, which eventually gave the house of Orléans pretensions to that duchy, and produced the Italian wars of Louis XII. and his successors for its possession.[224]

Domains. 1. The duchy of Orléans (491), with which Charles VI. invested his brother in 1392. 2. The county of Valois (488), in Champagne, given to Louis, at his birth in 1372, by his father, Charles V. 3. The counties of Blois (491) and *Dunois*, with the viscounty of *Châteaudun*, and many seigneuries in the environs, all bought by Louis, in 1391, from Guy of Chatillon, for 200,000 livres in gold. 4. The *Lordship of Couci* (488), which was one of the most beauti-

[223] How much did it cost those stubborn haughty knights who would not understand that a new world had begun to supersede the old! Lord Talbot seeing the French digging in their lines, and throwing up fences like mole-hills, mounted his little pony, exclaiming, "*May I never hear mass, if I don't ride them over.*" The fiery old man left mass, chaplain, and all, to bear down the French beneath the hoofs of his chivalry—on they came in their glittering array—yet a flash from the culverins, and down go the paladins of the middle age,—Talbot, archers, banners, and all. The French sally forth, and the rout of the English is complete—it was the last.

[224] GENEALOGY OF THE FIRST HOUSE OF ORLEANS.



ful and powerful baronies of the kingdom, possessing one hundred and fifty boroughs or villages, besides a great number of estates and castles, when Duke Louis of Orléans, bought it, in the year 1400, for 400,000 livres; but a few years later after the assassination of the duke, nearly half of this rich seigniory was transferred to the ducal house of Bar, and, in 1431, together with that duchy, to the house of Anjou. 5. The counties *Longueville*, *Dreux*, *Mortain*, *Soissons*, *Beaumont*, and the barony *Gournay*—all in the north, and 6, the counties of *Parthenay* and *Angoumois*,[225] in Poitou, and 7, the important territory of Asti, in Italy. The vast domains of the house of Orléans were united with the crown, in 1498, at the accession of Louis XII., the heir of that family.

495. II. The House of Burgundy (Bourgogne).—The dukes of the younger Burgundian dynasty had,[226] by inheritance, marriage, purchase, and conquest, brought together one of the most powerful, civilized, and wealthy states of mediæval Europe; they ranged both under the Emperor of Germany and the King of France, as great feudatories, though almost entirely independent of either, and nothing seemed wanting to crown their hopes of ambition and glory, but the royal title which the last duke, Charles the Rash, was on the point of obtaining from the Emperor Frederic III., at the interview of Trèves, in 1473, when his feud with the wary Louis XI. of France, and his imprudent invasion of Switzerland, in 1476, brought on his terrible defeats at *Granson* and *Morat*, his death at *Nancy*, and the dispersion of his vast territories in 1477.

496. Burgundian Lands.—I. The duchy of Burgundy, given in the year 1363, by King John the Good, to his fourth son, Philip the Bold, the ancestor of the second Burgundian dynasty, with the title of "*first peer of France*" (385, 458, 473). II. The county of Upper Burgundy (Hoch Burgund), or *Franche Comté*, between the Saône, Mount Jura, and the Rhine, with the capital Besançon, the counties Mumpelgard and Neuchatel, and the Lordship of Salin. III. The county of Flanders, with *Ghent*, *Brugge*, *Dunkerk*, and *Ostend*. IV. The county of Artois, with the city of *Arras*. V. The county of Boulogne. VI. The counties of Ponthieu (482), Amiens, and Vermandois, held by the Dukes of Burgundy as *mortgages* of the French crown. *Corbie*, *Abbeville*, with the whole district of Picardy on the right bank of the Somme, and the towns of *Roye* and *Montdidier*, in Santerre, were united to Flanders by the celebrated treaty of Arras, in 1435. VII. The county of Nevèrs, and VIII., that of Réthel (473) on the Meuse. These counties, together with Artois and Flanders, had been inherited by Margaret, the wife of Philip the Bold, in 1384, and by her transmitted with the same title to her son John the Fearless, in 1405. IX. The marquisate of Namur on the Meuse, bought in 1421, for the sum of 132,000 gold crowns, by Philip the Good, from the last Marquis Jean Thierry, who, however, reserved for himself the *usufructus* of his possessions until his death, in 1429. All these territories the Dukes of Burgundy held as fiefs of the French crown, with the exception of Franche Comté, that belonged to Germany.

497. The prudent and active Philip the Good had by divers means, by money, intrigues, and the sword, still increased the number of his extensive states, with X., the important duchy of Brabant (530), north of Namur, with the cities *Bruxelles*, *Louvain* (Löwen), *Malines* (Mecheln), *Breda*, and *Nivelles*. XI. The duchy of Limburg, east of the Meuse, and separated from Brabant by the Archbishopric of *Liège* (Lüttich). XII. The marquisate of Anvèrs (Antwerp), with the important commercial city of that name on the *Scheldt*. XIII. The county of Hainaut (Hennegau), on the frontiers of France, between Flanders and Brabant, with the cities of *Mons*, *Valenciennes*, *Ath*, *Condé*, *Quesnoy*, *Avesne*, and *Chimay*.[227] XIV. The counties of Holland and Zealand, in the opulent and industrious Netherlands, with the duchy of *Guelders* (Geldern) (516), *West Friesland*, and the flourishing cities of *Amsterdam*, *Hardewyke*, *Arnhem*, *Alkmaar*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Dortrecht*, *Ysselmonde*, *Duiveland*, *Holswaerd*, and *Leuwarden*, in Friesland.[228] XV. East Flanders, on the right bank of the Scheldt, with the cities *Dendremonde*, *Bevern*, *Alost*, *Rüpelmonde*, and *Audenarde*. XVI. The duchy of Luxemburg (Lüzelburg), between the Meuse and the Moselle, with the cities *Luzelburg*, *Montmedy*, *Thionville*, and the counties Rochefort and Salm, in the forest of the Ardennes. The heiress, Elizabeth, of Luxemburg-Görlitz, surrendered her full inheritance of the duchy, and her right to the county of *Chiny* (on the southwest), in 1443, to Philip, who, on the resistance of the inhabitants, marched an army into the duchy, took the capital by assault, and occupied the vicariate—*l'avouerie*—of Alsace (474), in 1444, under the title of *mambour*, or governor, but he did not assume sovereign power in these provinces until after the death of the Princess Elizabeth, in 1451. The Netherlands, East Flanders, Luxemburg, and Alsace, being fiefs of the Germanic Empire, the Duke of Burgundy rendered nominal homage to the emperor, though he was far more powerful and independent than the penniless Austrian, Frederic III., in

[225] The county of *Angoumois* (Angoulême) passed, in the year 1407, to the younger branch of the house, the Valois-Angoulême, and returned to the crown when Francis I. of Angoulême mounted the French throne in 1515.

[226] Series of the Dukes: Philip the Bold, 1363–1404. John the Fearless, 1404–1419. Philip the Good, 1419–1467. Charles the Rash, 1467–1477.

[227] These rich countries had, on the death of Count William IV. of Holland, in 1345, as imperial fiefs of the Germanic Empire, been given by the Emperor Louis, of Bavaria, to his wife, the sister of Count William IV. The Empress granted them to her son, Albrecht, Duke of Bavaria, and on his death, in the year 1404, his niece, the beautiful but extravagant Jacqueline (Jacobea), of Hainaut, became the heiress. She married Jean, Duke of Brabant, and brought him her rich inheritance. But the married couple could not agree; mutual wrongs produced a separation and then a divorce. Jacqueline fled to England, where she married the Duke of Gloucester, and returned to the Netherlands with an army of five thousand English troops. The war now broke out between her and her former husband, the Duke of Brabant, who was powerfully supported by his cousin, Philip the Good, of Burgundy. Gloucester and his English knights were defeated in 1424. Jacqueline the termagant, getting in trouble with her English husband, fled, disguised in full armor, with closed visor, and accompanied by some faithful knights (Ornold Spieringk and Vos van Delfk), to Holland, where she was well received by her subjects. Afterwards, on the death of Duke Jean, of Brabant, and the Duke of Gloucester having divorced her, she put her dominions under the administration of the Duke of Burgundy, to whom, upon her death, in 1436, the whole descended in *full possession*. Philip le Bon became thus one of the most powerful princes of Western Europe.

[228] In the year 1225, Frisia (Friesland) became separated from Holland by an inundation of the ocean, which formed the Zuyder Zee (Southern Sea). This disaster was repeated twice during the period we describe: first, in 1421, when the lake *Bies Bosch*, between Brabant and Holland, was produced by the rupture of the dykes of the Mosa; seventy-two villages were submerged, and one hundred thousand inhabitants perished; by the second eruption, fifty years later, the *sea of Harlem* was formed, covering a territory of more than thirty-six miles of land. Friesland suffered a similar calamity in 1277, when the sea broke through on its eastern coast and formed the deep bay of *Dollart*, whose waters submerged thirty-three villages. Friesland, though neither fertile nor pleasant, was the object of contention between the Emperors of Germany and the Counts of Holland; yet the Frisons recognized neither, and lived in a state of almost entire liberty.

spite of all his empty German titles. Philippe le Bon possessed, besides, the following French fiefs: XVII., the county of Macon, on the Saône, and XVIII., that of Auxerre, on the Yonne, with *Châlons*, *Aussone*, and the Castellany of *Bar-sur-Seine*, all which were granted to Burgundy by the treaty of Arras. Such was the splendid assembly of states, which, by the conquest of Lorraine by Charles le Temeraire, in 1474, might have been moulded into a renewed Burgundian Empire; yet the inconsiderate and foolhardy enterprises of that quixotic knight errant, overturned the wisest plans of the old duke, Philip the Good, his father, and caused him to perish beneath the halberts of the Swiss cowherds, in the frozen swamps of Nancy, in 1477. The immense inheritance, descending to his only daughter, fair Mary of Burgundy, became then the object of the fiercest contests between Germany and France, at the beginning of the modern era.

498. The Netherlands surpassed at that time, all other European countries, except Italy, in industry, population and riches; in Louvain there were a hundred and fifty thousand mechanics. Liberty was the main cause of this prosperity. The duke raised only direct and moderate taxes; he visited the cities, consulted the burghers, and changed the customs and duties, according to the convenience of commerce. With the spirit of commerce and enterprise, the Dutch combined that of arms and rebellion; violent feuds between dyers and fullers often stained the streets of Ghent with the blood of her citizens; Ghent destroyed the factories of Tenremonde. The Burgundian power never rose higher than during the sway of Philip the Good; he formed his administration on the happiness of his people and good order. By his popular manners he gained the affection of the Republican citizens; he dazzled princes and nobility by the splendor of his court, tournaments and fêtes, where he sat surrounded by merchants and mechanics, who were invited to his board. His fame spread over Europe, and in the distant East, Turks and Saracens called him *the great Lord of the West*. German arts in painting and sculpture developed their most beautiful fruits under the fostering care of the old duke, nor did he neglect the sciences; and he collected a rich and magnificent library; his standing army were the best drilled troops in Europe, and consisted of 20,000 men; his hoarded treasures were immense, and his plate, of massive silver and gold, alone weighed 72,000 ounces. The Burgundian period, with its pompous tournaments, banquets, "its vows of the heron," and institutions of new orders of knighthood, such as that of the *toison d'or*, is an era of almost incredible extravagance, tasteless pageantry, stiff pedantry, the very quixotism of chivalry, which since the battle day at *Hastings*, and the brilliant career of four centuries in the east and west, had outlived itself, become degenerate, and forced to yield to the new inventions and higher intellect of the times. To what disasters did the incorrigible nobility not expose itself before it gave up the vain contest for supremacy against kings and commoners! Defeats in Flanders, in Souabia against the citizens, in Switzerland against the mountaineers; captivity and disgrace at Nicopolis and Varna, by the superior tactics of the Ottoman Turks, and, at last, the loss of its sovereignty and extravagant privileges, by the insidious politics of a Louis XI. [229]

499. III. The House of Bourbon. The ancestor of the Bourbon branch of the royal family of France, was Robert, the youngest son of Saint Louis.[230] He invested his son, in 1269, with the county of *Clermont* in Beauvaisis (486), and Robert, by marrying Beatrice of Burgundy, obtained with her the lordships of *Bourbon l'Archambaud* in the north, of Bourbonnais, *Charollais*, and *Saint Just*. The ancient castle of Bourbon l'Archambaud (238, XXVII.) was his residence, and from it he took his title. In the time of Robert's son Louis, the Bourbonnais was created a ducal peerage—*duché pairée* [231]—the owner of which therefore assumed the title of Duke of Bourbon and the arms of France in 1327. Louis obtained the county of LaMarche (469, 480) from King Charles le Bel, and his two sons Jacques and Pierre became the chiefs of the two branches of the Bourbon family, which flourished at the period we are now describing.

500. Bourbon Territories.—I. The county of Clermont; and II. the duchy of Bourbon, original domain of the family. III. The county of Forez, southeast of Bourbonnais; and IV. The barony of Roannais, northeast of Forez, inheritance of Anne, the wife of Louis le Bon, in 1452. V. The barony of Combrailles, south of Bourbonnais, between *La Marche* and *Auvergne*, to which it formerly belonged, was bought by Duke Louis le Bon in 1400. VI. The seigniory of Beaujolais, south of Mâconnais, on the right bank of the Saône, and VII. that of Dombes, on the opposite eastern bank, together with the castles of *Trévoux*, *Chatelard* and *Ambérieux*, more east in the Bugey (406), VIII. the duchy of Auvergne (471), and IX. the county of Montpensier, in the same province northeast of Clermont, both brought as dower to Louis le Bon in 1400.

501. It was at the death of Duke Jean I. the son of Louis le Bon in 1434, that the branch of *Bourbon Montpensier* separated from that of the Dukes of Bourbon, which kept all the other seigniories of this family. The Montpensier branch had added the following acquisitions to the county that bore its name:

I. The Dauphiné d'Auvergne, on the south, beneath the highest mountains, with the city *Vodablé* near the Allier, and II. the county of Sancerre (491) on the northeast of Berri, which Count Jean inherited of his wife Jeanne, daughter of the last Count-Dauphin of Auvergne. Besides the *duchy* and the Dauphine d'Auvergne, there existed likewise *a county of Auvergne*, which Mary of Auvergne, the heiress of the county of *Boulogne*, brought into the noble family of La Tour in 1424. The seigniors of La Tour intermarried with the Bourbon family. The county lay east of the Allier. *Vic-le-Comte*, a beautiful small city on that river, was the residence of the Counts of La Tour d'Auvergne, whose patrimonial estates lay west of the high peaks of Mount d'Or. *Moulin*, north on the Allier,

[229] See the graphic and accurate description of the Burgundian Court, manners and politics, in the admirable *History of the Dukes of Burgundy*, by the French Historian Mons. de Barante.

[230] THE GENEALOGY OF THE BOURBON HOUSE.

Saint Louis,

Robert, his sixth son, Count of *Clermont*.

Louis I., *le Bon*, Duke of Bourbon.

Jacques de Bourbon, Count of *la Marche*.

Peter I., Duke of Bourbon, became extinct in the Constable Charles de Bourbon, in 1527.

John, Count of *la Marche*, married to Catherine of Vendôme.

Jacques II., Count of *la Marche*.

Louis of Bourbon, Count of *Vendome*, ancestor of the Counts Vendôme, afterwards Dukes of Bourbon, the Kings of Navarra, and of the Royal Bourbon family.

[231] This title denoted at that time a high power and dignity, because there were then in France only the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Aquitaine* and *Brittany*, and the title of *pair* was not bestowed except on the children of the king, the princes of the blood and the seigniors of the most important fiefs.

was built in the fourteenth century, by the Dukes of Bourbon, and their usual residence. Their fine Gothic castle is still standing, and the city of Moulin has quite a mediæval appearance, the houses being fantastically built of black and red stones. *Montbrison* became, in 1441, the capital of the county of Forez.

502. IV. The house of Anjou. The French King, Louis VIII., bequeathed, in 1226, the county of Anjou to his fourth son, Charles, who commenced the French house of Anjou, and raised it by his conquest of Naples, in 1266 (423), to a height of grandeur and renown, no longer proportioned to the small province from which it derived its title. The following were the Anjou territories in France: I. The counties of Provence (486) and of Forcalquier, the inheritance of the Beatrix of Provence (daughter of Raymond Berengario IV., the last count of those territories), and from 1240, the wife of Charles of Anjou. II. The duchy of Anjou. III. The county of Maine. IV. The duchy of Touraine (492) with the seigniories *Laudun* and *Mirebalais*. These states descended from one generation to another in the same family, with the exception of the county of *Venaissin*, in Provence, which, in 1274, was given to the Roman See, with the only reservation of *Avignon*, on the junction of the Rhone and the Durance. Pope Clement VI., however, bought this city, during the residence of the Popes in France, for the sum of 80,000 gold florins of the light-headed Queen Joan I. of Naples, in the year of the plague, 1348.

503. On the death of Louis III., in 1434, his estates had been divided between his two brothers, and they were so still at the period we treat of. Réné (Rinatus), the oldest of the two, who lost Naples by the sword of Alfonso V., of Aragon, and Anjou and Provence by the intrigues of the perfidious Louis XI. of France, had, however, the good fortune to inherit the duchy of Bar (486) in 1430, and to share the ducal crown of Lorraine with his wife, Isabel, the heiress of that duchy. But after her death he resigned, and ceded Lorraine to John II., Duke of *Calabria*, his eldest son, who entered Nancy, his capital, on the 22d of May, 1453, the same year, during which we describe the political condition of France. *Metz*, on the Meuse, more populous and industrious than Nancy herself, had, in imitation of the free towns of Germany, obtained her independence of the duchy a few years earlier. Toul and Verdun remained, likewise, in immediate dependence on the Germanic Empire. Réné,—*le bon Roi Réné*—as he was called, devoted himself to poetry, literature, and the fine arts. He was himself author of a work on tournaments and knightly exercises, and spent his latter days in tranquillity at Aix, in Provence. On his death, in 1480, Provence fell back to the French crown. Lorraine, which had passed to his grandson, Réné II., was conquered by Charles the Rash, of Burgundy, in 1473, but the Duke, assisted by the Swiss, defeated Charles, first at Morat, in 1476, and the year after at Nancy, where that turbulent warrior perished. Réné of Lorraine, distinguished himself in the wars of Italy, and obtained from Charles VIII., the restitution of the duchy of Bar, which had been seized by Louis XI.

504. The house of Brittany (Bretagne). The family of Montfort still ruled the duchy, which had been enlarged by the barony of Fougères. The Duke likewise possessed the county of Montfort L'Amaury on the southwest of Paris, and the estate of *Néaufle*, northwest of Montfort. Brittany was the last of the great fiefs that became united with the crown by the marriage of Charles VIII. and Anne of Bretagne, in 1491.

505. Territories of the other less powerful Vassals.—Besides the five great dynasties, we here notice several others who were not without some importance. Among those we have already mentioned were: that of *Montmorenci* (488), *Foix* (480), *Armagnac* (481), *Astarac* (481), *Albret* (481), *Luxemburg*, or the Counts of Saint-Pol (488), *Alençon* (490), *Blois*, or *Penthièvre*, (491). We may add the following:

506. The house of Chalons, possessing, 1st, the barony of Arlay, in the free county, *Franche Comté*. 2d. The principality of Orange, inclosed within the *comtat*, or county of *Venaissin*, and which owed its name to its ancient capital, *Arausium*—Orange—on the Rhone. 3d. The right of suzerainty over the county of Neuchâtel, in Switzerland. The county of Tonnerre, northwest of Burgundy, belonged for a length of time to a branch of this house.

507. The house of Laval, held in the Lower Maine, the seigniory of that name, with one hundred and fifty villages and estates. Charles VII. erected it into a county on the day of his coronation at Rheims, 17th July, 1429, on account of the antiquity of that family, and of their unshaken fidelity to the crown. Laval, the capital, was situated west of Mans. Dame Anne de Laval defended it heroically at the head of the citizens, against the English, in March, 1428; it was taken at last, but threw off the yoke in September, 1429.

508. Such was the territorial division of France on the accession of Louis XI., in 1461. The prudent Charles VII. had consolidated the royal authority by the reunion of so many alienated provinces with the crown lands, by the organization of a standing army of fifteen hundred *lances*, or nine thousand horsemen—*les compagnies des ordonnances*[232]—and by his shrewd management of the parliaments and municipalities of the cities, who sought their refuge in the king against the encroachments of the still powerful feudal nobility. To crush the aristocracy and grasp at the absolute royalty was the great aim of his treacherous, but sagacious and successfully persevering son. The Italian princes of the fifteenth century were the inventors of that insidious, cunning, and perfidious policy, of which Louis XI. was the most eminent improver, and to which France, during this important period, owed the unity of her monarchy. Yet at one time, the crown was on the point of sinking before a combination, which, in A. D. 1461, might have ended in the dismemberment of France. This was the League denominated of Public Weal—*du bien public*—in which all the princes and great vassals of the French crown were in arms against the king: the Dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, Alençon, Bourbon, the Count of Dunois, the families of Foix and Armagnac, and at the head of all, Charles, Duke of Berry, the king's brother and presumptive heir. This great armament for the Public Weal was the last struggle of the aristocracy to preserve their independence. Yet the faithful adherence of Paris, then already the soul and heart's blood of France, and the blunders of the allies after the indecisive battle at Montlhéry, restored Louis to power and

[232] Charles VII. had already in October, 1439, obtained the grant of a ground tax—*taille*—to the amount of 1,200,000 livres annually, for the erection of a standing army of fifteen companies, each of one hundred steel-clad men-at-arms—*gens d'armes*,—every lance accompanied by five horsemen, a sword-man—*coutellier*—two mounted archers, a squire and a groom—*gros valet*. Another organization was that of the *Francs-Archers*, in 1445—which, in spite of the ridicule that attached itself to the *foot soldiers* at that period of expiring chivalry, became, nevertheless, the ancestors of the celebrated infantry to which France owed her strength and glory in more modern times.

to revenge. That crafty politician in the treaty of Conflans, lulled his enemies into sleep by his liberal concessions, by his appanages, and life rents:—whole provinces, with commands of troops, were dealt out among his covetous and short-sighted opponents. Thus all Normandy, the most important province of France, was apparently given away to the Duke of Berry; other concessions were made to Charles of Burgundy and the rest. But Louis waited his time—and he crushed them all with a vigor that at once discloses the reckless fortitude of his mind; the duchy of Alençon was confiscated, the Count of Armagnac assassinated; the Duke of Nemours, and the intriguing Constable of St. Pol, perished on the scaffold. Charles of Berry was poisoned, in Guienne, in 1472, by the contrivance of King Louis. The headstrong Charles of Burgundy was shrewdly baited on the Swiss, and immediately after his fall, at Nancy, in 1477, Louis seized on the duchy and county of Burgundy, on the cities on the Somme, in Picardy, and only the sharp lance of the chivalrous Maximilian of Austria, the bridegroom of Mary of Burgundy, could save the Low Countries, in 1478. The sword, the axe, the rope, and the poison, of Louis XI. had proved successful; on his death-bed, at the gloomy castle of Plessis-les-Tours, on the Loire, in 1483, surrounded by all the furies of a conscience loaded with crimes, the old sinner bequeathed to his son, Charles VIII., a united France, an improved administration and army, an obsequious parliament, a humbled and trembling nobility, a faithful and prosperous bourgoisie, and the pretensions of the crown to an absolute monarchy, under which France at once enters on the stage of modern history.

509. Cities, Castles, and Historical Sites.—*Montlhéry* (306), a superb Gothic castle, two leagues southwest of Paris, on the west of the Seine, between Rambouillet and Étampes, where was fought the singular battle on the 16th July, 1465, between King Louis XI. and Charles the Rash, then Count of Charolais (497), and the other chiefs of the League, for the Public Weal. Louis routed the left wing of the hostile army under the Count of Saint Pol, whilst the impetuous Charles bore down the French centre and left wing, under the cowardly Duke of Maine, but was himself wounded in the throat, and in imminent danger of being unhorsed and captured. Charles announced his vain triumph by sound of trumpets and chivalrous show—but the prudent Louis obtained all the fruits of victory by occupying Paris, and shrewdly flattering the fickle Parisians into fidelity and enthusiasm for his cause. *Conflans*, near the Vincennes, south of Paris, on the eastern bank of the Seine. Here, on the 29th October, 1465, the treacherous peace between Louis XI. and the confederates was concluded, which apparently placed the finest provinces into their hands. *Peronne-la-Pucelle*—the Virgin Castle[233]—a strong fortress on the right bank of the Somme, in Picardy, where, on the 9th of October, 1468, Louis XI., while playing his double game against Charles of Burgundy, was made the prisoner of the latter, and placed in that awkward position so admirably delineated in the Quentin Durward of Sir Walter Scott. It was on the return of Louis to Paris, from his disgraceful capture at Peronne, that he was received by the salute of *Peronne! Peronne!* by hundreds of prattling magpies and parrots, whom the witty and sarcastic Parisians had taught this taunting welcome to their outwitted monarch. *Trèves*, on the Moselle, the scene of the pompous interview between Charles the Rash and the old Emperor Frederic III. of Germany, September 19th, 1473, during which all the preparations for the coronation of Charles as King of Burgundy, were made, when the wary Emperor silently stole away with his Germans, and crossed the Rhine as a fugitive. *Nancy*, the capital of Lorraine, in vain besieged by Charles during winter, 1477. At *Vireley*, near Nancy, was, on January 7, 1477, fought the battle against the Duke Réné of Lorraine, and the Swiss, which Charles the Rash lost by the treachery of the Neapolitan Count Campobasso. While fleeing from the battle field, the duke sank with his barbed horse into the frozen morass, and was cut down by the pursuing enemies. His disfigured body was discovered and recognized several days after the battle, and buried in Nancy by the Duke Réné. *Guinegate*, west of Terouenne, in Flanders, where the young brilliant Maximilian of Austria, immediately after his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, met the French army of Louis XI., on the 7th of August, 1479. The French were ridden down by the German and Dutch knights; they fled on the spur, and that action took the significant name of the *battle of the spurs*—the last, in which the French *spurred out* of the middle ages!

[233] The citizens of Peronne were proud of the maiden name of their town. It withstood victoriously every siege, and repelled the numerous and warlike troops of Henry of Nassau, in 1563. But it lost its *pucellage* in June, 1815, to the Duke of Wellington, when he took the fortress on the general consternation produced by the battle of Waterloo.

510. The Ecclesiastical Division of France in 1322.—In consequence of the crusades against the Waldenses and Albigenses in southern France during the thirteenth century, some important changes in the Church government of the southern provinces were undertaken by Pope John XXII., —1316–1334,—which afterwards remained unchanged until the great revolution of 1789. Alby (391, VI. 3,) became separated from Bourges, and raised to a metropolitan see, to which were added the suffragan churches of *Cahors*, *Rhodèz*, and *Mende*. *Castres* and *Vabres* were erected into bishoprics, and likewise placed under Alby. Toulouse was formed into an archbishopric; and the episcopal churches of *Montauban*, *Lombèz*, *Rieux*, *Saint Pepoul*, *Pamiers*, and *Mirepoix*, were assigned as its suffragans, while the ancient see of Narbonne (392, X.), received as indemnification the newly established bishoprics of *Aleth* and *Saint Pons*. In the west, the too extensive diocese of *Poitiers* (391, IV., 1,) became divided into three, and that of *Agen* (391, IV. 5,) into two bishoprics, by the erection of the suffragan churches of *Maillezais*, *Luçon*, *Sarlat*, and *Condom*, in 1317, by a bull of John XXII., in which all four were placed under the See of Bordeaux.

VII. Romano-Germanic Empire

FROM THE DOWNFALL OF THE SOUABIAN DYNASTY, A.D. 1252, TO THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

511. Germany, under the Luxemburgian, Bavarian, and Austrian Dynasties.—In France *monarchy* had become consolidated. In Germany, the imperial power was lost with Frederic II.; and though the shadow of an empire was still kept up, yet Germany consisted in reality of nearly two hundred independent rulers, princes ecclesiastical and secular, nobles of different ranks, and free cities of the empire. Frederic II. had spent his life in Italy in feuds against the Popes and the Lombard Republics. He neglected Germany, and was careless of those imperial prerogatives, which it seemed hardly worth an effort to preserve for an Italian prince. He therefore sanctioned the independence of the princes, recognized the privileges and armed confederacies of the cities, and laid thus the foundation of a total change in the constitution of Germany in the fourteenth century. The succession to the crown had always been elective; but the election itself, which formerly had belonged to the different tribes in their division of duchies, became now, after the dissolution of the duchies

of Saxony, Franconia, and Souabia, circumscribed to the three German archbishops of Maintz, Trèves, and Cologne, and four secular princes, the Duke of Saxony on the Upper Elbe—*Kur-Sachsen*—the Count-Palatine of the Rhine, the King of Bohemia, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.[234] The anxiety of the princes to maintain their independence was already shown in 1273, when they elected the honest and prudent, but powerless, Rudolph, Count of Habsburg, King of Germany. Rudolph, without attempting to obtain the imperial crown of Rome by intermeddling with the affairs of Italy, turned all his attention to the internal pacification of the fatherland, and to the consolidation of his family estates by the acquisition of the archduchy of Austria with Carinthia and Styria for his son Albert. This sudden increase of imperial power frightened the princes. On the death of Rudolph, in 1293, they chose the penniless Adolph of Nassau for his successor, and it was only by the lance-thrust with which Albert of Austria killed his opponent at *Gellheim*, that he could usurp a dignity which at once made him formidable to the liberties of Germany. Albert's plans were vast, and his ambition boundless; but he fell by assassination, in 1308, while marching against the Swiss, and the electors now hurried to raise the chivalrous Henry VII. of Lüzelburg (Luxemburg), to the German throne. The attempts of Henry to extend the influence of his family were more successful than those of the Habsburgers. Bohemia became a fief of his house, by the marriage of his son John of Luxemburg with the heiress of that kingdom. Yet the warlike spirit of Henry VII. carried him to Italy, where, at the head of the Ghibeline party, he took the imperial crown in Rome, and would have restored the German supremacy there if he had not been poisoned by a monk at Buonconvento, in Tuscany, in 1313. The two great parties in Germany, the Luxemburgers and the Habsburgers, began immediately the civil war. The former elected the distinguished Louis of Bavaria; the latter, Frederic the Handsome, of Austria. Louis, to strengthen his party, scattered with a lavish hand, privileges and immunities to princes and cities, and defeated and captured the Austrian in the chivalrous battle at Mühldorf, in Bavaria, September 22, 1322. The star of Austria seemed to set. Leopold, the brother of Frederic, had been defeated by the Swiss, in the terrible massacre at Morgarten, in 1315; nor did an Austrian prince obtain the imperial crown until a century later, after the reigns of the three Luxemburgo-Bohemian kings, Charles IV., 1347–1378, Wenceslaus, 1387–1410, and Sigismund, 1410–1437. With Albert II. of Austria, 1347–1349, and his successor and cousin, Frederic III. of Austria-Styria, 1440–1493, began the steady progress of the Habsburg House, which thenceforth kept possession of the imperial throne of Germany.

512. Frontiers and Foreign Relations of Germany about A. D. 1453.—The frontiers of the empire had undergone some changes since the last period; yet they still preserved nearly the same extent. If, by the encroachment of the French kings, *Dauphiné* and *Provence* had been lost on the west, *Pomerania*, the *Neumark*, *Lausitz* and *Silesia* had been annexed on the east. In the north, the county of Holstein had, as a German fief, been united with the Danish crown, shortly after the accession of Count Christian of Oldenborg to the throne of that kingdom, in 1448, and was some years afterwards, in 1474, erected into a duchy (436). In the south, the powerful Dukes of Savoy, already extending their possessions into Italy, still recognized their dependence on the empire; but the Swiss mountaineers had, by their victories at Morgarten, in 1315, at Sempach, 1386, and Näfels, 1388, thrown off the Austrian yoke, conquered and occupied all the hereditary lands of the Habsburg family in the Aargau and Thurgau, and constituted their glorious confederation of the eight old cantons. The relations to Italy had been temporarily renewed during the campaigns of Henry VII. and Louis of Bavaria. Charles IV. took the imperial crown in Rome, A. D. 1355; but this was only pageantry, void of any real political influence, and Italy was, in 1453, almost entirely independent of the German empire.

513. The Electors of the Empire and their Dignities.—The Golden Bull,[235] published by Charles IV., in 1356, sanctioned all the rights and privileges which the great vassals had usurped. The electors were seven, ranking in the following order: I. the Archbishop of Mainz (Mayence), as Arch-Chancellor of Germany. He possessed, as sovereign prince, the territories of *Mainz*, on the Rhine and Mayn; *Aschaffenburg*, with a large tract on the Upper Mayn, in Franconia; besides *Marburg*, *Erfurth*, *Eichsfeld*, *Frizlar*, and some fiefs on the Rhine and in Lorraine. II. the Archbishop of Trèves, as Arch-Chancellor of Burgundy, with an extensive territory on the Moselle. III. the Archbishop of Cologne, as Arch-Chancellor of Italy, with the duchy of *Westphalia*. IV. the King of Bohemia, as Arch-Seneschal. V. The Count-Palatine of the Rhine, as Arch-Sewer. VI. The Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, as Arch-Marshal (with the exclusion of the ducal line of Saxe-Lauenburg); and, finally, VII. The Margrave of Brandenburg. The votes of the seven electors were for ever united to their territories, which were considered as inalienable feudal possessions of the empire.

514. I. Division of the States and Free Cities of the Empire.—The kingdom of Bohemia, with the *Lausitz*, *Silesia*, and *Moravia*, the two latter not belonging directly to the empire. The Bohemians, in their hate against the grasping house of Austria, which asserted a claim upon the kingdom, gave, in 1311, the heiress of the throne, Elizabeth, the granddaughter of King Ottocar, in marriage to the chivalrous John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII. By this nearer connection with Germany, the manners and language of the Czechs underwent great changes, and even the laws of Bohemia became written in the German tongue. Its brilliant era was enjoyed by that beautiful country under the active and, for his own hereditary kingdom, highly beneficent Charles IV., the son of John of Luxemburg—1346–1378. Prague (399) became then the capital of Germany. Charles embellished his favorite city with magnificent churches and palaces, and founded, in 1371, its celebrated university. His son and successor, Wenceslaus, despised and deposed in Germany,

[234] See, for details on the political history of this period, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, pages 232–249, New-York edition, 1839.; Kohlrausch's *History of Germany*, chapters XII.–XV., and for the rise of the House of Habsburg, Coxe's accurate and interesting *History of Austria*, Vol. I.

[235] This celebrated statute received that name from the *Golden Seal* affixed to it. It exempted the electoral domains from the imperial jurisdiction; gave the electors regalian rights over the mines, coins, and taxation, and insured their pre-eminence over all the other princes. It gave likewise some regulations concerning the general peace—*Land friede*—and decreed that after a proclamation made three days previously, the right of warfare among the princes of the empire should be declared and enforced. Yet the Golden Bull did not define more minutely the relations of the emperor to the states, nor those of the lower nobility and the cities to the electors, and became, therefore, by its indefiniteness, the cause of all the subsequent feuds of the nobility against the princes, and those large confederacies of barons and republican cities, which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, waged an almost continual war with one another.

reformed the laws of Bohemia, and substituted the national language in the different courts of justice. John Huss and Jerome of Prague flourished during his reign; but the mass of the inhabitants were too ignorant to appreciate their virtues, talents, and noble disinterestedness, nor their wise and enlightened views concerning religious reform. It was not until after their awful execution at Constance, in 1413–14, that their partisans, the *Hussites*, under the command of that astonishing warrior, John of Trocznow, now called *Zisca*—the One-eyed—demanded the reform, sword in hand, and began those bloody and devastating Hussite wars, which, from 1414 to 1434, spread death and destruction over all the neighboring countries. Under the admirable governor, and afterwards king, George Podiebrad, who was elected regent during the minority of the young Wladislaw, son of King Albert of Germany, but who himself mounted the throne in 1458, by the vote of the people; Bohemia quickly recovered from the wounds of the religious war. Her cities were rebuilt; her agriculture, commerce, and industry became flourishing, and her *Protestant* population, then forming the great *majority* of the nation, enjoyed quietly their liberties and privileges, so stoutly defended, until they afterwards, during an eventful period in modern history, were undermined and annihilated by treacherous Austria.

515. Cities and Historical Sites in Bohemia.—Prague (Praha, Praga, Prag), the ancient and beautiful capital of Bohemia, is situated on the river Moldau, which traverses the city and divides it into four quarters: *Hradschin*, or Upper Town, and *Kleinseité*, or Small Side, on the left, and *Alt-stadt* and *Neu-stadt*, on the right bank. A magnificent stone bridge, supported by sixteen arches, and adorned with twenty-eight colossal statues of saints, was built by the Emperor Charles IV., in the year 1338, across the river. It unites the Hradschin with the Old Town, and the access to it is fortified with high and picturesque towers. On the commanding heights of the Hradschin stand the superb Gothic cathedral and the immense castle and palace of the Bohemian kings, and on the market-place, in the Old City, the Carolinian university, with its rich library of Bohemian manuscripts, and the Gothic town-hall of that period. The infuriated Hussites stormed that building in July, 1419, and threw down from the windows the hostile senators, who were caught on the lance points of the multitude below. The old King Wenceslaus, beholding this horrible scene from his balcony, fell dead in a fit of anguish and despair. *Mount Zisca* (Wissehrad), south of Prague, where that blind and maimed Chief of the Hussites formed his impregnable camp, and defeated King Sigismund and his chivalry of Germany on the 14th of July, 1420. *Hussinecz*, a small town on the frontiers of Bavaria, was the birthplace of John Huss. *Mount Hradistic*, in the province of *Bechinsko*, on a branch of the river Wultava, became the gathering place and the stronghold of the Hussites, who called their fortress Mount Tabor, and took themselves the name of Taborites. *Trocznow*, south of Mount Tabor, was the paternal castle of the terrible Zisca. *Kuttenberg*, east on the Upper Order, lay in a mountainous region, whose rich silver mines were discovered toward the beginning of the fourteenth century. Charles IV. drew from them the most abundant revenues of his kingdom. *Carlstein*, a magnificent castle on the Moldau, southwest of Prague, built by Charles IV., where the Bohemian crown jewels were kept. *Carlsbad*, on the *Tepel*, northwest of Prague, in a beautiful valley, surrounded by high wood-clad mountains, became famous from the time of Charles IV., by the accidental discovery of the hot springs in 1458, while the king was enjoying a stag-hunting near the boiling pool. *Brix*. *Aussig*, *Saats*, *Deutsch-Brod*, *Mies* and *Tauss* were cities celebrated by the astounding victories of the Hussites, who there, with their iron-shod flails, mowed down the proudest knights of Germany, and frustrated all the attempts of the German princes to quell their insurrection, until the fanatic Taborites, after the death of Zisca, before Przybislaw, in 1424, fell into feuds among themselves. Thus weakened, they were at last surrounded and totally routed at *Böhmisch-Brod* by the Catholic party, at Prague, in 1434. Their able generals, the two Procopii, fell, and, after another defeat at Lomnicza, they were forced to surrender Mount Tabor and their other strongholds, and do homage to King Sigismund, in 1436.

516. Attached to the royal crown of Bohemia were the three provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and the Lausitz. I. The Margravate of *Moravia* (Mæhren), was so called from the river Morava (March), which flows through its plains, and discharges into the Danube. Moravia formed, at the time of the dismemberment of the Carlovingian empire, a powerful state under the able Prince Swatopluk. It extended through Avaria to Belgrade on the Danube. But it was soon destroyed by the invasions of the Hungarians and the unpolitic divisions among the sons of Swatopluk. It became later, under the Bohemian kings, a *margravate*, or border county, against the Poles and Hungarians, and was dreadfully devastated by the incursions of the Hussites. The mass of its inhabitants belonged to the Sclavonian race, though many German colonies had early been settled in the country. The Sclavonians themselves were divided into several branches. The *Hannacks*, *Straniacks*, *Slowacks* or *Chrawats*, *Horacks*, and *Wallacks*, who all could be distinguished from one another by their dialects, customs, and dress. The Straniacks inhabited the frontier districts of Hungary. The Wallacks early migrated from the Carpathians; they spoke the Bohemian dialect, and wore the Hungarian costume; they lived mostly in the immense forests of the mountain region, and carried on a lucrative trade in wood and tinder. The Hannacks were occupied with cattle-breeding. The language of the Moravo-Sclavonians, though a corrupt dialect of the Bohemo-Polish, has its own literature, and is described as excelling the other Slavic dialects in harmony and softness. Cities were: Br'no (Brünn), the capital of the border counts, *Holomucz* (Olmütz), the archiepiscopal see for Moravia. *Iglau*, situated in a wild and mountainous region, was the place where the Emperor Sigismund, in 1434, made peace with the Hussites, and was recognized as King of Bohemia. *Kremsier*, *Znaym*, and *Hradisch*, were likewise cities of some note.

II. Silesia, extending all along the eastern frontiers of Moravia and Bohemia, had become united to the Bohemian crown in 1435–1455 (446). This fertile and beautiful province, which, during the period we describe, was the *El-dorado* of German emigration, in the same manner as the United States, California and New Holland are at the present day, became soon Germanized, industrious and wealthy. Its mines were worked, and its natural products found ready markets in Germany, Poland, and Russia. Breslau, the ancient ducal capital, on the Oder, *Glogau*, *Liegnitz*, *Brieg*, *Neisse*, *Oppeln*, and *Teschen*, were flourishing commercial cities. The estates obtained from King Wladislaw, in 1498, extensive territorial privileges—*Landesfreiheiten*—which circumscribed the jurisdiction of the king and the feudal military service which the vassals were bound to render annually. All the German traffic with Poland passed through Breslaw. Its active citizens bought with ready money the enfranchisement of their town, and enjoyed an almost republican form of government. III. The principality of Lausitz, on the north of Bohemia, was likewise a precious acquisition from Poland, both on ac-

count of its fertility and its advantageous position, thus uniting Bohemia, on the north, with *Brandenburg*, another of the immense territories which the covetous and grasping dynasty of Luxemburg, temporarily at least, succeeded in bringing under its sceptre.

517. V. The margraviate of Brandenburg was bordered on the north by Mecklenburg and Wolgast, on the east by Poland, south by the Lausitz and Saxony-Wittenberg, and east by the episcopal see of Magdeburg and the duchy of Lüneburg. Its political division was into *Altmark*, *Priegnitz*, *Ukermark*, *Mittelmark*, *Neumark*, and the three smaller districts of *Lebus*, west of the Oder, *Sternberg*, on the opposite shore, and *Cottbus*, a territory inclosed within the province of Lausitz.

During the fierce wars against the Sclavonians, Count Albert of *Aschersleben* (Ascania), called the Bear, conquered, in 1133, the town of Brannibor (Brandenburg) from the Wilzes and Welatabes (188, 389, II.), and received, in 1150, from the Emperor Conrad III., the title of elector and margrave. The whole *Nordmark*, as the county was then called, was still covered with marshes, heaths, and forests. Albert undertook to clear the land; he built towns, which he peopled with numerous colonies of Germans, who had settled in Holland, but were obliged, in consequence of the inundation of the sea, to quit that country (497). Christianity was spread among the Slavi, and established in the Nordmark during his reign. He erected churches and monasteries, endowed schools, and labored to civilize and enlighten his barbarous subjects. He was the true founder of the margraviate of Brandenburg, for before his time the different border counts were only appointed during life by the emperor, and Albert was the first for whom it was erected into an imperial fief. His successors promoted the cultivation of the country, which they extended by conquests; *Neumark*, on the east of the Elbe, was wrested from Poland (380); the *Ukermark*, from Pomerania, in 1256; and Otto III. of Brandenburg, obtained by marriage the *Upper Lausitz* from Bohemia. When, at last, the Ascanian line of Anhalt became extinct, in 1320, the neighboring princes were immediately at hand, ready to divide the rich spoils; yet the active conqueror, Louis of Bavaria, perceiving the favorable opportunity to augment the influence of his house, declared at the diet of Nürnberg, in 1323, Brandenburg to be an escheated fief of the empire, and gave it to his son Louis. This sudden extension of the Bavarian dynasty in the north of Germany became a thorn in the eyes of all the neighboring Low-German princes. Their hate and envy broke out into open hostility, when Margrave Louis of Brandenburg, in 1335, married Margaret Maultasch, the heiress of the county of Tyrol, in the Alps. Yet Louis stood his ground; with the support of Denmark he defeated all his adversaries; and it was not until, in the year 1365, that Charles IV. of Bohemia, partly by force and partly by money, obtained the cession of Mark Brandenburg from Otho, the brother and successor of Louis. During so many feuds and troubles, the country had suffered dreadfully; the people had become oppressed with taxes and debts; vast tracts of land lay entirely waste. Here a new field opened for so active and organizing a mind as that of the Luxemburger. With laudable zeal and prudence he attended to the improvement and prosperity of his Brandenburg dominions. The whole territory combined, at that period, three provinces: I. Marchia Transalberana, or the *Altmark*, west of the Elbe, with the ancient capital *Salzwedel*. II. Marchia Media, the *Mittelmark*, the country between the Elbe and the Oder, comprising *Priegnitz* and *Ukermark*, on the north, with the cities *Brandenburg*, *Havelberg*, *Berlin*, *Cölln*, *Bernau*, and *Prenzlau*; and III. Marchia Transoderna, or the *Neumark*, on the frontiers of Poland, with the cities *Wedel*, *Soldin*, *Bernstedt*, and *Friedland*. King Wenceslaus gave Brandenburg to his brother Sigismund, who, already King of Hungary, was elected emperor by the interest and good offices of Frederic, Count of Hohenzollern and Burgrave of Nürnberg. But the emperor, being lavish of his treasures, and always in difficulties for want of money, ceded to the Count of Hohenzollern, in 1415, the state of Brandenburg as a hereditary fief, with the privileges of the electoral dignity, for the comparatively paltry sum of 150,000 gold florins. With this remarkable financial operation, the prudent Frederic I., now Elector of Brandenburg, laid the foundation of the mighty *Prussian monarchy*, which his descendants, the Hohenzollerns, possess to the present day. Frederic II., who followed his father from 1440 to 1470, directed his whole attention to the future development of the country; and his long reign was highly beneficial to its commerce, industry, and agriculture; nor did he neglect to encourage the education and chivalrous virtues of the higher classes. He instituted, in 1443, the order of the *Swan-knights*, chain-bearers of the fair ladies; and he recovered the Neumark from the Teutonic Order in Prussia, to whom Sigismund had mortgaged it, in 1402 (380). Thus Brandenburg appears in a very prosperous state at the close of the middle ages; and its importance in the political balance of the European powers became fully secured in the sixteenth century by the marriage of the Duchess Anna of Prussia with the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg. Its cities, however, were not of great moment in this early period (398). Salzwedel was the ancient capital of the Ascanian princes. *Brannibor* (Brandenburg), on the Havel, a Sclavonian fortress, gave its name to the principality. *Postdeprimi* (Postzein), on an island formed by the confluence of the Ruth and the Havel, an ancient settlement of the Wiltzes, became afterwards the magnificent Potsdam of the great Frederic II. of Prussia. *Berlin*, in a sandy desert, on the Spree, opposite to *Cölln*, was founded by Count Albert, in 1163, and rose slowly to its present importance. *Bernau*, in the Mittelmark, withstood gallantly the attack of the Hussites; it owed its industry and wealth to the fugitive French Huguenots, who found there a refuge during the religious wars of the sixteenth century.

518. VI. The Electorate and Duchy of Saxe-Wittenberg—*Kur Sachsen*—comprised the lands on the *Upper Elbe*, *Misnia*, and *Thuringia* (398); to it was attached the electoral dignity and the office of hereditary marshal of the empire. On the extinction of the Ascanian house (396, III.), in 1423, Frederic the Warlike, Margrave of Misnia, was invested with the duchy. It was then at the height of the Hussite war, and the countries on the Elbe were continually exposed to the invasions of the Bohemian fanatics; yet Frederic opposed them victoriously, and obtaining new enfeoffments from the emperor, he became, by the strength of his rich principalities, the splendor of his dignity united to his great personal qualities, one of the most powerful princes in Germany. He was succeeded in his electoral dominions by his son, Frederic the Mild—1428–1464—who, disputing with his brother William, the inheritance of Thuringia, caused the outbreak of that bloody war, *the Brothers' feud*, which, for five years, brought desolation over the most fertile civilized regions of Germany. His sons, Albert and Ernest, joined in 1482, the Thuringian possessions of their uncle William to Saxony and Misnia, and became the founders of the Albertine and Ernestine dynasties of modern Saxony.[236]

[236] The Albertine line still reigns in the present small kingdom of Saxony; while the Ernestine branch has become subdivided into the

The electoral dignity was inherited by Ernest, who possessed the eastern portion of the county, on the Elbe and part of southwestern Thuringia—this was then called Electoral Saxony, or *Kur Sachsen*. He was succeeded by his son, Frederic the Wise, who founded, in 1502, the university of Wittenberg, where the great theologians, Luther and Melancthon, commenced the Reformation of the Church in 1517.

519. Cities and Historical Sites.—Wittenberg, on the right bank of the Elbe, was the capital of the Ascanian Dukes. From this city the duchy took its name of Saxe-Wittenberg. Dresden, south of Wittenberg, on the Elbe (247), became the residence of the Albertine Princes, while Weimar, on the Ilm, was chosen as capital by the Ernestinians. *Wartburg*, the celebrated castle near Eisenach, was the earlier residence of the Landgraves of Thuringia. It was from the towers of this fortress that Margaret of Hohenstaufen, the daughter of Frederic II., descended in disguise to escape from the dagger of her adulterous husband, Margrave Albert the Wicked, in 1271. While giving her children the parting embrace, the unhappy lady, in her frantic despair, bit her little son, Frederic, in the cheek, and that chivalrous prince was afterwards called Frederic with the Bitten Cheek—*Friederich mit der gebissenen Wange*. *Lucau* (Lucka), southwest of Leipzic, where this Frederic and his brother, Diezmann, in 1298, totally defeated the usurper Adolph, of Nassau, who had purchased Thuringia, their inheritance, from their unnatural father, Albert the Wicked. *Leipzig*, on the Elster, was then already a thriving commercial city Here Diezmann, the younger brother of Frederic, was assassinated before the altar, in January, 1308, by Philip of Nassau, the imperial commander of Albert of Austria. The university of Leipzig was founded in 1409, and became flourishing on the outbreak of the Hussite troubles in Bohemia, when thousands of German students with their professors, abandoned the high school of Prague, and took their residence in Leipzig. *Borna*, south of Leipzig, where Frederic the Bitten destroyed the Austrian bands of King Albert I., in a chivalrous battle, January, 1308, and unhorsed and slew with his own hand, the perfidious Philip of Nassau, the murderer of his brother. *Altenburg*, a beautiful castle, south of Borna, where the Knight Kunz of Kaufungen, during the *Brothers' feud*, in 1453, attempted to kidnap Albert and Ernest, the two young Saxon princes. The boys were hurried off into the Thüringer forest, but there rescued by a stout coal-heaver, to whom they made themselves known. Kunz, the robber, was beheaded in Altenburg. *Wettin*, on the Saale, the residence of the earlier Saxon princes. *Eisleben*, in the county of Mansfeld, was the birthplace of the great Reformer, Martin Luther, November 10th, 1483. *Freiberg*, *Schneeberg*, and *Annaberg*, on the northern slope of the *Erz-Gebirge*, were mining towns, whose rich silver ores, discovered toward the middle of the fifteenth century, furnished large revenues to the Dukes of Saxony, yet the civil feuds and the extravagance of the times, swallowed up all their treasure, and the people were not the less oppressed by onerous tributes and taxes, the invention of that age.

520. VII. Electorate and Palatinate of the Rhine—*Rhein-Pfalz*—formed part of the ancient duchy of Franconia, which, like Souabia, was dismembered on the downfall of the Hohenstaufens (399). It embraced two different provinces, which were separated from each other by many secular and ecclesiastic states in Central Franconia. I., the Palatinate on the Rhine, or Lower Palatinate—*Pfalz am Rhein*—was situated on both sides of that river, and bounded by Würtemberg, Baden, Alsace, Lorraine, Trèves, and Hesse. II., the Upper Palatinate, or *Ober-Pfalz*, on the east, was surrounded by Bohemia, Bavaria, and Nürnberg. The Counts Palatine had obtained, as far back as the eleventh century (399, IX.), the hereditary sovereignty and its dependent principalities, which they augmented with the county of *Zweibrücken* and the city of *Heidelberg*. Frederic II. gave the Palatinate to Louis of Bavaria, and it remained undivided with Bavaria until 1329, when the Emperor Louis IV. of Bavaria, in the treaty of Pavia, conferred it on the sons and relatives of his brother. The electoral dignity was attached to the Rhein Pfalz, whose Count was invested with the judiciary power of the empire in case of absence of the Emperor. Though divided into four lines, the Palatinate was considered as a united state. These lines were, I., the Electorate on the Rhine—*Kur-Rhein*. II., Sulzbach, or *Upper Palatinate*, established by Count John, whose son, Christopher, became King of the Calmarian Union, 1439–1448 (438, 444), when his lands fell back to the Electorate. III., Simmern, with the counties *Veldenz* and *Spanheim*, on the Rhine, north of the Electorate. Mossbach, on the Neckar, in Souabia, became extinct with Count Otho II., and reverted in 1499 to the Electorate.[237]

521. Cities and Battle-fields in the Rhine-Province.—Heidelberg, in a magnificent site on the Neckar, was the capital of the Electors. *Germersheim*, on the Rhine, where King Rudolph of Habsburg expired, 30th Sept., 1291. At *Gellheim*, west of Worms, was fought the fierce equestrian battle, July 2, 1293, in which Albert I. of Austria, with his lance, unhorsed and slew his rival, Adolph of Nassau, and thus conquered the German crown. In the Upper Palatinate—*Sulzbach*, *Leuchtenberg*, and *Amberg*. *Trausnitz*, a gloomy castle, where Frederic the Handsome of Austria was kept as a prisoner of war after the great battle at Amfingen, in Sept., 1322; here, too, the noble-minded victor, Louis of Bavaria, visited and embraced his fallen enemy, and offered him to share the imperial dignity. *Hiltersried*, southeast of Transnitz, at the foot of the Böhmer-Wald, the battle-field on which the Count Palatine John, in 1433, gained the *first* victory over the Hussite fanatics of Bohemia. The Palatinate was one of the most fertile and best cultivated regions of Germany, notwithstanding the ravages of war it suffered at different times. Such was the condition of the seven Electorates about 1453 : we shall now proceed to describe the Duchies.

522. The German Empire comprised also one archduchy, that of *Austria*, and eighteen duchies : 1, *Styria ;* 2, *Carniola;* 3, *Carinthia ;* 4, *Bavaria;* 5, *Wurtemberg*, 6, *Lorraine ;* 7, *Luxemburg ;* 8, *Limburg ;* 9, *Brabant ;* 10, *Guelders ;* 11, *Clèves ;* 12, *Jülich ;* 13, *Berg ;* 14, *Brunsvic-Lüneburg ;* 15, *Holstein*, with *Stormarn ;* 16, *Saxe-Lauenburg ;* 17, *Mecklenburg ;* and 18, *Pomerania.*

523. VIII. Austria, under the Habsburg Dynasty.—Frederic Barbarossa had raised the *Marca-Orientalis*—Oesterrich—into an Archduchy (399, VIII.), which remained in the possession of the house of Babenberg (396, IX.) until its extinction in 1246. During the disorders of the interregnum

four sovereign houses of *Saxe-Altenburg*, *Coburg-Gotha*, *Meiningen*, and *Weimar*.

[237] The remaining Simmern line became united with Kur-Rhein under the unhappy Elector-Palatine Frederic V., in 1620, who, having been induced by the Protestant party, then in arms against Austria, to accept the crown of Bohemia, was defeated by General Tilly, on the White Mount, near Prague, and expelled from his dominions. These, with the electoral dignity, were then, by Emperor Ferdinand II., awarded to Bavaria, with whom all the Upper Palatinate and part of the Rhenish province, remain at the present day.

which followed on the death of Frederic II. of Hohenstaufen, King Ottocar Przemysl of Bohemia occupied Austria, Carinthia, Carniola and Styria, but in his struggle to maintain his conquest against the newly-elected Emperor of Germany, Rudolph of Habsburg, he lost his crown and his life in the battle at Stillfried in 1278, and Rudolph invested his sons Albert and Rudolph with the sovereignty of the conquered territories, which thenceforth remained the very centre and strength of the Habsburg dominions.[238]

The eminent services rendered by Rudolph I. for the internal tranquillity and reorganization of the empire had gained him the confidence and esteem of princes and people, and the German States did not object to his laying the foundation of a vast hereditary power. Yet the fear of Austrian supremacy soon became universal, and the Habsburg family was for more than a century—1308–1438—excluded from the succession, in spite of their strenuous exertions to recover their lost sovereignty. The Luxemburg (248, 396) and Wittelsbach (398, VI.) families occupied the imperial throne, and extended their dominion temporarily even over Bohemia, Hungary, and Brandenburg; yet Austrian politics, intrigues, and skilful marriage combinations prevailed at last, and with the active reign of Emperor Maximilian I. Austria obtained a permanent influence, not only on the affairs of Germany, but on the entire political system of modern Europe, by the wonderful union of Germany, Burgundy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, under the sceptre of the Habsburger Charles V.[239]

Frederic III. reigned during an age of extraordinary events—when the European world was verging toward a transcendant change in social, intellectual, and commercial relations. Yet, though he dared not draw his sword against the Ottoman power and save Constantinople, and he himself was so poor and penniless as scarcely to be able to protect himself against his own seditious Austrian subjects, he nevertheless laid the profoundest plans for the future grandeur of his house, whose second founder he may be called, since he left their fortunes incomparably more prosperous than they had been at his accession.[240]

524. The archduchy was then, as now, divided into, I. Austria *above the Ens* on the West, and II. Austria *below the Ens* on the East. Vienna (Wien), the capital, though still small in extent, was already a beautiful city, surrounded by admirable fortifications, and considered as the bulwark of Eastern Germany. Many splendid Gothic buildings adorned the inner city. The gigantic cathedral of Saint Stephen, one of the largest and loftiest churches of German architecture in the world, was erected in 1114, a standing memorial of the excellent taste, skilful workmanship, and wealth of the Austrian nation. It was then situated without the range of the city walls; but Vienna increased rapidly, from the mercantile advantages of its situation on the Danube, and the liberal municipal laws and regulations granted to the citizens by Duke Albert with the Cue. A flourishing University was established there in 1365, and the lively and luxurious Viennese began early to adopt foreign fashions and habits, by the frequent intermarriages of their princes with French princesses, who soon transformed Vienna into the most jovial, sociable, and sensual city in Germany. The great Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus, taking revenge on Frederic III. for his breach of faith, attacked and took Vienna in 1485, and resided there quite comfortably until his death in 1490, when the city was restored to Austria. At *Stillfried*, a village on the Marchfield, north of the Danube, the decisive battle was fought between Rudolph of Habsburg and King Ottocar Przemysl of Bohemia, August 26, 1278, in which the latter was defeated and killed, and Rudolph secured the possession of the Austrian lands. *Guttenstein*, a beautiful castle in the *Wiener Wald*, southwest of Vienna, was the retreat of the unhappy Frederic the Handsome, who died there in 1330. *Neuburg*, *Tuln*, *Mölk*, with a magnificent Benedictine convent, and *Linz*, were populous and commercial cities on the Danube; in the latter died Frederic III. in 1493.

525. To Austria belonged the duchies of Styria (Steyermark), Carinthia (Kärnthen), Carniola (Krain), and the Counties of Tyrol (Terioli) and Görz (Gorizia). The former duchies had, according to the custom of the times, been given to the younger lines of the Habsburg House; but they reverted to the Archducal crown during the fifteenth century. The county of Tyrol, situated among the highest Alps, on the frontiers of Lombardy, was inhabited by a poor but brave and industrious people of hunters and herdsmen, who through the storms of the middle ages had preserved their national independence, and forced the nobles possessing castles on the mountains to grant them their votes in the public assemblies and a liberal administration of justice.[241] Inspruck (Bridge on the Inn), then a small village, belonged, together with other settlements in the valley of the Inn, to the Counts of Andechs (396, XI.) Those of Meran, on the junction of the Adige

[238] Rudolph of Habsburg, the ancestor of the Austrian dynasty (1218–1291), held that title from the castle and county of Habsburg—*Habichtsburg*, or Hawks Castle—on the Aar, in the Aar-Gau of the ancient duchy of Souabia. In 1264 he succeeded to the inheritance of his maternal uncle, the Count of Kyburg, which included the greater part of the Aar-Gau and portions of the upper lands in *Burgundia Minor* (Switzerland), *Kyburg*, *Baden*, *Lenzburg*, *Zofingen*, *Grüningen*, *Freiburg*, and *Luzerne*, the two latter of which afterwards became free Cantons under the Swiss Confederacy. Rudolph obtained besides the advocacy or protectorship of the *Waldstädte*, or Forest Cantons on the lake of Lucerne, which, together with the Zähringen estates and rights in Alsace, formed a considerable territory, though by no means equal to that of the great electoral princes of Germany. All the lands in Souabia and Burgundy were afterwards lost to the Habsburgers on the rise of the free-born mountaineers against their tyrannical exactions.

[239] GENEALOGY OF THE HABSBURG DYNASTY.

Albert the Wise, Court of Habsburg †1260.

Rudolph, C. of H., Landgrave of Alsace, King (Emperor) of Germany. 1273—1291.

Albert I., Emperor, 1298–1308.

Frederic the Handsome, defeated at Amfingen, 1322. | *Leopold* the Flower of Knighthood, defeated at Morgarten, 1315. | *Albert* the Contracted, †1358.

Albert with the Cue, Archduke of Austria, †1395. — Albert, †1404. — Albert II., King of Hungary, 1437, and of Bohemia, 1438, Emperor, 1438–1439. — Waldislaw, King of Hungary and Bohemia, †1457.

Frederic, †1439. — Sigismund, Count of Tyrol, †1496. — Wolfgang.

Leopold the Brave, Duke of Souabia, slain at Sempach, 1386. — Ernest, Iron-heart, †1424. — Frederic III., with the Empty Pocket, Emperor, 1440–1493. — Maximilian I. — Philip the Handsome. — Charles V.

[240] It was the timid and almost invisible Frederic III. who adopted the proud device of Austria, A. E. O. I. U., on his plate, books, and buildings, and left it to his sagacious successors to interpret the running vowels into:

A *ustria* E *st* I *mperare* O *rbi* U *niverso*
lles *rdreich* *st* *esterreich* *nterthan*

That is: Austria is to rule the whole world! "A bold assumption," says Hallam, "for a man who was not safe in an inch of his dominions!"

[241] The Tyrolians served as a model for the most civilized nations in Europe by their bravery, the purity of their morals, their honesty and piety,—and they still enjoy this honorable character at the present day.

and the Passayer were the most powerful nobles in Tyrol. The Countess Margaret Maultasch (with the large Mouth), the heiress of Tyrol, being very unsteady in her affections, gave her different husbands a good deal of trouble. After discarding her first husband, the Bohemian Prince John Henry, the tender lady married Louis, the Bavarian, Margrave of Brandenburg (515), who taking possession of Tyrol, as the estate of his wife, and carrying his arms into Carinthia and Carniola, attempted to outflank Austria on its most exposed frontier. But Margaret, becoming soon tired of her bluff Bavarian, counteracted all his plans of aggrandizement, and transferred her rich inheritance to Rudolph IV., Duke of Austria, in 1363. The Bavarian Dukes now flew to arms, and a civil war ensued; but in the treaty of *Schärding*, in 1369, they gave up their pretensions to the county for one hundred and sixteen thousand florins, and Tyrol remained thenceforth attached to Austria. It belonged, however, to the collateral lines until Duke Sigismund in 1489 ceded it to the Emperor Maximilian, who thus by the acquisition of Görz with *Gradisca*, *Millerbach*, and the *Puster*-Valley, united all the Austrian dominions directly under the crown in A. D. 1500.

526. The duchy of Styria is the most picturesque and romantic region of Germany; its scenery presents a continuous alternation of lofty peaks, fearful precipices, flowery meadows, lovely valleys with rushing waterfalls, deep glassy lakes, castles, convents, and charming villages, inhabited by the stout, industrious and hospitable *Steyermarkers*. Carinthia derives its wealth from its rich copper and iron mines. The Duchies were early peopled by the Slavic tribes of the *Slovenzi* and *Vendili*—Vendes—intermixed with the colonies of Avars, whom Charlemagne transported to Carinthia (178, 179), while in Styria the Germans, in course of time, superseded the Selavonians. The principal cities were Græz, with a large fortress on the river Mur, Klagenfurt, Villach, and Laybach. Trieste was still the only Austrian port on the Mediterranean. *Mariazell*, in Styria, in a most romantic site, became a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland, built there the fine church and convent, in which he deposited the image of the holy Virgin, by whose aid he believed himself to have been saved in the nocturnal battle on Mount Hæmus, in 1362, in which the Polish and Hungarian army was defeated by the Ottoman Turks. Thousands of pilgrims from every part of the Austrian states still visit every year that beautiful spot. *Cilley*, near the Save, with a strong castle of Roman origin—the ancient Celeja—was the residence of the proud Counts of Cilly (Cilley), who, as borderwardens, were intrusted with the defence of the frontiers against the incursions of the Hungarians, but often drew their swords against the Austrian Dukes themselves. The Counts of Cilly obtained large possessions in *Sclavonia* and *Croatia*, and thus became feudatories of the Angevin Kings of Hungary, where their mortal hate against the noble family of the Hunyads caused the most fearful revolutions, and became the main cause of the downfall of that country and the inauspicious success of the Ottoman arms on the Danube.

527. IX. The duchy of Bavaria (Bayern). This extensive principality, still more enlarged by the Palatinate on the Rhine, parts of Franconia and the Nordgau, north of the Danube and bordering on Bohemia, had suffered the fate of Austria in becoming weakened, and having its development retarded by continual divisions in the Wittelsbach dynasty. The natural consequence of these endless partitions were civil feuds and open wars among the contending lines, or between the cities, clergy and nobles, who had almost the whole power of government in their hands. The Emperor Louis IV. of Upper Bavaria—1313–1347—sustained successfully the war with Austria, and the great victory of the Bavarians at *Ampfingen* is the most glorious and interesting event in the annals of that nation. It was then the era of chivalry, poetry and art, which has been revived in the master-pieces of painting, sculpture and architecture now adorning Munich, the modern Athens of Germany. Louis, with all his faults, was an able and active monarch, a true Bavarian. He raised Munich to an imperial residence, revised the laws, encouraged agriculture and industry, by abolishing the serfdom of the peasantry and enlarging the privileges and municipal institutions of the towns. Yet he divided the Duchy among his sons, and thus *four sovereign states* sprung up in 1349, which, toward the close of the Middle Ages, were reduced to two. These were—I. Bayern-Straubing, on the Danube, with the cities *Straubing* and *Deggendorf*. II. Bayern-Landshut, on the east, bordering on Austria, and the Archiepiscopal See of Salzburg, with the capital *Landshut* on the Isar. *Amfingen*, on the Inn, where on the 28th September, 1322, one of the most sanguinary battles of the Middle Ages was fought between the entire chivalry of Austria and Bavaria. The shock of some fifty thousand steel-clad horsemen, in serious tournament, was fearful; the battle-field was already covered with heaps of slain, men and horses, still the fury of the combatants did not relax, when, toward sunset, the Bavarian rear-guard, commanded by the Burghgraf of Nürnberg, with Austrian banners spread, wheeled full in the flank of the astonished Frederic of Austria, and completed the rout. Frederic, falling with his steed, was carried a prisoner to the Emperor Louis, the friend and companion of his youth. The Austrians lost twenty thousand warriors, and the imperial crown remained with Bavaria.[242] III. Bayern Muenchen, west of the former, with the new capital Munich (München), on the Isar. *Fürstenfelde*, west of Munich, where, on the *Kaiserwiese*, or Emperor's Meadow, Louis, the Bavarian, while hunting a bear, fell from his horse and expired on the spot, the 11th Oct., 1347. IV. Bayern Ingoldstadt, one part of which lay west of the former, with *Ingoldstadt* and *Neuburg*, on the Danube, and the other, southeast at the foot of the Alps, embracing the beautiful valley of the *Ziller-Thal*. Cities were: *Rattenburg* and the fortress *Kufstein*. *Hellenstedt*, *Giengen*, and *Kirchberg* belonged likewise to Bayern Ingoldstadt.

528. X. The duchy of Wuertemberg arose out of the dismemberment of the Hohenstaufen duchy of Souabia, on the death of the young Conradino at Naples, 1268. Among the many small barons who then became independent, was the brave Souabian Knight, Ulric with the Thumb, who, by perseverance and skill, united the most valuable estates of central Souabia. Fortune smiled on his descendants, who soon got the better of the smaller proprietors, and by continual feuds against nobles and cities, enlarged their property. They were a haughty and ferocious race; and Souabia presented, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the dismal scenes of

[242] Here again the Austrians were too slow. Leopold with his Souabian chivalry were detained at the convent of Fürstenfelde, enjoying the strong wines of the monks, while the battle was at its height. His timely arrival would, no doubt, have turned the scale of fortune. Yet the old Bavarian General Siegfried Schwepperman, who commanded in chief, took advantage of this negligence to execute his stratagem. It is related that the victorious Bavarian army after the battle were without any provisions, having merely a small supply of eggs, which on being distributed among them, left but one for each man. The Emperor Louis on hearing this, exclaimed: "Well, give to every warrior his egg, but to the brave Schwepperman give two!" as a proof that to him alone was due the honor of the victory.

war and devastation. Count Eberhard had for his motto, *God's friend, and every body's enemy.* At the diet at Spires, held by the Emperor Henry VII., of Luxemburg, on his accession in 1306, Eberhard of Würtemberg appeared in full armor, with a suite of two hundred horse. Without dismounting he proudly gave the declaration that he was nobody's vassal, and rode off again without saluting the Emperor. The insupportable arrogance of these Counts, and the public robberies they often permitted on the high roads against the travelling merchants, forced the citizens, with the assistance of the Swiss, to form the *Souabian Alliance* of thirty-four cities. The war broke out during the reign of Charles IV. of Bohemia. Yet, though the stout mountaineers of Switzerland defeated and slew Duke Leopold of Austria, with all his glittering chivalry, at Sempach, in 1386, the train-bands of armed burghers from the Souabian cities were still unable to withstand the flower of the nobility in the open field, and Count Eberhard routed them with great slaughter at *Döffingen*, west of Stuttgart. But those brave and persevering men did not lose courage; they fortified their towns; they broke many castles of the nobles; they sought their refuge in the artillery, which they improved by new inventions, and the Nürnbergers became the best artillerymen in Germany. A general peace—*Landfriede*—was concluded in April, 1389, but the hostile relations between the free imperial cities and the nobility, continued until the reign of Maximilian, at the close of the fifteenth century. Stuttgart, the capital of the duchy, was built during this period, in the middle of a fruitful valley, surrounded by hills and vineyards, on the banks of the Nesenbach. *Heimsheim*, *Weil*, and *Tübingen*, in the latter of which was erected the Souabian University, in 1477, after the model of that of Bologna, in Italy. Count Eberhard VI., distinguished himself favorably from the other princes of his warlike race; he extended the rights of the cities; called their deputies together for consultation, and was indefatigable in promoting the happiness and welfare of his people. He was highly esteemed by the Emperor Maximilian, who, at the diet at Worms, on the 21st July, 1495, conferred on him the title of *Duke of Würtemberg.* The small county of *Mümpelgard*, on the frontiers of the Franche-Comté, south of Lorraine, belonged to the duchy.

529. XI. The duchy of Lorraine still remained attached to the Empire. Yet the vicinity of France, and the pretensions of its intriguing Kings, afforded opportunity for the Lorraine nobility to arrogate extensive privileges to themselves, whilst the influence of a higher civilization in France, and the chivalrous manners of the times, gradually alienated the Lorrainers from the mother country. The feudal relations continued, but the Dukes became intimately allied to France by marriage, and the acquisition of French territories, such as the duchy of *Bar* with lordships of *Joinville* and *Bassiny*, which obliged them to follow the banner of the French Kings.[243] We have already related how Lorraine, by marriage, fell to Duke Réné of Anjou, in 1430 (503), the conquest of the duchy by Charles the Rash, of Burgundy, and its re-occupation by the younger Duke Réné, after the defeat and death of Charles, at Nancy (495). From that time began the insidious attempts of Louis XI. and his successors, to extend their possessions toward the Rhine, though they did not completely succeed until 1766, when, after the death of Stanislaus, Lorraine was incorporated with France, to which it has ever since remained attached. It was the case with Lorraine as with *Alsace.* The nobility took up French notions, while the mass of the people remained German, both in language and manners. The episcopal cities, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their territories, were independent of the Dukes, and ranged directly under Germany. These relations caused the most violent feuds between the Bishops and the Dukes, and the former appeared often in full armor at the head of their vassals, to fight the battles of the Church. The cities, Nancy, *Lüneville*, *Espinal*, *Remiremont*, and *Falkenberg*, were kept in great subjection, and they did not participate in those liberal institutions by which the cities of *Lower Lorraine* (the Netherlands) had become flourishing long before the close of the thirteenth century. Duke John I. instituted, in 1380, a high tribunal for the states and regular diets—*les grands jours*—where deputies from the cities attended.

530. XII.–XIV. The duchies Luxemburg (with Limburg), Brabant, and Guelders, became incorporated with the states of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (497), and passed, after the battle of Nancy, to Maximilian of Austria, with the hand of Mary of Burgundy, in 1484. The cities, *Zütphen*, *Hardewyk*, and *Venlo*, belonged to the Hanseatic Confederation (403); they rose later to wealth and power than those of Brabant and Flanders, but they formed their own armed union for the protection of their privileges, and enjoyed an almost republican independence.

531. XV. The duchy of Clèves (Kleve), on the Lower Rhine, between Guelders and Cologne, was a small county, which, during the reign of its distinguished Count Adolph I., —1394–1448—was raised to the dignity of a duchy, by the Emperor Wenceslaus, in 1417. Adolph was alike eminent as warrior, statesman, and savant; he became the founder of several of the rather pedantic societies of those days of declining chivalry; such as the *Fools' Fraternity*, and the Knights of the *Rose-wreath* and of the *Horse-comb;* but the sense of justice of the Duke of Clèves is commemorated by a fine sentence, expressive of his integrity in an era of deceit and corruption.[244] This, however, did not hinder him from being engaged in violent disputes and bloody feuds with the Archbishops of Cologne.

532. XVI. The duchy of Juelich-Berg formed, earlier, two counties, the former of which was situated between the Meuse and the Rhine, and the latter on the eastern bank of that river, were separated by the ecclesiastical territory of the Elector and Archbishop of Cologne. They were united by Count William, whom the Emperor Wenceslaus, in 1389, raised to the ducal rank. Berg had already obtained the important county of *Ravensberg*, in Westphalia. On the extinction of the ducal dynasty, in 1524, with Duke William III., his daughter Mary brought the two duchies to her husband, John, Prince of Clèves. They belong, at present, to the King of Prussia. Cities were: Juelich, *Kerpen*, and *Heinsburg*, in Berg; *Düsseldorf* on the Rhine, and *Elberfeld* on the Wipper. Aix-la-Chapelle (Achen), between Line-

[243] This connection of the Dukes with France, under the crown of which they held the above mentioned fiefs, involved them in the disputes, foreign and domestic, of that kingdom. Raoul, Duke of Lorraine, fell in the battle of Créci, in 1346, fighting with Philip of Valois, against the English, and John, his son and successor, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, in 1356. The same fate awaited that chivalrous Prince at the battle of Auray, in Bretagne, in which Charles of Blois was defeated and slain by John of Montfort (460). The Duke John of Lorraine, was also present at the battle of Rosbecque, in which Charles VI. worsted the Flemings, in 1382 (457).

[244] Sein Nein war Nein gerechtig,
Sein Ja war Ja vollmächtig,
Sein Mund, sein Grund, einträchtig.
The translation of which is: "His No was as just as his Yes was powerful, and his word and heart always in unison."

burg and Jülich, was still considered as the imperial capital, and its territory was called the *Realm of Achen*.

533. XVII. The Duchy of Brunswick-Lueneburg, on the western bank of the Elbe, consisted of the *Allodial* estates remaining in possession of the Welfic House after the downfall of Henry the Lion, in 1180 (398). The continual partitions in the Welfic dynasties of Brunswick and Lüneburg, furnished their vassals and cities with means of resistance; the latter, as members of the Hanseatic League, rose to a comparative independence, and the city of *Lüneburg* became wealthy by her commerce and productive saltworks, which almost exclusively provided the North with that indispensable article.

XVIII. The Duchy (formerly county) of Holstein and Stormarn, with the lordship of *Pinneberg* (belonging to the lateral line of the Counts of Schaumburg), had passed to the crown of Denmark, as a German fief, on the accession of Count Christian I. of Oldenburg, in 1459. The *Ditmarskers*, on the western coast of Holstein, formed still an independent republic, under the supremacy of the archiepiscopal see of Bremen. *Heide* was their principal city.

XIX. The Duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg formed a small territory on the right bank of the Elbe, between the free imperial cities of Hamburg and Lübeck, and the Duchy of Mecklenburg. The hostility of its dukes with the dispossessed Welfs beyond the river, and the preponderating power of the Hanseatic republics in the neighborhood, enveloped this small state in continual feuds, which obstructed its extension.

534. XX. The Duchy of Mecklenburg, on the Baltic, bordered eastward on Pomerania, south on Brandenburg, and west on Holstein. After the defeat of King Waldemar II., in 1227, the Lords of Mecklenburg returned to the allegiance of the Empire. Among the many petty dynasties, those of *Mecklenburg*, *Werle*, and *Rostock* were the principal. Count Albert inherited Schwerin, and obtained the ducal dignity from the Emperor Charles IV., in 1348. The duchy, nevertheless, became split into the two dynasties of Stargard and Schwerin, until its provincial states afterwards met in assembly, in 1503, and demanded a joint administration and government. Mecklenburg resembles Denmark: it consists of extensive plains, abounding in forests and lakes; many tracts are sandy and inculti; but the inhabitants are a stout, industrious race, who rear cattle, and horses of great strength and swiftness. *Rostock* and *Wismar* became important members of the Hansé; in the former a university was established in 1418, the first attempt to introduce a higher education in Northern Germany. *Schwerin*, on the lake, *Mecklenburg*, *Güstrow*, *Stargard*, and *Strelitz*, in the interior, were the capitals of the different lines of Mecklenburg princes.

535. XXI. The Duchy of Pomerania, east of Mecklenburg, extended along the shores of the Baltic, and was separated from Poland by the great border forest and Pomerellen (380). On the downfall of the Danish Monarchy (378), the Margraves of Brandenburg claimed the supremacy over the coast, and their devastating incursions continued until Bugislas X. the Great united the separate principalities under his ducal sceptre, in 1479. This enlightened and able prince secured the internal tranquillity and prosperity of Pomerania by an energetic administration, and by granting the states a liberal participation in the legislation. Though the soil is sandy and marshy, and the atmosphere humid and obscured by fogs, yet the southern missionaries, who preached Christianity among the heathen Vendes, succeeded in cultivating the vine.[245] The natives were praised for their honest and straightforward character, mixed, however, with some Pomeranian rudeness. The duchy was divided into the principalities of *Wolgast*, *Stettin*, and *Rügen*, and the lordships *Lauenberg* and *Bütou*, on the frontiers of Poland. *Wolgast*, situated on the strait that separates the continent from the island of *Usedom*, was the residence of the dukes, and the picturesque ruins of their ancient castle still rise above the old walls of the city. *Stralsund*, in the north, opposite to the island of Rügen, with a spacious harbor, and surrounded by lakes and marshy defiles, was considered as one of the strongest places in Europe, and has victoriously stood many a siege. *Stettin*, on the deep offing of the Oder, was, like Stralsund, a distinguished member of the Confederacy of the Hansé, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Greifswalde*, with the magnificent church of Saint Nicholas, and a university founded in 1456, which spread light and learning through the North, when the great Bugislas, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, brought the famous Petrus Ravennas along with him from Italy. Under such a professor Greifswalde became the oracle throughout all Slavia, and students flocked together to study there the literature and philosophy of reviving antiquity. The island of Ruegen was ceded by Denmark in the year 1325; and there German civilization extirpated, in less than a century, every trace of the language and superstitions of the ancient Vendes.

536. The Principalities—*Fürstenthümer*—of Germany were two: Anhalt and Nassau.

XXII. The Principality of Anhalt is situated on the ancient *Suevegau*, on the east of Mount Hartz and west of the Elbe. The Ascanian dynasty of Anhalt, one of the oldest in Germany, claimed Wittikind, the Saxon (174), for their founder.[246] Bernhard, the son of Albert the Bear (396, III.), inherited the Ascanian lands, but remained much circumscribed by the encroachments of the Welfic princes, until the dismemberment of the duchy of Saxony in 1180, when part of the territory was annexed to the bishopries of Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Several divisions took place, but the lines of Aschersleben (Ascania), Bernburg and Zerbst were at last united in 1570 by Prince Joachim Ernest, the ancestor of the present ducal houses. *Dessau*, a beautiful city on the *Mulda*, *Aschersleben* and *Ballenstedt*, were the ancient seats of the counts.

537. XXIII. The Principality of Nassau, on the eastern bank of the Rhine, between Cologne and Mainz, took its name from the ancient castle of *Nassau*, on the river *Lahn*, the early seat of its counts. They descended from the imperial dynasty of the Salians (396), and many illustrious statesmen

[245] Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, the Apostle of Pomerania, planted the vine in his convent gardens there, in 1128, and administered the native wine to his converts. At that period, laymen as well as ecclesiastics partook of the communion in *both kinds*. With Christianity, the vine was transplanted to the north, even so far as the *Danish Islands* in the Baltic. No doubt the difficulty of obtaining wine in those remote regions otherwise than by commerce—often interrupted by war and piracy—gave rise to the custom of communicating in *one kind*. "Thus," says a German philosopher, "necessity brought about a sophism, by which the most solemn of all institutions founded by the Author of Christianity was changed."

[246] Flattering genealogists have attempted to trace the origin of the Counts of Ascania from certain tribes in Asia Minor, who might have quitted the marshes of *Ascania*, in Bithynia, and settled in the ancient forests of Germany. The truth seems to be, that the origin of that family can be traced back as far as the eighth century, and that they were related to the Counts of Ballenstedt, who lived in the eleventh century. They are at present divided into three ducal branches, those of *Anhalt-Dessau*, *Anhalt-Bernburg*, and *Anhalt-Kœthen*.

and warriors have sprung from that family, though their territory was too small to have any political influence. It formed two lines, the *Lauremburgian* and the *Gheldrian*, whose estates were divided by the river Lahn. The Emperor Adolph of Nassau—1293–1298—belonged to the former; but his early fall in the battle of Gellheim (511) arrested the aggrandizement of his race. His son John I., the founder of the present Weilburg line, acquired the county of *Saarbrück*, beyond the Rhine, and obtained the princely dignity from Charles IV., that imperial dispenser of titles and ceremonies.[247] Wisbaden, the capital, at the base of Mount Taunus, encompassed by romantic and beautiful scenery, and adorned with Roman ruins and mediæval castles, was built around the famous thermal springs which were already much frequented by the ancient conquerors of the world. *Weilburg*, *Lauremburg* and *Nassau*, on the Lahn. *Rüdesheim*, on the Rhine, still better known on account of its delicious wines, the Rüdesheimer. *Selters*, north of the Taunus, at the Selter-springs, whose strong mineral waters attracted pilgrims from far and near.

538. XXIV. The Margraviate of Baden, on the eastern bank of the Rhine, had earlier belonged to the noble family of Zahringen (396, VIII.) After its extinction, in 1218, the lands were divided among many inheritors, but the Margrave Bernhard united them again, about the year 1430, and, though enveloped in feuds with prelates and nobles, he transmitted them augmented, with the castles of *Hochberg*, *Grafenstein* and others, to his successor James, Duke of Baden, in 1453. Rastadt, on the Murg, was the capital of the Margraves. *Ba'aden*, *Freiburg*. *Old-Breisach* on the Rhine, *Durlach* and *Selz*. At *Sinsheim*, Margrave Charles I. was taken prisoner by the Count Palatine of the Rhine in a bloody battle in 1462. *Sausenburg*, *Röteln* and *Badenweiler* were later acquisitions of Christopher of Baden in 1503.

539. XXV. The Landgraviate of Alsace—*Elsass*—on the western bank of the Rhine, belonged to the ancient duchy of Alemania (175, 250). It was divided into the Landgraviates of *Sund* (Süd)-*Gau* and *Nord-gau*, the former was held by the Bishop of Strassburg, and the latter by the Counts of Habsburg (523). Duke Albert mortgaged Alsace, in 1455, to Charles the Rash of Burgundy, and it was the revolting cruelty and arrogance of his bailiff, Peter von Hagenbach, which caused the insurrection of the tormented Alsacers, the subsequent rupture with the Swiss, and the downfall of the Burgundian supremacy. *Strassburg* (71, XVI), the episcopal see, was a free town of the empire since 1236, important by its extensive commerce on the Rhine and Italy. Its magnificent cathedral was built by the architect, Erwin Steinbach, who raised the celebrated steeple tower in 1277, but left the completion of the gigantic building to his descendants.[248] *Mühlhausen* was a free town under the protection of the Swiss.

540. XXVI. The Landgraviate of Hesse belonged to the duchy of Franconia (249, 398), under its own counts, who were raised to the rank of Landgraves by the Emperor Adolph of Nassau in 1292. In Hesse arose those singular confraternities of the nobles against the free cities, which were called by the most absurd names: *the Horned Brotherhood*, *the Company of the Star*, *the Lion*, *the Fish*, *the Red Sleeves*, and *the Turnips*; yet, in spite of their high crests and armor of proof, they were severely beaten by the well drilled bands of the republican citizens. Such a defeat of the nobility was that at *Reutlingen*, where Ulric of Würtemberg and a great number of counts and barons were slain. The reigning line of the Upper-Landgraviate resided in *Cassel;* while that of the Lower occupied *Marburg*. All Hesse became united, A. D. 1500, by William the Middle, and his son Philip the Generous, who, standing boldly forward in opposition to popery and Spanish despotism, fought the great battle of the intellectual and political independence of Germany.

541. XXVII. The Burgraviate of Nuernberg, in the Nordgau (392), was held by the Counts of Hohenzollern. The elder line possessed *Sigmaringen*, *Vöhringen*, and *Hœchingen* (in 1850 sold to Prussia), and remained in a certain dependency on the duchy of Würtemberg. The younger line, on the contrary, was enabled by inheritance, imperial favor, and laudable economy, to form a sovereign principality, consisting of *Baireuth* (Culmbach) and *Ansbach* (Onolsbach), which by Burgrave Frederic IV. was united to Mark Brandenburg (517). His son Albert became Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and the founder of the Prussian Power in 1525 (453).

542. XXVIII. The number of the Counts, who with the title of princes, held their territories immediately from the empire, were thirty-nine or forty, the most important of whom were the following: In Saxony, the Counts of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, since 1448 Kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; those of Hoya, Lippe, Teckelnburg, Bentthem, Schauenburg, and Rietberg: in Central Germany, the Counts of Waldeck, Wittgenstein, Blankenburg, Reuss, Schwarzenberg, Gleichen, Henneberg, Werthheim, Hohenlohe, Limburg (in Würtemberg), Loewenstein, Oettingen, Hohenzollern, Waldburg, Fuerstenberg, Heiligberg, Epstein and Buedingen, Hanau and Solms; on the Rhine, the Counts of Salm, Pfyrt, Vaudemont, Sarwerd, Lichtberg, Saarbrueck, Sayn, Wied, Isenburg, Zuetphen, Holland (497), Flanders, Hainaut, and Namur.

543. XXIX. The Church.—We have previously spoken of Ecclesiastical Electors (513), and, in our 9th chapter, about the division of the German Ecclesiastical Provinces toward the close of the thirteenth century (401). Few changes had taken place since that time, only Bohemia had, under Pope Clement VI., A. D. 1343, received an Episcopal See at Prague. The military order of the *Knights Templars* was condemned and dissolved by the Bull of Clement V., of 2d May, 1312. In Germany the knights had already been acquitted of the heinous crimes of which they were accused at the ecclesiastical tribunal of Mainz, July 1st, 1310. The unjustly calumniated Templars were allowed to justify themselves after the manner of the Westphalian free courts—*Fehm-Gerichte*—which began to become much in use at that time. They appeared in full armor before the Archbishops of Mainz and Trèves, affirmed their innocence, turned their backs on the tribunal, and went their way in peace. The *Teutonic Order* (379) having been defeated in Prussia, found, in 1425, a refuge at Mergentheim, in the Bishopric of Würzburg, in Franconia (453).

544. XXX. The Free Imperial Cities.—The number of the *freie Reichstädte* in Germany was ninety-five. I. The

[247] The family of *Nassau-Orange*, at present seated on the throne of Holland, descend from the more ancient Gheldrian (Othonian) line, and the sovereign dukes of *Weilburg-Nassau* therefore acknowledge their seniority of rank.

[248] The Steinbachs with their master-architects, masons, stone-cutters and other mechanics, formed a regular armed and well-organizd guild or corporation which excluded all competitors, and continued for several generations to build on the immense church; it stands still unfinished, and seems dedicated to all time.

Souabian cities, being situated in the interior, developed themselves more slowly than those on the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Rhine (395,397). *Augsburg* and *Ulm* were only defended by a stockade of palisades as late as the fourteenth century, but the universal degeneracy of the nobility, and the opportune invention of gunpowder and artillery, gave great advantages to the citizens; taking large bodies of Swiss pikemen in their pay, they were able to muster an army of 10,000 horse and 14,000 foot, and boldly to encounter the mailed nobility in open warfare. Count Eberhard of Würtemburg, at the head of the *chivalrous societies* (528), made peace with the Souabian cities, at *Ehingen*, on the Danube, west of Ulm, on April 9th, 1382, according to which the roads should be kept open and secure from freebooting knights—*Raubritter*—and all people, high and low, be at peace and Christian love with one another. Yet the encroachments of Leopold, Duke of Austria, his defeat and death at Sempach, in 1386, and an alliance of the cities with the victorious Swiss, soon caused the rupture with the nobility of Souabia. The great War of the Cities—*der grosse Städtekrieg*—began in 1387, in which, after the desolation of the finest provinces of the empire, the cities were defeated in several battles, but sustained the feud until the diet at Eger, in Bohemia, proclaimed a general peace in May, 1389; which, however, could only partially be maintained by so weak and indolent a monarch as Wenceslaus the Bohemian. The Souabian League—A. D. 1382–1533—embraced the following wealthy and commercial cities in Souabia, Franconia, and the Rhein-Pfalz: *Augsburg*, *Nürnberg*, and *Ulm*, as leaders; *Esslingen*, *Giengen*, *Isny*, *Kaufbeuren*, *Kempten*, *Landau*, *Lindau*, *Nördlingen*, *Rothweil*, *Reutlingen*, *Spires*, *Strassburg*, *Worms*, and the federal cities of Switzerland.

Augsburg was the queen of the German republics, and she exerted a permanent influence on the commercial and social development of the mother country. Her citizens were warlike, and repelled with success the attacks of the Dukes of Bavaria and the *Raubritters*. Though several prominent families swayed her government, yet the guilds of the mechanics obtained their part in the administration, A. D. 1386, and all trades, the coarser manufactures, the arts and higher mechanics, rose rapidly during the fifteenth century, and reached their height at the beginning of the sixteenth. The Augsburg bankers extended their operations to the East Indies; and the intimate relations of the city to Lombardy, Venice, and the Tuscan republics, nourished the taste of the wealthy Augsburgers for literature, the fine arts, and all the elegancies and comforts of southern life. *Nürnberg*, *Ulm*, *Ratisbon*, *Strassburg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Frankfort*, and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, followed in the wake of Augsburg; yet none became so much the centre of the political and ecclesiastical transactions of the time as *Constance* (Costnitz), on the Boden Sea (176), during the quinquennial sitting of the celebrated Council, from 1414 to 1418. The concourse at that synod of distinguished men from every country of Europe, was immense; while 4,000 prelates, and 2,500 professors and doctors of law, were preaching or disputing in the Gothic cathedrals, 10,000 princes, nobles, and knights, were lance-breaking and sword-slashing on the meadows of the Rhine. There, too, in the midst of a continual whirl of enjoyments, of boisterous banquets, pompous processions and tournaments, solemn oratories, penitential flagellations, or wanton comedies and pantomimes, exhibiting the mysteries of heaven and hell—the austere and virtuous reformers, Johan Huss, of Hussinecz, and Jerome, of Prague, were condemned and burnt at the stake—the schismatic Popes deposed, Martin V. elected, and universal reforms in the government and discipline of the Church discussed, adopted, but ultimately contravened by the sly intrigues of Pope Martin V. and his Italian cardinals. Thus all Christendom had then its attention directed toward Constance, as two centuries earlier on Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

545. II. The Hanseatic Confederacy.—*Hansa Teutonicorum*—of the cities in Northern Germany obtained its full development during this period, and embraced eighty-five cities, the most important of which we have already mentioned (403) The hardy merchants of Germany became the heroes of the fifteenth century in quest of gold, as the crusading pilgrims of the twelfth had been for relics of saints; for the Hansé towns, too, had their warriors and martyrs in a life of continual hardships and dangers. With the broad-sword beneath their head, merchants and sailors reposed on their ships, or in their dépôts, always ready for combat; and as their power and wealth rapidly increased, their success spurred them on to still more arduous undertakings. The final act of the Union was drawn up at Cologne, in 1364, and signed by all the members. The main object of the League, therein expressed, was to protect the confederated cities and their property from foreign aggression; to guard, extend, and monopolize their commerce; to manage the administration of justice within the limits of the Union; to prevent quarrels and acts of injustice by confederate diets and courts of arbitration, and to maintain the rights and immunities received from the Emperor and the Princes. Farther, to furnish warriors and vessels, or in certain cases, money as a substitute. The League exercised a judicial power, and inflicted the ban. Any city incurring such punishments was pronounced to be *verhansed*. The conquest and pillage of Visbye, the important staple of the Hansé, in Gothland, by King Waldemar III., in July, 1361, gave the signal for the war of the League against Denmark. A large Hanseatic fleet, consisting of war-galleys—*coggen*—and smaller sailing vessels—*sniggen* or *schutes*—appeared in the Sound, in May, 1362.[249] Copenhagen, with its castle Axelhuus, surrendered, and was pillaged, but King Waldemar soon defeated the merchant-warriors, and it was only in the year 1370, that the marshal of the realm, Sir Henning Podebusk, during the absence of the King, ceded the western coastlands of Skaane, with the rich herring fisheries, to the Hansé, for the term of fifteen years.[250] This proved a most important acquisition; the greedy republicans now established themselves on the low sandy shore, and divided the fisheries—*Vitten*—among the different cities of the League. During the summer season, from St. James's Day to that of St. Martin, the sea-shore presented a scene of the highest animation and bustle; it was a continual fair, where all the nations of the north, Scandinavians, Russians, Finns, Germans, English, met and mingled in quest of profit or pleasure. On the north lay the settlements of the proud and taciturn merchants of Bremen and Campen; southward followed those of the lively Vendes, the Lübeckers, and

[249] The republican warriors were already acquainted with the use of *fire-arms*. They mounted their galleys with *culverins* and *bombards*, which launched immense stones; and it is a remarkable fact, that the *first cannon shot* fired in the North was destined to cause a great change in the political relations of the Scandinavian nations. Prince Christopher of Denmark, the only son of King Waldemar III., commanding the Danish fleet in the naval battle with the Hanseatic Leaguers, perished by a stone ball shot from a bombard. Being the last Prince of the dynasty of Swend Estridson, the succession passed to the daughter of King Waldemar, the great Margaret.

[250] The herring had, during the twelfth century, most abundantly visited the coast of *Rügen*, and the Vendes of Pomerania were already expert in salting it, and exporting the salted fish to the interior of Europe. Later, however, the herring took its main direction toward the shores of Denmark. In 1164, the Hollanders obtained extensive privileges from the King, and commenced their large herring fisheries and regular exports to England and France.

the Hamburgers, who always held closely together. The fishing colonies were fenced in with palisades, and every trade had its proper place assigned for its stores and barracks; churches were built, and the crowded markets were filled with the choicest products of the north and south. In every fishing locality the city bailiff and his men-at-arms strutted about with halbert and broadsword, to watch over the public peace, and settle disputes on the spot. The Danish commanders of the neighboring castles of *Skanöer* and *Fulsterboe* held jurisdiction in criminal cases; yet the influence of the Hansé towns was already so preponderating, that they obtained their own courts, until the resolute Queen Margaret compelled the grasping traders back within their proper limits, and, some years later, liberated Denmark from the yoke of her mercantile oppressors. Sweden and Norway fared still worse. The Hansé deposed King Hakon, in Stockholm, 1363, and gave his crown to their own gossip, Albert of Mecklenburg (438).

546. The prosperity of the Hanseatic League continued during the whole of the fifteenth century, while Germany was cut up into political parties, and the wars between England and France threw the northern commerce into their hands. But the great reform, which was introduced in the constitution of the Germanic Empire by Maximilian I., toward the close of that era, and the extended powers which the sovereign princes thereby obtained in their states, soon worked in opposition to the democratic institutions of the confederate Hansé Towns. The *maritime* cities had already ceased to be the masters of the Baltic;[251] the German princes brought those of the *interior* under their immediate control, in order to secure their own part in the profit from their commerce. Charles V. separated the rich cities of his Netherlands from the League; and, finally, the discovery of America, and the sea-passage around the Cape of Good Hope to Hindostan, produced a total revolution in the commercial relations, by bringing other nations, Spaniards and Portuguese, on the world's scene. All these causes combined contributed to the gradual decline and final dissolution of the Hanseatic League, yet its shadow still flitted on through the sixteenth century, until the confederation was dissolved at last in the ultimate diet, held at Lübeck, A. D. 1630.

547. Such was the geographical position of Germany at the death of the Emperor Frederic III., in 1493. The important changes in the constitution, introduced by his son and successor, Maximilian I., in the celebrated Diet of *Worms*, in 1495, the subsequent institution of a High Tribunal of the Empire—*Reichs-Kammer-Gericht*—and the general division of all the German States into eleven Circles—*Kreise*—commanded by imperial colonels—*Kreis-Obersten*—belong to the modern era, and would form the introduction to a Historical Geography of the last three centuries, if we should be encouraged to undertake a continuation of our present essay.

VIII.—The Helvetian Confederacy of the Thirteen Cantons, A. D. 1500.

548. Historical Remarks.—The history of the Swiss as an independent nation, begins with their revolt against the Habsburg dynasty, in 1308. Helvetia—*Die Schweitz*—belonged earlier to the kingdom of Lesser Burgundy (182, 246, 389, 396), only the northern parts, Basle on the west, and the Thurgan on the east, formed portions of the Duchy of Alemannia, or *Souabia* (250). Many noble families, such as the Counts of *Kyburg*, *Toggenburg*, *Werdenberg*, *Attinghausen*, *Lenzburg*, *Savoy*, and *Habsburg*, possessed castles and territories in that fertile and picturesque country. The Helvetians ranged themselves directly under the empire, and the vicariate—*Schirm-Vogtei*—over Burgundia Minor, was for nearly a century—1127–1208—wielded by the ducal house of Zähringen (396, VIII).

Geneva (Janua), *Lausanne* (Lausonio), *Solothurn* (Salodurum), *Windisch* (Vindonissa), *Zürich* (Statio Turicensis), and *Basle* (Basilia), were ancient cities. *Freyburg*, *Berne*, and others, were built in the twelfth century by the Zähringers, and they rose quickly in wealth and population. Many Swiss nobles left for the crusades, and their lands came into the hands of the smaller proprietors or the cities. Thus Zürich, Berne, Basle, Solothurn, and the districts of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, on the Lake of Lucerne, gradually acquired the seignorial rights from the German emperors, and assumed the names of imperial cities or districts. Their commerce began already to extend across the Alps, and the gold and silk manufactures of the Lombards and the Eastern nations were with success imitated by the Swiss. The refinement which traffic and arts introduced among the Helvetian citizens, contrasted in a remarkable manner with the rude simplicity of the herdsmen of the Alpine Highlands, and the warlike and quarrelsome habits of the nobility in the Lowlands. With the extinction of the Zähringers, in 1218, the imperial vicariate of Burgundy passed to the Counts of Savoy and Habsburg. Count Rudolph, having inherited the estates of the Counts of Kyburg and many of the Alsatian possessions of the Zähringers, became the most powerful feudatory in the country. As Emperor of Germany, he often held his court among his beloved Schweitzers, whose privileges he respected and enlarged. But his son, Albert of Austria, who, on his accession to the imperial dignity, in 1298, was anxious to extend the power of his house over all Switzerland and Souabia, and thus, by the union of Western and Eastern Germany under the Austrian banner, overawe the independent princes of the centre, proposed to the free-born mountaineers that they should renounce their connection with the empire, and placing themselves as subjects under the wings of the Austrian Eagle, for ever become vassals of the House of Habsburg. On the refusal of the prudent Swiss, the emperor treated them with scorn, and the despotic rule of his bailiffs—*Vögte*—Hermann Gessler of Bruneck, and Beringer of Landenberg, with their mercenary bands, gave rise to that insurrection in the forest-cantons—*die Waldstädte*—of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, in 1308, which is too well known to be here recorded in our geographical survey. Albert himself found his death by private vengeance, while marching his troops against the insurgents. Nor were his sons and nephews more successful. The glorious battles at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and *Näfels*, prostrated the Austrian power in Switzerland. The Habsburgian possessions were conquered with the halbert, and the Swiss of the different valleys and regions of old Burgundy united themselves successively into that brilliant alliance—*Eidgenossenschaft*—which, with astonishing perseverance and valor, maintained its independence against France, Burgundy, and Germany, during the fifteenth century, and stands consolidated, terrible and feared, with its thirteen sovereign republics (cantons), in the midst of the most powerful and covetous monarchs at the beginning of the modern era.

549. I.–III. The Helvetian Cantons and their Constitutions.—Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, on the east

[251] Fierce dissensions could not fail to break out occasionally among those covetous republics themselves; thus, while Lübeck and the Vendish towns blockaded the ports of Norway (403), Bremen would secretly send provisions to the suffering country, which were paid with enormous prices. Bremen was then declared in the ban—she became *verhansed*—and was not reinstated in the League until the year 1358.

south, and west, bordering on the beautiful lake of Lucerne, or of the four forest cantons—*Vierwaldstädter-See*—were the cradle of Helvetian liberty. The Walstädter, descended from a tribe of *Suethans* or Goths (85), who during the earlier migrations of the Northmen, had settled at the base of the Alps, where they for centuries formed free communities, and under the command of their *Landamman*, as supreme governor or judge, recognized the supremacy of the German empire. They constituted themselves free Republics in 1308, and maintained their independence in the battle of Morgarten, 1315.

IV. Lucerne, on the northern shore of the Lake of the four Cantons, belonged formerly to the house of Habsburg; but throwing off the yoke, the Lucerners in 1332 joined the Waldstädter as the fourth forest Canton of the Confederation.

V. Zuerich, in a romantic site on the largest lake in Switzerland, became the great emporium and market for Italian products and industry. The imperial bailiffs kept the roads over Saint Gothard free from robbers; and, by the frequent communication with Italy, ideas of political and religious liberty followed in the track of commerce. Zürich received and protected the first great reformer, Arnold of Brescia, in 1140–1144 (405), and having modified her aristocratical government under her able mayor, Rudolph Brun, she defeated the Austrian dukes, and joined the Helvetian Confederacy in 1351.

VI. Glarus (Glaris), in the deep valley of the Lint, east of Schwyz and Uri, lies surrounded by the high chain of the Thur-Alps. No enemy ever invaded this secluded region; its frugal and industrious inhabitants—the Glarners—were governed by the Abbess of the rich nunnery of *Seckingen*, under the vicariate of the Counts of Habsburg; but slaying their despotic bailiff, Stadion, they joined the Swiss league together with Zürich in 1351, and secured their independence by the terrible defeat of the Austrians at *Näfels* in 1338 [252]

VII. Zug, situated on the lake of that name, north of Lucerne and Schwyz, was the smallest republic of Switzerland, embracing a territory of only fifteen square leagues. It belonged to the patrimonial estates of the Counts of *Lenzburg* and *Kyburg*, and passed with their other possessions to the house of Habsburg. But the city of Zug being besieged in 1352, by the victorious Swiss, the Zugers threw open their gates, and joined the confederacy, as the seventh Canton. Their government was democratic.

VIII. Berne, west of Lucerne and Unterwalden, and extending south to the highest range of the Berner Alps, was with its territory of 476 leagues the largest Canton in Switzerland.[253] Its beautiful capital, situated on a peninsula formed by the river Aar, as it descends rapidly from the Lake of *Thun*, was built in the year 1190 by Cuno of Bubenberg, as a stronghold of the free mountaineers against the encroachments of the neighboring nobility. Crowds of dissatisfied knights and citizens from every part of Switzerland and Souabia settled in Berne, and gave strength to the young republic. After the signal defeat of the nobles at *Laupen*, in 1339, the warlike Berners joined the Helvetian League in 1353 as the *eighth* and last of the ancient Cantons, and succeeded by the sword or by purchase in extending their dominion throughout the Aargau and the distant valleys of Mount Jura. They were a proud and haughty people, and carried on many bitter and bloody feuds against the neighboring Freyburg.

The Swiss had thus become formidable; all the efforts of Austria to stem the torrent were frustrated on the battle-field of Sempach, and the alliance of the Cantons with the Souabian cities (544), soon carried their victorious arms into the heart of Germany. Seven of the Cantons had a democratical form of government; Berne alone was ruled by an aristocracy, which often stood aloof, showing little sympathy with the other Cantons; but when the Alpine horns sounded the gathering against the Austrian or Burgundian despots, then all the stout-hearted Swiss fought and bled together, and shared with brotherly concord the spoils of victory.

550. IX. Freyburg, and X. Solothurn (Soleure), were not admitted into the league until after the Burgundian war, 1481. The former Canton was situated west of Berne; it extended south to Waadt—*le Pays de Vaud*—then possessed by the Counts of *Savoy*, and west to the lake of *Neuchâtel*. The city of *Freyburg* was built by the Duke Berthold, of Zähringen, in 1178, on the precipitous banks of the Sa'ane, as a bulwark against the Bishop of Lausanne and the unruly Counts of Neuchâtel: Freyburg rose slowly, under continual feuds between her French and Germanic population, or against her neighbor Berne. She remained Catholic at the time of the Reformation, and under the pernicious influence of the Jesuits, until the late disturbances in 1847. Her splendid cathedral has one of the highest towers in the world, from which the view is of a beauty impossible to describe. *Solothurn*, likewise in a most charming situation on the Aar, was strongly fortified with its ancient walls and towers of Roman construction. The Solothurners were celebrated for their fidelity and industry; they remained the faithful allies of Berne, and defeated the Habsburgers, no less by generosity in 1318 than by the sword in 1382. Their most dangerous enemy was their own Bishop of Saint Ursus.

XI. Basle (Basel, Bâle), bordering on the Franche-Comté and Baden, formed a bishopric, which possessed many lands on Mount Jura. The city, situated in a highly romantic site on the Rhine, became the largest and best-governed Canton in Switzerland, its council being composed of knights, wealthy citizens, and members of the guilds, under the presidentship of the bishop. In Basle assembled in 1431–1443, the great ecclesiastical council, which after the pacification of the Hussite troubles in Bohemia, attempted in vain to restrict the power of the Pope, and reform the manifold abuses of the Romish church; the time was not yet ripe: what thousands of prelates and law-doctors during twelve years of violent debates and discussions were unable to perform, was, seventy-four years later, accomplished by the learning and eloquence of the Augustine monk of Wittenberg.

XII. Schaphausen, northeast on the Rhine, formed earlier the county of Nellenburg in Souabia. Its capital, [254] near the celebrated waterfall of the Rhine, was small, its constitution aristo-democratic, and it was united with the Helvetic league in the year 1501, together with Basle.

XIII. Appenzel (Abbatis Cella), on the east, belonged to the bishopric of Saint Gall; yet, after many bloody feuds with their haughty bishops, the brave Appenzelers broke their

[252] Glarus differs from the other cities in Switzerland; the Glarners have entirely preserved the manners and fashions of the middle ages. Their wooden houses with high front gables are adorned with paintings in brilliant colors, representing the events of the times. Many inscriptions on the public buildings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are of historical interest. The narrow and crooked streets are so much obscured by the lofty mountains, overhanging the city on every side, that the sun is visible in winter only four hours in the day.

[253] It is a common tradition, that the city received its name from a bear having been killed in the vicinity, by Duke Berthold IV. of Zähringen. The figure of the bear forms the city arms, and a number of those ugly animals are still kept in the dry moats of the city at the present day.

[254] It was originally called Schiffhausen, signifying a shelter for vessels, from its position above the cataracts of the Rhine; its port was frequented by river boats as early as the eighth century.

chains, and uniting with the Swiss, in 1513, completed the number of the thirteen cantons composing the HELVETIAN LEAGUE as it existed until the time of the French Revolution in 1789.

551. The territories which the Swiss had conquered from the House of Habsburg, the Aargau, Thurgau, and others, were governed in community by the cantons as subject provinces. Their *Allies* at the beginning of the sixteenth century were :—I. The cities of MUEHLHAUSEN, in Franche-Comté, ROTHWYL, in Souabia, BIEL and NEUCHATEL, on Mount Jura. II. The LEAGUE OF THE GRISONS. This confederacy of the inhabitants of the upper valley of the Rhine (the Engaddin) and others on the northern slope of the *Lepontine* and *Rhätian* Alps, dated its origin from the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the poor but high-minded villagers, weary of the exactions and oppressions of their feudal lords, assembled in arms at *Trons* in the valley of the Rhine, and forced the Abbot of *Disentis* and the Counts of *Werdenberg*, *Sax*, and others to give their adhesion to the solemn GRAY LEAGUE—*Graue Bund*—which was sworn beneath the maple tree in 1424. COIRE (Chur) in *Lower Rhætia* followed the example and formed a second league, called GOTTES HAUSE—*Casa Dei*. A third alliance was entered into by the Eastern Rhætians in the valleys of *Davos*, *Lugnez*, *Savia*, and the *Lower Engaddin*, in the year 1436, called the union of the *Ten Jurisdictions*, and all three, fighting nobly against the armies of the Emperor Maximilian I., in 1499, joined the Swiss confederacy, but were not constituted as a canton (Graubünden) until 1815. III. The seven districts of UPPER WALLIS—*Haut Valais*—generous and brave, took arms against their tyrants, the Counts of *Raron* and *Gestelenburg*; they demolished their castles, vanquished the Bishop of *Sion* (Sitten), and placed themselves under the protection of Berne. Only the LOWER WALLIS—*Le Bas Valais*—with the bishopric of *Martigny* (Octodunum), on the Rhone, obeyed the Counts of SAVOY, who likewise held the province of Waadt—*le Pays de Vaud*—with *Lausanne*, *Chillon*, *Moudon*, *Yverdun*, and the populous and thriving *Geneve*, as fiefs of the Germanic Empire (403).

552. CITIES, CASTLES, BATTLE-FIELDS, AND OTHER HISTORICAL SITES.—*Rütli*, a small elevated plain, overhanging the western shore of the Lake of Lucerne, where, on the night of November 8th, 1307, the three brave Waldstädters, Werner Stauffacher, of Schwyz, Walter Furst, of Uri, and Arnold von Melchthal, of Unterwalden, each with ten friends, met and took, with drawn swords, the solemn oath of delivering their country from the tyranny of the Habsburgian bailiffs. At *Brunnen*, on the eastern shore of the lake opposite to Rütli, the federal pact between the Forest Cantons was ratified in November, 1315, after the battle of Morgarten. *Tell's Plate*, a flat rock on the eastern shore of the Lake of Lucerne, nearly opposite to Rütli. Here Wilhelm Tell sprang ashore from the boat of Gessler, during the storm, and escaped through the mountains.[255] At *Altdorf*, on the Reuss, south of the lake, are still seen the ruins of the Castle of Gessler, by him haughtily called the *Zwingburg*, or Castle of Intimidation; a beautiful chapel, richly adorned with paintings and inscriptions, commemorates the spot where the father shot the apple from the head of his son in July, 1307.[256] Tell was born in the neighboring village of *Bürglen*. At *Küssnacht*, east of Lucerne, beneath Mount Rhigi, the traveller beholds the moss-grown towers and ruins of another castle of Gessler, the bailiff, and at a short distance toward the lake is the deep woody glen—*Hohle Gasse*—where the unerring arrow of Tell struck down the tyrant. There, too, a chapel, adorned with paintings, portraits, and verses, records the event. *Morgarten*, on the southeastern shore of the small Lake of *Aegeri*, on the frontiers of the Cantons of Schwyz and Zug, forms a defile between the Mount *Sattel* and the lake. There seven hundred men from the forest towns, commanded by the old Rudolph Reding, of Biberegg, defeated Duke Leopold of Austria and his helpless chivalry on the 16th November, 1315. Nearly the whole Austrian army perished beneath the halberts and clubs of the mountaineers, and only the Duke, pale and trembling, was saved, by a flight across the hills to the plain of Winterthur. *Einsideln*, in the canton of Schwyz, at a short distance from Morgarten, was the celebrated abbey of Benedictines, whose sacred fountain and miraculous image of the Virgin Mary, gathered thousands of pilgrims from Switzerland, Germany, and France. Their gifts enriched the monks, and when the abbots of the convent, in their pride, attempted to drive the herdsmen of Schwyz from their pastures on the mountains, they caused the interference of the Habsburgers, all the bloodshed that followed, and thus indirectly the independence of the cantons.

553. SEMPACH, a village on the eastern shore of the small lake of that name, in the canton of Lucerne, became, on the 9th of July, 1386, the battle-field on which Leopold II., Duke of Austria, with the flower of his chivalry, was defeated and slain by a small body of Swiss. It was here that Arnold of Winkelried opened the path of victory, by grasping the Austrian lances and burying them in his bosom. In the glade of the forest stands a beautiful chapel, with pictures representing the battle. STANZ, south of Sempach, the capital of Unterwalden, was the birthplace of Arnold of Winkelried, whose marble statue adorns the square of that pretty little town. Here, too, the pious hermit, Claus von der Flue, assembled the quarrelling republicans in a congress, 1481, and persuading them, by his earnest exhortations, to put a stop to their feuds, caused Solothurn and Freyburg to be admitted into the league (551).

Windisch, at the confluence of the rivers Reuss, Limmat, and Aar, in the ancient county of Habsburg (the present canton of Aargau), near the Roman ruins of Vindonissa. There, on the banks of the Aar, in sight of his hereditary castle of *Habsburg* (523), the Emperor Albert I. was ruthlessly slaughtered by his nephew, John of Souabia, and his companions, Rudolphus of Balm, and Walter of Eschenbach, on the 1st of May, 1308. Queen Agnes of Hungary, the sister of the victim, built on the spot the nunnery of *Königsfelden*, where she lived in retirement, and was buried.[257] *Lenzburg*, a few miles south of Habsburg; *Kyburg*, in the ancient county of that name, in Souabia (the present canton of Thurgau), *Toggenburg*, east, on the river Thur (in the canton of Saint Gall);

[255] After the expulsion of the Habsburgers, the mountaineers of the Forest Cantons began to perform pilgrimages to this romantic spot on the lake, and in the year 1388—eighty-one years after the event, the Canton of Uri caused the tasteful chapel—the *Tells Capelle*—to be erected on the rock, where Tell leaped ashore. More than one hundred individuals, who had been personally acquainted with the hero, were present at the ceremony. See Johannes von Müller's History of the Swiss Confederacy, Vol. I.

[256] Compare our § 295, p. 89 note 109.

[257] That loving sister Agnes showed her Christian sympathy in an extraordinary manner. In her pious fury she caused more than a thousand innocent beings, knights, vassals, citizens, men, women, and children, from the castles and estates of the guilty noblemen, to be tortured, quartered, hanged or beheaded, with fiendish cruelty, and from their bloody spoils, she built the convent for her nuns. This sainted Agnes was the daughter of King Rudolphus of Habsburg—the *first Austrian!*

Rapperswyl, on the eastern shore of the Zürich, *Werdenberg*, the seat of the powerful Counts of that name, in the upper valley of the Rhine (Canton of St. Gall), were all splendid castles of the Swiss nobility during the Burgundian times, whose ruins are still visited with pleasure by the modern traveller. There, too, in the Canton of Glarus, lies the pretty, small town of *Näfels*, with the bridge over the Linth, where, on the 9th of April, 1388, the Glarners destroyed the third Austrian army. While the infantry, surrounded and broken, perished miserably in the narrow valley, the knights spurred away to the Lake of Wallenstadt; but, on their crowding the long wooden bridge, it broke, and they, with their heavy armor and horses, sank, never to rise again. This memorable day is still a national festival among the Glarners.

Laupen, a small town on the *Sa'ane*, west of Berne, became, on the 21st of June, 1338, the Marathon of the Berners. On that glorious field the young and aspiring republic was rescued by her experienced leader, Count Rudolph of Erlach, like Athens of yore, by her Miltiades, from the unjust aggression of the neighboring nobility and their numerous vassals. "All the landmarks between *Oberwyl* and *Wyden* were covered with heaps of slain warriors and horses, with weapons and armor; eight crowned helmets and twenty-seven baronial standards were carried in triumph to the victorious city." Yet the most remarkable scene of Helvetian bravery, and of the indomitable character of that people at the height of its virtue, was *Saint Jacobs*, on the river Birs, a few miles south of Basle. There, sixteen hundred Swiss, with halberts and huge broadswords, withstood an entire army of 30,000 French and English adventurers, led on by the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.) and the most renowned generals of France. Ten thousand Frenchmen were slain around the inclosure of the churchyard of Saint Jacobs, before the artillery of the invaders succeeded in prostrating those devoted mountaineers who perished to a man. This terrific battle, at the modern Thermopylæ of Helvetia, was fought on the 26th of August, 1444; it quenched the desire of the French cavaliers to penetrate into the highly cultivated and happy valleys of the freemen; their wild mercenary bands dispersed—and Switzerland was saved.[258]

At *Granson*, on the western shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel, and at *Morat* (Murten), on the small lake of that name, the united confederates prostrated the armies of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, in 1476—and finally at *Dornach*, southwest of Basle, and in the defiles of Tyrolean frontiers they gained their last laurels against the forces of Maximilian I. and the Empire, in 1499, and the Swiss remained thenceforth undisturbed in their mountains.

554. The Swiss of the middle ages, like the Greeks of antiquity, knew not only how gloriously to defend their country, but conspicuously to preserve the memory of their forefathers' deeds, by those graceful monuments which every where consecrate their battle-fields, and by the brilliant trophies which adorn their arsenals, and command the admiration and delight of the modern traveller.[259] Yet the success of the Swiss in these wars, and the immense booty they carried home from them, did not fail to produce a gradual change in their politics and morals. The simplicity of their manners, and their justice and moderation, gave way to luxury, corruption, and thirst for conquest. The period of the wild life—*das tolle Leben*—in Switzerland began among its wealthy and intoxicated warriors. Feuds arose between the different cantons, devastating incursions were undertaken across the Alps, where the valley of *Bellinzona* and the beautiful regions on the Lake of *Lugano*, were, by the Swiss, wrested from the Duke of Milan, until at last the severe check they suffered at *Marignano*, in 1515, by Francis I., forced them to return behind the bulwark of their Alps. Their severe discipline and admirable tactics, however, had already produced a complete change in the military system of those times. The firm squares of the Swiss infantry, bristling with halberts and spears, repelled every charge of the chivalry, and moved with rapidity and irresistible force against the slowly served batteries and ill disciplined foot soldiers of their opponents. The Emperor Maximilian I. imitated the Swiss, in the formation of his regular regiments of *Lanzknechte*, or pikemen, and Charles V., according to Machiavelli, brought the military system of the Swiss to perfection in his Spanish armies. France, Milan, and Germany, now vied with one another in taking Swiss mercenaries into their service; and those hardy mountaineers, who were so proud of their well-earned liberty at home, shed their blood hereafter for the warring despots abroad; nay, it has been asserted, that more than *a million* of Sweitzers have, during the last three centuries, sold their lives to France for a miserable pittance.

IX. Kingdom of Hungary.

555. Dynasties and Constitution.—The kingdom of the Magyars (314) attained its highest development toward the middle of the fourteenth century, when its great King, Louis of Anjou, uniting the crowns of Hungary and Poland, ruled as a sovereign over all the lands between the Adriatic and the Euxine, and extended the dominion of the Hungarian nation to its natural boundaries, the Carpathian range on the north, and Mount Balkan (Hæmus) on the south. During the reign of the ancient dynasty of Arpad, civilization had made but little progress among the wild and warlike Hungarians, partly on account of the roving habits of the Magyar nobles and the animosity of the native population against the foreign colonists, Kumani (315), Germans, and Wallachians, to whom the kings had assigned lands within the kingdom,—and partly, too, on account of the indefiniteness of the royal prerogative and the troubles which had their origin in the disputed succession to the crown among various claimants. Order was at last restored in 1222, when Andreas II.—1205–1235—in his Golden Bull—*Bulla Aurea*—laid the foundation of the later Hungarian constitution. Yearly diets of the states met at *Stuhlweissenburg*, where in the presence of the King or the Count Palatine (314), they consulted about all the important affairs

[258] The French knights were amazed at the almost superhuman prowess and strength of the Swiss; they said, "*Qu'en leur temps, ils n'avaient vu ni trouvé aucunes gens de si grand défense, ni tant outrageux et téméraires pour abandonner leurs vies.*" It was on the battle-field of the Birs that the calculating Louis XI. took up the idea of gaining over the Swiss to that alliance with France, which, during the following century, placed those terrible warriors at her disposal whenever she had money to purchase them.

[259] Almost every city in Switzerland, Lucerne, Berne, Morat, Basle, has preserved in its arsenals numerous trophies from its mediæval victories over Austrians and Burgundians. Yet, in none do these antiquities present so picturesque and impressive a show as in the Senate House of Solothurn. In a Gothic hall, richly decorated with banners and weapons of every description, is seen a group of thirteen figures in complete suits of armor, in a sitting posture, around the council table. The glittering steelmen represent the envoys of the thirteen Cantons; while the mailclad president, attended by his pages, is standing at the head of the board, reading the decree of the confederates of 1511, for their marching into Italy, in succor of the Duke of Milan.

The charnel house, near Morat, with its heaps of human bones from the defeat of Charles the Bold, was destroyed by the French revolutionary army, in 1798, but a graceful column has lately been erected on the spot, and the vaults of the city hall of Morat are still filled with an entire arsenal of Burgundian armor and artillery, from the battles of Granson, Morat, and Nancy.

of the kingdom. The hereditary succession of the fiefs was proclaimed ; the revenues of the crown were restricted to the royal domains ; no foreigners were to obtain office or landed estate ; the nobility rendered knights' service only within the boundaries of the realm. The clergy lost part of their extravagant immunities, and slavery was abolished ; yet the remarkable clause was added to the compact, by which the nobility and clergy were entitled to the right of armed resistance against the king if he should transgress the fundamental laws of the kingdom.[260] Tranquillity being thus restored, and the attention of an active people directed to the fertility and advantageous situation of their country, Hungary became flourishing in the reign of King Bela IV., when the sudden invasion of the Mongol hordes (385), the defeat of the Hungarians at *Mohi* in 1241, and the flight of the king into Austria, caused the desolation of the whole northern and eastern parts of the kingdom, as far as the Danube and the hilly regions of Transylvania. Fearful were the cruelties of the Asiatic barbarians, who left nothing behind them but ruined cities and mouldering corpses, and it is only with shuddering that we read the Hungarian chronicles of those times. Yet, on the hasty retreat of Batu Chan toward the Volga, Hungary began to recover from her wounds, and her decimated population became in part restored by the numerous colonies of *Italians*, *Flemings*, *Saxons* and other Germans, who, following the invitation of King Bela, were settled in the valleys of the Carpathian mountains and the plains of Transylvania. The Arpad dynasty became extinct in A. D. 1301, and was succeeded by the Neapolitan branch of the House of Anjou,[261] the most brilliant period in Hungarian history. The Angevin princes of Hungary distinguished themselves favorably above those of Naples by their superior capacity and restless activity ; they maintained the royal dignity against the magnates and clergy, and were powerfully supported by the Romish Pope, their Kumanian auxiliaries, and the many foreigners of talent and learning, whom they placed in important offices around the throne. The wars with the Venetian Republic in Dalmatia, and the intimate relations of Hungary with Naples and France, produced great changes in the ideas, manners, and social habits of the Magyars. French and Italian became the language spoken at court and among the nobility, who now began to abandon their Tartar usages. High schools were opened in Fünfkirchen (Pecs) in 1367, and King Sigismund erected the first university in Buda-Pesth, 1388.[262] The produce of the mines in the Carpathian Mountains and Transylvania enriched the treasury ; the Court of Wissegrad vied with those of Paris and Naples in splendor and enjoyments, while the victorious armies extended the frontiers of the kingdom. Louis the Great was worthy of his name; he ruled his vast empire for forty years with extraordinary energy and justice, and succeeded in uniting Magyars and Poles into a powerful nation, the bulwark of Europe in the East. We shall here take a review of the geography of Hungary and its dependencies towards the close of the fourteenth century, immediately before the advance of the Ottoman Turks on the Danube, and the decline of the Magyaric empire.

556. Limits and Division.—A. The Kingdom of Hungary was bounded on the north and east by the Carpathian range—*Krapak*—on the south by the Danube, and its tributary, the Save, and on the west by the mountains of *Oedenburg*, and the rivers *Lafnitz*, *Leitha*, *Danube*, and *March*, which separated it from Austria and Moravia. It embraced the two principal provinces of the Magyar empire :—I. Magyar-Orszag—*Hungaria Propria*—with the provinces of *Sclavonia* and *Syrmia ;* and II. Erdely-Orszag—*Siebenbürgen*—the Seven Castles—or *Transylvania.*

557. Hungary Proper, the home of the Magyar race, had its natural division in I., *Western* (Lower) *Hungary*, by the Danube, subdivided into the *Cis-Danubian* and *Trans-Danubian circles*, and in II., *Eastern* (Upper) *Hungary*, which the river Theiss separated into the *Cis-Tibiscan* and *Trans-Tibiscan circles.* These four circles contained fifty-three comitats—*gespannschaften* (253, 314), the names of which are already familiar to the historical student from the melancholy events of the late insurrection in 1848, 1849. On the east and north of the Danube lay the counties of *Pesth*, *Zolth*, *Bacs*, *Bodrogh*, *Neograd*, *Honth*, *Sohl*, *Gran*, *Bars*, *Thurocz*, *Lipto*, *Arva*, *Trentcsin*, *Neithra*, *Komorn*, and *Posony* (Pressburg). On the south and west of that river, the counties of *Pilis* (between Gran and Buda), *Raab*, *Mosony* (Wieselburg), *Soprony* (Oedenburg), *Vasvar* (Eisenburg), west of the dense and dreary forest of *Bakony*, which extended south to *Szalad*, on the lake of *Balaton*, and east to *Vesprim*; farther, *Szekes-Feijervar* (Stuhlweissenburg), *Somogyvar* (Sümegh), *Tolna* and *Baranyvar*, in the swampy delta, between the Danube and the Drave.

558. The comitats in the Tibiscan circles were : on the east

[260] This right of the Hungarians of taking up arms against their king, which has lately been so much discussed and commented upon by Louis Kossuth in this country, forms the closing lines of King Andreas' concessions in the Golden Bull, with these words : *Quod si vero Nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum aliquo unquam tempore, huic dispositioni nostræ contra-ire voluerit ; liberam habeant harum auctoritate, sine nota alicujus infidelitatis tam episcopi quam alii Jobbagiones* (the noble castellans and court officers) *ac nobiles regni, universi et singuli, præsentes et futuri posterique resistendi et contradicendi Nos et nostris successoribus in perpetuam facultatem !* All the subsequent wars in Hungary and the insurrections against Austrian oppression in more modern times of the patriotic Rakoczy, Tekely, and Kossuth, have sprung from this privilege of resisting the perversion of the constitution, sword in hand.

[261] THE ANJOU DYNASTY IN HUNGARY.

Charles Martel, the Pretender, † 1305,
married to Clementia of Habsburg, † 1295.

Charles Robert, King of Hungary, 1305–1342,
married to *Catherine* of Poland, † 1381.

Louis the Great, King of Hungary, Naples, and Poland, 1342–1382, married to *Elizabeth* of Bosnia, † 1386.	*Andreas*, King of Naples, smothered by his wife, Queen *Giovanna*, at Anversa, 1345.
Mary, heiress of Hungary, † 1392, married to Sigismund of Luxemburg, Emperor of Germany, † 1437.	*Hedwig*, heiress of Poland, † 1399, married to *Jagellon*, of Lithuania.
Elizabeth, † 1447, married first to Albert II, † 1439, and secondly to Ladislaw V., † 1444.	Ladislaw V., King of Hungary and Poland, perished at Varna, 1444, (married to Elizabeth of Hungary.)
Elizabeth, † 1505, married to *Casimir* of Poland, † 1492.	Ladislaw VI., (son of Albert,) King of Hungary, † 1457. (Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 1458-1490.)
Ladislaw, VII., King of Hungary and Bohemia, 1490–1516.	
Anna, Queen of Hungary, † 1547, married to Ferdinand I. of Habsburg, Emperor of Germany, who united Hungary with Austria, † 1561.	Louis II., *Posthumus*, King of Hungary, 1516–1526, perished at Mohacz.

[262] A number of conventual and parochial schools had already been established in Hungary during the eleventh century. In the twelfth many youths, devoting themselves to the church, received their education in the university of Paris. The first attempt at a college—*Studium Generale*—in Hungary, was made in 1320, by King Ladislaw III. at Vesprim, where the free arts, theology and jurisprudence were taught to a numerous assembly of students from every part of the kingdom. The Latin language had already supplanted the rough native tongue of the Magyars, yet many precious specimens of the popular dialect of this period have been preserved, in national ballads, war-songs, Magyar translations of the Golden Bull of King Andrew II., and in translations of the sacred Scriptures, made as early as 1382. The development of the Magyar literature itself does not, however, begin before the sixteenth century.

of the Theiss: *Marmaros*, the border-country on the Eastern Carpathians, through the defiles of which the Mongol swarms had invaded Hungary in 1241; *Ugosz*, *Szathmar*, *Szabolcz*, the two large comitats of the *Outer* and *Middle Szolnok*, extending through the immense plains between the Theiss and the highlands of Transylvania; *Bihar*, *Kraszna*, *Bekes*, *Zarand*, on the river *Körös*; *Csanard* and *Arad*, on the *Maros*; *Torontal*, *Temes*, and *Krassova*, south on the Danube, in the Banat of Temesvar. On the west of the Theiss were situated the comitats of *Unghvar*, *Beregh*, *Zemplin*, in the island between the Theiss and the Bodrog, where the sunny hills of Tokay were cultivated with vines in the times of King Louis of Anjou; *Aba-Ujvar*, *Saros*, *Borsod*, *Torna*, *Zips*, *Gömör*, and *Heves*.

559. The Sclavonian and Syrmian provinces—*Horvath* and *Toth-Orszag*—between the rivers Save, Drave, and Danube, formed the southwestern frontier counties of Hungary. They were divided into the comitats: *Warasdin*, on the Drave, *Zagorá*, belonging to the powerful Counts of Cilly (526), *Zagrab*, *Körös*, *Verocze*, *Poschega*, *Valko*, and the *Syrmian peninsula*, between the Save and the Danube, with the important fortress of *Semlin*, opposite to Belgrade, in Servia. Syrmia was held by the distinguished family of the Hunyads.

II. Transylvania (33, 314), the beautiful and fertile province, east of Hungary Proper, surrounded by mountains, and watered by the *Szamos*, *Maros*, and *Aluta*, became later an independent principality, under the sway of the Zapolyas, in opposition to Austria It was divided into the comitats, *Bistriz* and the *Saxon Nöslerland*, protecting the northeastern frontiers of Mount Krapak, toward the Bukowina, and, therefore, granted to the warlike family of the Hunyads; in the interior, *Doboka* and *Inner-Szolnok*, on the Szamos; *Kolos*, *Thorda*, *Küküllo*, *Feijervar* (Weissenburg), *Hazseg*, and *Hunyad*, on the southwest, protecting the celebrated defiles of *Volkan*, on the Schyl, and of *Vasag* or the Iron-Gate, opening on the plains of Temesvar. The upper valley of the Maros and the eastern frontiers were inhabited by the warlike Turco-Magyar tribe of the Szeklers (253), and divided into the districts of *Maros*, *Udvarhely*, and *Harom*. Southern Transylvania, or the Saxon Country, was colonized by Germans, and contained the districts of the *Weinland*, the hill-country between the Maros and Aluta, *Fagaras* and the *Burzenland*, southeast on the Wallachian frontiers, which earlier had been intrusted to the protection of the Teutonic Knights.

560. In no part of Europe do we find, during the middle ages, and even at the present day, so many nations of different origin, language, and manners, living together under the same government, as in Hungary. Of the ten or twelve millions inhabiting the highlands and plains between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube, four millions only were Magyars (253), the conquering and ruling nation which held the sway, but occupied only some parts of that vast territory. Their settlements lay mostly on the Danube, Theiss, and Maros, and in the counties bordering on Germany. Different Sclavonian tribes, the *Slowaks*, *Ruthenians* or *Malo-Russians*, and others, inhabited the mountainous regions of *Stibor*, *Zips*, and *Marmaros*, along the southern slope of the Carpathians where they became blended with Rhenish and other German colonists, who, as industrious and intelligent miners, explored the rich ores of the mining districts of *Schemnitz*, *Kemnitz*, and *Neu-Sohl*. On the sandy plain between the Theiss and Danube, were seen the straggling tents of forty thousand Kumanic families, whom King Bela IV. had established there, contrary to the desire of his Magyar subjects.[263] Their district was divided into Nagy-Kunszag—*Great Kumania*—on the east of the Theiss, and Kis-Kunszag—*Lesser Kumania*, westward, between that river and the Danube. South of the Kumani, in the Bacs Country, on the Lower Danube, dwelt the nomadic Jazyges (33, 45, 90), who served as mounted archers in the Hungarian armies, while the country north was occupied by the Haydukes, or Freebooters, a Bulgaro-Servian tribe, well known in modern military history as the best light infantry of the Austrian armies in the eighteenth century. Horvaths (Croats), Bulgars and Raitzi (Servians), the fiercest of the Danubian Sclavi, inhabited the provinces on the Save, and rendered, during the fifteenth century, important services to the kingdom in the wars with the Ottoman Turks.

561. Still more divided among heterogeneous tribes was the Hill-Country. Numerous Saxon and Dutch colonies had, since the thirteenth century, transformed the woodland valleys of the *Maros*, *Kockel*, and *Aluta*, into a flourishing garden, where, embosomed among vineyards and orchards, arose the German cities of *Hermanstadt* (Szeben), *Mühlenbach* and *Kronstadt*.[264] The latter city, situated at the northern base of the Wallachian Mountains, in the Burzenland (559), was granted to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, on their return from Palestine. But their arrogant bearing and ambitious pretensions caused King

[263] On the approach of the Mongols, the King was forced to imprison their chief, Kuthen-Chan, together with his nobles, and when the blaze of burning villages and towns announced the rapid march of the Tartars upon Pesth, the frightened multitude stormed the royal palace and slaughtered the Kuman hostages, unjustly suspecting them of having betrayed the mountain passes to the invaders. The enraged horde then, in all earnest, went over to the Mongols, and committed such atrocious cruelties on the Hungarian families which fell into their hands, that the Magyar nation never afterwards would forgive their descendants, though they remained in the country, protected by the Anjou Kings, and forming their faithful body guard.

[264] The peaceful existence of a German State in the midst of Sclavonic, Wallachian, and Hungarian countries, is an interesting historical phenomenon. Herman, a German chief, is said to have founded these colonies, and built Hermanstadt, about A. D. 1000. More certain, however, is, that King Geisa II., in 1143, invited a number of German families from Franconia, Westphalia, and Thuringia, then suffering from the violent feuds of the Welfs and Waiblingers (397), to settle down in the incult woodlands of *Black Hungary*, or Transylvania (314), and with their German broadswords defend their new home from the Tartar cavalry hovering on the eastern frontiers. The Magyars called the new-comers *Szaszoks* (Hospites Teutonici), and the Arpadian Kings granted them certain immunities and privileges, by which that quiet, laborious people was enabled to form their own municipal and ecclesiastical government. They cleared the forest, and, assisted by the straggling Petchenegues and Wallachians, who, as herdsmen, tended their cattle and sheep, they soon became comfortable and wealthy. No feudal burdens called them away from the plough; nor did they suffer any *hereditary nobility* to spring up among them; thus, those intelligent backwoodsmen have preserved their democratic liberty to the present day. In their mountain-girt and secluded valleys they enjoyed the blessings of civil and religious liberty, still more strengthened by the austerest morals and brotherly union; yet often disturbed by the sweeping incursions of the Turkish cavalry, who scoured the open plains of Hungary, and planted their crescent-banners in the suburbs of Vienna. But the Spahis found the stout Germans prepared for defence. The Saxon ploughed his field with the sword at his belt. The churchyard of his village was a turretted fortress, from which the watchman sounded the alarm, and the first glimpse of the turban on the distant mountain tops, was the signal for the frighted families, with their cattle and provisions, to hurry toward the House of God—*Gotteshaus*—which the brave Germans had often defended with success. Yet, the misery inflicted by the Turks in later times, by their union with the insurgent Zapolyan Princes of Transylvania, is remembered to the present day, and the Hungarian mother still hushes her restless child with the threat of "The Tartar is coming"—*Ihon jönnek a Tartárok!*

Andrew II. to expel them, sword in hand, in 1224. Only the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John in Jerusalem (340), succeeded in obtaining a firm footing in Hungary, where those gallant monk-warriors contributed powerfully to the defence of the Danube lines against the Ottoman Turks. Another tribe, differing from the rest, were the Szeklers, about whom we have spoken above (559). The adjacent valleys were occupied by the Wallachian shepherds—the Rumani—descendants of the Roman or Daco-Latin population of ancient Dacia (33), who still speak a corrupt dialect of the Latin language.[265] Among the many nationalities of mediæval Hungary, we meet with the Gypsies—*Zingani* or *Zigeuner*, that roaming Hindoo tribe, which made its first appearance on the Carpathian Mountains about the middle of the fifteenth century. Having been driven from their home on the banks of the Indus, in Scinde and Guzzerate, by the irruption of the Mongols, they fled westward, and numerous bands of them settled down in Hungary, as smiths or horse-dealers, and rendered themselves useful in Transylvania, by washing and digging for gold in the beds of the rivers. More obnoxious than the Gypsies became the Jews, who, having obtained some privileges by King Bela II., in the course of time contrived to bring the commerce and currency of the country within their control, and the greatest monarch of Hungary, Louis of Anjou, found it therefore expedient to expel them from the kingdom in 1352. The proud Magyars, occupied with military exercises, feuds, and intrigues, treated the foreign settlers with arrogance and contempt, but the prudent Angevin kings cherished their industry, lightened their burdens, and thus preserved the existence of those rival nationalities, which have afforded the Austrian princes the means to control and bridle the Hungarians, and counteract all their strenuous efforts to restore the independence of the crown of Saint Stephen.

562. Cities and Historical Sites in Hungary.—Wissegrad—*Castrum Album*, or Blendenburg, on its elevated and romantic site, overhanging the Danube, north of Buda, became the residence of the Kings of the Arpadian and Angevin dynasties. There the awful tragedy took place, on April 17, 1330, in which the old nobleman, Felician of Zaach, attempted to revenge on the royal family the mortal injury which his beautiful and innocent daughter Clara had suffered from the wild passions of King Casimir of Poland.[266] There too the young King Sigismund was kept a prisoner by the Hungarian people until he had guaranteed them the enjoyment of their charter and liberties. Buda, with Pesth, on the opposite eastern bank of the Danube, was the later capital and largest city in Hungary. On the square of *Saint George*, the weak and worthless King Ladislaw V., instigated by the treacherous counts of Cilly, ordered the execution of the eldest son of John Hunyad in 1456, which caused his own destruction, and raised the younger brother Matthias Corvinus to the Hungarian throne. In *Feijervar* (Stuhlweissenburg), southwest of Buda, with its splendid cathedral, the Hungarian kings were crowned and buried. On the plain of *Mohi*, in the comitat of Torna, near the junction of the river Hernad and the Theiss, was fought the great battle between Batu-Chan, the Mongol (385), and the Hungarians, in which the latter, outflanked and overwhelmed by the Mongol myriads, suffered a total defeat in 1241. At *Rozgony*, on the river Tarcza, in the Zips, Charles Robert, by the gallantry of the Knights Hospitallers, on the 15th June, 1312, vanquished and slew the Count of Trentcsin, and, forcing his rebellious faction to submission, secured the Hungarian crown to the Anjou dynasty. *Ung-Var*, in the Carpathian ridge, was the first city conquered by the Magyars, in 855, and from which they are supposed to have been called Hungarians (Ungars). *Mohacs*, on the western bank of the Danube, south of Buda, became the fatal battle-field on which the last King of Hungary, Louis II. Posthumus, perished with his small but devoted army, against Sultan Suleyman II., on the 29th of August, 1526, and Hungary ceased to be an independent empire. *Munkacs*, *Komorn*, *Warasdin*, *Temesvar*, and *Semlin*, in Syrmia, were for centuries the bulwarks of the kingdom. *Kolasvar* (Klausenburg), on the Szamos, in Transylvania, was the birthplace of Matthias Corvinus. *Karlsburg*, on the Maros, south of the former, the residence of the great John Hunyad. In the Cathedral of Saint Michael, the tombs of the Hunyad family are still revered by the unhappy Magyar people, so sensitive to its former glory.[267] *Vasag* (the Iron-gate), on the border of the Banat, *Volkan*, *Veres-Torony* (Red Tower), *Törzburg*, and, *Oitosch*, were defiles in the Carpathian Mountains, opening on the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were fortified by towers, and intrusted to the vigilance of the Szekler Borderers. Influential families among the Magyar magnates were the Counts of *Trentcsin*, in the north, the *Bathory*, *Nadasd*, *Erdödy*, *Bereny*, *Hedervar*, *Kanisa*, *Battyan*, *Orszag*, and *Szilagyi*, *Kapoly*, on the Lake of Balatan, and the *Palffy*, in the comitat of Bacs. None, however, became so distinguished as the powerful Hunyadi, possessing immense estates in Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvar, and Syrmia. In the west we meet with the Counts of Zapolya and the Styrian Counts of Cilly (526, 559), who exercised the most pernicious influence on Hungarian politics, and by their hate against the Hunyadi caused endless disorders in the kingdom.

563. B. Dependencies of the Hungarian Empire in the 14th and 15th Centuries.—I. The Kingdom of Galicia, (now Lodomeria and Bukovina), north and northeast of the Carpathian range, was early conquered by the Arpadian kings —1185–1220—but the Magyar dominion beyond the mountains could only be maintained by force of arms, and the nominal pretensions were therefore ceded to Poland, in 1423. The country was divided into the three principalities of *Belz*, *Przemysl*, and *Halicz*. The inhabitants were Ruthenians or Russniaks (303, 451), a rough but industrious race, who professed the Greek religion, and occupied the Carpathian valleys far into Hungary. Their principal cities were *Przemysl* and *Jaroslaw*. *Leopolis* (Lemberg) was the residence of the princes of Halicz. Seventy Greek churches and convents denoted the piety of the citizens. Many Greek merchants were settled there, and the unhappy fugitives from Constantinople, in 1453, found a hospitable reception among their kind-hearted co-religionists in Galicia.

II. The kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, south of the Save, and extending along the shores of the Adriatic to the Gulf of *Cattaro*, was conquered by King Kalmany in 1102 (260). The Hungarians pursued their success; all

[265] See interesting details on the manners and language of the Rumani of Wallachia, by Rev. Dr. Walsh, in his travels through the Principalities. London, 1830. (We quote from memory.)

[266] See the account of this event in John Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. i., page 199. The ruins of the old castle preserve still to this day the popular appellation of *Wissegrádi-Clára*, in commemoration of the unhappy maiden.

[267] The full figures of the ancient heroes, though much injured by time or the wanton insults of the Austrians, still decorate the covers of the sarcophagi. The marble statue of John of Hunyad is represented as clothed in a flowing mantle, beneath which is seen the tight Hungarian costume of the time. Other figures are dressed in armor, "but with their waists more ridiculously pinched in," says Paget, "than even a Paris milliner would venture on."

Dalmatia—with the exception of the islands off the coast, early occupied by the Venetians,—the kingdoms of Rama, Bosnia, and Western Servia, were subdued between the years 1127 and 1138. The sly Venetians, however, profiting by the internal feuds among the Arpadian Princes, recovered the sea-coast, but were finally expelled during the brilliant campaigns of Louis the Great, in 1356–1357, and thenceforth Croatia was permanently united with the Hungarian crown. The possession of the Dalmatian coast proved troublesome to the Hungarian kings, because they neglected the ports and naval establishments, though they continued in such intimate relations to Naples; and the native Dalmatians, as a seafaring people, preferred the Venetian Republicans to the Hungarian *Hussars*. The revolution broke out in 1419; the Magyars were driven out of the country, and the banner of Saint Mark floated again along the sunny coast.

A republican constitution was then introduced into the cities, under the protection of a Venetian *provveditore;* but the warlike Dalmatians of Poglizza, the Morlachs or *Sea-Wallachs* of the *Litorale*, or coast-district, and the roving Haidukes (Robber-captains) on the table-lands of the Dinarian Alps, maintained their independence. They were always in arms, and lived by depredations on sea and land. The Hungarian kings, in order to flatter and conciliate the Croats, ennobled their chiefs, and formed numerous counties, such as those of *Zengh*, *Corbavia*, *Lika*, *Grodnisch*, *Zriny*, nay, the entire district of *Turopolia*, on the beautiful plain of Turo, consisting of thirty-three villages, was ennobled by King Belo IV. All the inhabitants ranked with the Magyar aristocracy and sent special deputies to the Hungarian diets. Belograd or *Zara-Vecchia* was the ancient residence of the Croatian kings. *Sebenico*, with a splendid cathedral, profited by its excellent harbor to become a thriving commercial city. *Zara* (Jadera), on the coast, the most unruly of cities, became the eye-sore of Venice on account of the repeated rebellions of its citizens, and the immense sacrifices of men and money which its reduction cost the Republic. The Dalmatians were a handsome and intelligent people, whose principal industry consisted in ship-building; they plied the Adriatic as far as the Archipelago and Constantinople with hundreds of caravels and quick sailing barks; Dalmatia itself is one of the most fertile and picturesque regions on the shores of the Mediterranean.[268]

564. III. The Republic of Ragusa (139, 369) having placed itself under the protection of Hungary,—1358-1526—may be ranked among the Sclavonian States, during this period dependent on the Magyar empire. This small but highly intelligent people deserve the more our attention, because it was the only one of all the *Slavic States* that had adopted a republican form of government, which it succeeded in maintaining by bravery and shrewd policy between powerful neighbors until it was swept away by the storms of the Napoléonic wars.[269] Its territory extended over a surface of 102 square miles, and consisted of a narrow and rocky tract on the coast, running out into the projecting peninsula of *Sabbioncello*, and of the small islands *Meleda*, *Cazza*, and *Lagosta*, with a population of 70,000 inhabitants, of a mixed Slavo-Italian origin. Ragusa soon became a flourishing and important city; its government was directed by a Senate and two Councils, at the head of which a *Rettore*, or president, held the executive power. Treacherous Venice attempted repeatedly to subvert the independence of her rival, but prudent Ragusa placed itself under the protection first of the Byzantine empire, and, on its decline, under that of King Louis of Hungary, while its brave mariners, beating off the Venetians, hoisted their flag in every port of the Mediterranean.

565. IV. The Kingdom of Rama (Bosnia) was bounded by the Save on the north, on the west the Unna separated it from Croatia, and on the east the Drin from Servia. Southward it followed the course of the Dinarian Alps, but touched the Adriatic coast on the river Narenta. This mountainous region was well watered by the rapid rivers Bosna, Verbas, Pliva, Sanniza, and Rama; its valleys were fertile, and the scenery of surpassing beauty. Its rich gold and iron mines in the Alps were worked by the ancient Romans, but neglected by the indolent *Bosniaks* (Bosnians), the most barbarous of all the Sclavonians on the Danube. Rama[270] was early divided into the provinces: *Ussora*, *Sala*, *Varosch*, *Krakova*, *Orach* (Suitowa), and *Podrima*, with the principalities of Czernagora (Montenero) and Zenta, on the frontiers of Albania, and the two duchies of Rama, in the Alps, and San Saba, or *Herzegowina*, west of the mountains on the Narenta and the rocky coast of the Adriatic. The principal cities were: Jaicza (the Oval City) and Banjaluka, both on the Verbas, and ancient capitals of the Kings of Rama. *Trawnick* and *Sarajevo*, on the Bosna, strong and populous cities in the mountains. *Mostar* and *Livno* impregnable fortresses in the passes of the Herzegowina. Rama formed earlier a part of the kingdom of Servia, and was governed by *Voivods*, until Twartko threw off the yoke in 1375, and calling in the Hungarians, obtained the royal title from King Louis, as a reward for his duplicity. The influence in Bosnia of so active a monarch as Louis of Anjou, became soon all-powerful, principally on account of the violent religious disturbances in that country, and the crusade preached by the Pope against the Bosnian heretics—the *Paterins*[271]—whose conversion by fire and sword was intrusted to the King of Hungary. Swarms of Franciscan and Dominican Monks accompanied the invading army in 1352, and exerted themselves with an excessive zeal in the conversion of the heretics, but with no success; they only served the political views of the Magyar Kings, whose yoke under Sigismund became so insupportable that the Bosnians, in 1415, called the Ottoman Sultan to their relief. The victorious arms of the great Matthias Corvinus once more reconquered Bosnia, in 1472, and placed a vassal king on the throne; but the Osmanlis under Suleyman II., prostrated the Hungarians at Mohacs, in 1526, and took permanent possession of all the lands south of the Danube.

566. V. The Kingdom of Rascia (Servia), the ancient Mœsia Superior (34, 368), extended along the southern bank

[268] For a description of *Dalmatia* and *Monte Negro* with many historical details, see the eloquent work of Sir Gardener Wilkinson. London, 1846. Vols. I., II.

[269] The French General Lauriston took possession of the neutral Republic in 1806. Ragusa was besieged and taken by the Austrians in 1814, and forms at present a circle in the government of Dalmatia. Of all the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, only the small *San Marino*, on Mount Apennine, has survived.

[270] Bosnia obtained its earlier name of *Rama* from a mountain torrent of that name discharging itself into the Narenta, and that of *Bosnia* from the principal river Bosna, originating in the Dinarian Alps, and running northward into the Save.

[271] These Paterini—Kathars or Ketzers—seem to have followed the Unitarian doctrines of the unhappy *Paulicians*, whom the Greek Emperor John Tzimisces had transported from Armenia to Mount Hæmus, in Thrace (266). They formed a numerous sect in Bosnia, whose inhabitants belonged to the Greek Church, and they were by the Latins called Bogomiles, because they were accustomed frequently to invoke the divine mercy in the Sclavonian tongue. Bog, in that language, signifies *God*, and milvi is equivalent to the Greek imperative ἐλέησον, *show mercy!* Therefore Bog-milvi or Bogomiles.

of the Save and the Danube, from the *Drin*, on the west, to the *Timok* on the east. The high range of Mount *Scardus* (Schardagh) formed its natural boundary on the south. Lower chains stretch northward, through the country which is watered by the broad and rapid *Morava* and its tributaries, the Ibar, Toplicza, and others. Servia, or Serblia, was divided into the Banat of *Machou* (*Longomeria*), on the Danube, conquered by King Stephen II. of Hungary in 1128; the principality of Branitzowa; and eight voivodats: 1, *Ressawa;* 2, *Temnitz;* 3, *Czernagora;* 4, *Stariwla;* 5, *Metoja;* 6, *Kossowa;* 7, *Schupa;* and 8, *Nissawa.* The counties of Zenta on the lake of Scutari, and Podrima, in Rascia Proper, were afterwards wrested from Serbia by the Krals of Bosnia. Kruschevacz (Turk. Aladja Hissar), on the western Morava, was after Scodra (35) the residence of the Servian kings. Their sepulchral vaults were situated in *Procupia* (Kralowa, or royal town), southwest of the former. *Branitzowa*, a fortress on the Danube, which gallantly withstood the Byzantine Greeks. Still more celebrated was Belgrade *Belograd*, *Alba Græca*, near the ruins of the ancient Singedunum (34), on the southern bank of the Danube, opposite to Semlin, in Syrmia. This strongly fortified city became the bulwark, not only of Hungary, but of all Christendom, against the terrible invasions of the Ottomans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. King Salomon of Hungary had conquered it from the Byzantines in 1073, during the troubles of Constantinople preceding the accession of Alexius Comnenus (324), who re-took it from the Hungarians. Belgrade was then alternately in the possession of the Bulgarians and Servians, and from the latter, Sigismund brought it back to Hungary. John Hunyad defended the city victoriously against the Turks in 1442, and when Mohammed II., after the capture of Constantinople, appeared before Belgrade with 200,000 Turks, the Magyar hero and the brave Franciscan monk Capistran defeated them in three pitched battles beneath the walls—July 14, 21, 22, 1456—and forced the furious Sultan to raise the siege with a loss of more than 60,000 men. Nor did the Ottomans obtain possession of the city until the great invasion of Suleyman II. in 1521.[272] *Smederowo* (Semendria), on the junction of the Morava with the Danube, was a city likewise illustrious by brilliant sieges and battles during the Turkish wars. At *Kossowa*, on the banks of the Schitnitoza, was fought the bloody battle between Servians and Turks on the 15th of June, 1389, which terminated in the total defeat of the former, and the downfall of their kingdom. Their last King Lazar Brankowitch was captured by the Turks; but Sultan Murad I., while crossing the battle-field, was cut down by a noble Servian, Milosch Kobilawitch, who rose suddenly among the slain. The infuriated Ottomans then slaughtered the Servian king and prisoners, and spread bloodshed and devastation all over the country.[273] Half a century later—in 1448—John Hunyad and Murad II. met in arms on the same field, and the Christians, in spite of the heroic bravery of the Hungarians, were again outflanked and defeated, after a fearful slaughter of three days—October 18–20. Hunyad escaped from the field, but fell into the hands of the treacherous Kral of Servia.

567. Stephen Boistlaw had, in 1040, thrown off the Byzantine yoke (324). Able and active chiefs succeeded him on the throne, the most celebrated of whom was Stephen Duschan—1336–1356. Stephen not only repelled all the attacks of the Byzantines, but carried his arms into the heart of Epirus, to Joannina, and took the title of *Czar;* nay, he granted his people one of the most humane and enlightened codes of the Middle Ages, breathing a noble and benevolent spirit, and securing the peace and prosperity of his beautiful but unhappy country. The Servian statutes—*Zakon y Ustaw*—bridled the arrogance of the nobles—*Knæses*—and protected the peasantry and settlers—*posadniks*. Clergy, voivods, and nobles, sat in the diets and took part in the legislation. A body of German troops strengthened the national army, which was formed by the nobles, as vassals of the crown. Even a military order of Saint Stephen was established, and the kingdom divided into eight voivodats, which were assigned to the most powerful of the Boyards. This proved a dangerous practice; the turbulent chieftains aspired at independence, and thus prepared the dissolution of the Servian State. Louis the Great, in several successful campaigns, in 1359–1361, brought Servia under the supremacy of Hungary, and Lazar Brankowitch was obliged to renounce the royal title of *Kral* and as *knæs* or vassal render homage to the Hungarian king. While the successors of Stephen Duschan were engaged in civil feuds with their rebellious voivods, the Ottomans crossed the mountains. After the fall of Lazar Brankowitch, at Kossowa, in 1389, the whole southern province fell into the possession of the Sultans; only in the north the Brankowitch family, by their vacillating and treacherous policy between Hungary and the Sultan, still maintained their dominion, until the year 1459, when Mohammed made all Servia a Turkish province, under the name of *Serf-Eyaleti*. We have already touched on the spirited character of the Servian nation (196, 324, 368); the brilliant period of their history still lives in the hearts of their descendants, and is the theme of a thousand legends and songs, which paint the events and characters of the times with truth and fancy in a highly poetical and beautiful language.[274]

568. VI. The Kingdom of Bulgaria, eastward of Servia, followed the southern bank of the Danube from the Timok

[272] Belgrade became stronger after every siege. The city consisted of four different parts: 1, the *Acropolis*, or fortress, situated on a towering rock, in the centre of the whole, commanding the Danube from its high walls and massy towers. Its triple moats were filled with water, immense outworks defended the approach; the interior of the fortress, with its bomb-proof casemates, deep cisterns, and subterraneous passages, was the residence of the commander-in-chief of the Danubian frontiers, and later of the Turkish Pasha of Servia. A broad esplanade separates the castle from 2, the *Water Town*, the finest quarter of the city, likewise carefully fortified toward the Danube; and 3, the city of the Rascians westward, on the Save, protected by palisades and batteries. The extensive suburb *Palanka*, with its bazaars, on the south and east of the fortress, formed the fourth quarter of Belgrade, the number of whose inhabitants was then larger than at the present day—30,000 souls. Several small islands lie before Belgrade, the larger of which, that of the *Gypsies*, was fortified, and belonged to the defensive system of the town. The flames, bombardments, and other havoc of war have left little of the mediæval city of Belgrade. All the fortifications were lately in a dilapidated state; the edifices of the castle were fast mouldering away, and nothing met the eye of the traveller but filth and Turkish squalidness and misery. At the present moment, however, great repairs no doubt are going on, and Belgrade may yet become the palladium of Ottoman heroism, as it formerly had been that of the Magyars.

[273] The extensive heath on which this important battle was fought was called the *Plain of Merles*, in Sclavonian *Kossowo-polje*, and in Magyar *Rigo-mazew*. West of the city stands the Mausoleum erected there by the Turks to the memory of their Sultan. Lamps are burning day and night within the *tyrbé*, or sepulchral chamber, and a number of Derwishes perform their religious service. Yet the Christian martyr has likewise his monument, a large stone being placed on the grave of Milosch, and his countrymen still invoke there the retribution of the Almighty.

[274] The popular poetry of the Servians has attracted the attention of the learned in Europe, and many successful translations have been published by Dr. Bowring, Emanuel Geibel, the German poet, and others. See the delightful work of Talvi: *Historical View of the Language and Literature of the Slavic Nations*, edited by Professor Edward Robinson. New-York, 1850. 8vo.

to the Black Sea, and Mount Hæmus separated it on the south from the Byzantine province of Thrace. The flowery plains and wood-clad hills of Bulgaria, and the opposite provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, were, during the Middle Ages, just as at this present day, the high-road and battle-field of all the barbarians who migrated from Central Asia into Europe. There the light Sarmatian cavalry fought against the heavy Roman legions, and the Huns pursued the scattered Goths (89). The Avars, Kumani, and Petcheneges, established their ephemeral empires on the northern banks of the river; the Bulgarians alone retained their possessions on the south, after the most sanguinary wars with the Byzantine emperors. There the Ottoman Turks displayed their victorious crescent, and the white eagle of Poland fled before them. But for the last century the Mohammedan victors have been threatened by powerful Russia, whose armies at this very moment are advancing on the banks of the Danube, and fighting the battle of life and death with the Turks. The issue is yet doubtful, but it may result in the permanent occupation of the principalities, and the final destruction of the Turkish dominion in Europe. Bulgaria is a fertile, plain country, highly favored by nature; its climate is milder than that of the more mountainous Servia, its bottom-lands on the Danube less marshy than those of Wallachia, and its rich pastures in the plains and on the slopes of Mount Hæmus are covered with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, and those small but strong and lively Bulgarian horses, which are so much appreciated in Turkey. The ancient Bulgarian kingdom had been destroyed by the Emperor Basil II. in 1018 (324); but the Bulgarians chafed under the iron rod of Byzantium, and they broke forth into open rebellion, under their Wallachian leaders, Peter and Asan, in 1186. Aided by the Kumanic hordes, their King Johanitza vanquished and captured King Baldwin of Constantinople and his crusaders in 1207, and, uniting with the Greek Emperor of Nicea, in Asia Minor, the Bulgarians formed a powerful kingdom north of Mount Hæmus. Yet the nation remained savage; their princes followed one another on the throne by continual revolutions. Vanquished and decimated by the Mongols, the Bulgarians were easily overpowered by the Hungarians, and King Louis, taking Widdin in 1365, maintained his supremacy, until the invasion of the Ottomans, and the battle of *Kossowa*, in 1389, carried the victorious Sultan to the banks of the Danube. Bulgaria fell an easy prey to the conqueror; all the later attempts of the Emperor Sigismund in 1396, and the Polacco-Hungarian King Ladislaw VI., in 1444, to recover that important country, were frustrated by the invincible prowess of the Janissaries, and Bulgaria became a Turkish province, under the name of *Bulgar-Ili*.

569. Cities and Historical Sites in Bulgaria.—Ternowa (367), on the Jantra, the ancient capital of the Bulgarian kings. *Silistria* (Dristra), *Matchin*, *Tuldsha*, and *Kostendghe*, on the banks of the Danube, and in the narrow peninsula—the *Dobrudshe*—formed by that river and the Black Sea. *Nicopolis*, westward on the Danube, became, on the 26th September, 1396, the battle-field where the Emperor Sigismund and his splendid crusading army, by the foolhardiness of the French and Burgundian knights, were vanquished by Sultan Bajazet Ilderim, (Thunderbolt) and hundreds of noble Christian prisoners slaughtered in cold blood by the Turks, after the conflict was over.[215] *Kunobitza*, on the south of Sofiá, in the defiles of Mount Hæmus, where, on the 24th December, 1443, the great John Hunyad, after one of the most brilliant campaigns in the annals of Hungary, defeated the Turkish army of Karà Beï, and reoccupied the Danubian provinces, north of the mountains. *Varna*, in a strong position on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the lake of *Devna*, became, next year, in 1444, the bulwark of the Turkish empire, and the sepulchre of the last crusading army of the west. In the environs of the city, on the swampy banks of the lake, was fought, on November 10th, that terrific battle between King Ladislaw VI. and the old Sultan Murad (Amurad) II., which, by the treachery of Prince George of Servia, terminated with the death of the Hungarian King, and the total prostration of the Christian army. Only John Hunyad and his Hungarian light horse succeeded in cutting their passage through the Turkish masses, but all the contested provinces on the Danube were lost, and the formidable Mohammed II. was thus enabled, nine years later, by the conquest of Constantinople, to consolidate the Ottoman empire in Europe, and render it the terror of all Christendom.

570. VII. The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, north of the Danube, and west of the Carpathian Mountains, had, in the fourteenth century, a more extensive frontier than at the present day. Moldavia, embracing the hilly province of Boukowina, on the north, ran all along the western bank of the Dniester, thus inclosing the present Bessarabia and the northern branch of the Danubian Delta. The Pruth, the Berlad, and the Sereth, joining the Moldawa and Bistrizta, descend from the Carpathian valleys, and fertilize the rich plains through which they flow. The Sereth formed the frontier line between Moldavia and Wallachia. The latter principality, which is situated on the Danube and the south-western bend of the Carpathians, receives the Aluta from Transylvania and a great number of smaller rivers, which all discharge into the Danube. The original inhabitants of these magnificent countries were *Daco-Romans*, mixed with *Goths* and other German tribes, who, though subdued by Huns, Avars, Petcheneges, Kumans, and other Tartar tribes, preserved most wonderfully their language and nationality, and, throwing off the yoke of their conquerors, formed an independent state under Radul the Black, toward the close of the thirteenth century. The Wallachian Princes were called *Voivods;* the nobles, *Boyards;* the constitution was Sclavonic; the power of the Prince, despotic; and Prince Dragosh, a monster of iniquity, obtained the appellation of Drakul—the *Butcher*—on account of his unheard-of cruelty and bloodthirstiness. The crimes and disorders they occasioned facilitated the conquest of Wallachia by the Hungarian kings. Yet the wise and generous Stephen, Voivod of Moldavia—1458–1504—maintained his independence, both against the Turks and Magyars, and it was not until the final overthrow of the latter, in the battle of Mohacs (562), in 1526, that the Sultans definitively obtained possession of the two principalities, which they thenceforth governed by *Hospodars*, chosen among the servile Constantinopolitan Princes—the *Phanariots*—who crowded around the throne of their Osmanlis tyrants. The principal cities of Wallachia were: Bukureschт (Bukarest), the capital and residence of the Hospodar, *Tergowischt*, *Rimnik*, on the Aluta, *Krajewo*, and *Saint George* (Gjurgewo) and *Breyla*, on the Danube. In Moldavia, which enjoyed a greater independence under Turkey, was Jaschy—*Jazsky*—(Yassy)—the capital, near the river Pruth. *Chozim*, north on the Dniester, became a strong

[215] It was at Nicopolis that Sultan Bajazet, having ordered the captive princes and knights to pass before him in review, after the battle, was struck with the dark and scowling look of the young Count of *Nevers* (496), the son of the Duke of Burgundy, and, after gazing steadfastly on him, turned to his Pashas and said: "*Here is one whom we must send home, for if he gets back to his own country, he will be the means of causing great troubles there, and keep the Giaours busy among themselves.*" A true prognostication of Sultan Thunderbolt!

border fortress against the Poles, while *Akjerman*, at the mouth of that river, protected the coast lands against the advancing Russians. The slopes of the Carpathian ridge were then highly cultivated by industrious Saxon and Armenian colonists. Picturesque churches and convents arose on every hill, and populous villages, embosomed among vineyards and groves of fruit-trees, embellished the valleys. But the ruthless scimitar of the Turks, the despotic government of the petty Greek Princes, their continual change by the suspicious Sultans, have, for centuries, rendered abortive the exuberant bounties of nature, and the exertions of the good-natured and industrious people of the *Wallachs*.[276]

571. Ecclesiastical Division of Hungary.—With the extension of Christianity in the eleventh century, a new ecclesiastical division of the Hungarian territories became necessary, and thus we find the kingdom of Hungary proper, toward the middle of the thirteenth century—1256—divided into two provinces: I., Provincia Strigoniensis, with the archiepiscopal see at Gran, on the Danube (253), and the Suffragan bishopries of *Agria* (Erlau), *Nitria* (Neitra), *Quinque Ecclesiæ* (Pecs or Fünfkirchen), *Jaurium* (Raab), *Vesprim* and *Vacen* (Waczow or Waitzen), thus embracing all the northern, central, and western comitats, between the Carpathians, the Theiss, the Drave, and the Austrian frontiers,—and II., Provincia Colocensis, with the archiepiscopal see at Colocza, on the Lower Danube, and the suffragan bishopries of *Magnum Varadium* (Bellarad or Great Wardein), *Morisena* (Modrusch or Czanad), on the Lower Maros, *Alba Transylvanicæ* (Karlsburg), and *Agram* (Zagrab), in the Sclavonian province of Croatia, comprising Transylvania, Kumania, the Banat, the Bacs, the country between the Save and Drave, and extending its influence far into Bosnia, where we find the mention of a Latin episcopacy at *Varch Bosna*, on the river of that name. The archbishop of Gran, as the primate of the Church, enjoyed the title of *Cardinalis Legatus Apostolicus*, and immense revenues. The convents were numerous, principally in the northern and western counties, and along the Danube. Several councils were held at Gran, Ofen, Posony, and Udward, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dalmatia was divided into the four small archiepiscopal provinces of Ragusa, Spalatro, Jadera (Zara), and Antibaris (Antivari), on the coast of Albania, with a number of suffragan churches too insignificant to be mentioned here. Servia and Bulgaria, belonging to the Greek church of *Constantinople*, had patriarchal sees at Ipek, on the Drinus, and at Ternowa, while the principalities of Wallachia—*Ungarovlachia*—and Moldavia—*Moldovlachia*—ranged under the *Latin* province of Leopolis (Lemberg), or under the *Greek* patriarchate of Halicz.

572. Such was the extent of the Hungarian Empire during the vigorous reign of Louis the Great; the Magyars advanced rapidly in the career of civilization; the arms of John Hunyad repelled the Ottomans, and his still more successful son, Matthias Corvinus, who, by the vote of the whole nation, had been raised to the throne in 1467, carried Hungary to the height of her power and prosperity. He was, both in peace and war, the most active and enlightened monarch of his age. Turks, Austrians, and Poles were defeated; he maintained his sovereignty over Bohemia, made Vienna his capital, and turned his attention as well to the commercial and industrial development of his empire as to its intellectual progress. By the extension of the university in Buda, and the magnificent library, the largest in Europe, which he there opened for the benefit of the public, he conferred upon his nation its first claims to literary distinction. He brought order into the administration of the realm; his fertile mind created new resources for the prosecution of his vast projects; he enforced the vigorous execution of the tribunals, and repressed with a strong hand the arrogance of the magnates and the intrigues of the hierarchy, by his vigilance and his high sense of justice, supported by the warm affection of the whole Magyar nation. His father had instituted a general conscription of the twentieth man—the *Hussars*—who later formed a standing division of the Hungarian army. Matthias organized a formidable artillery, and the *Black* Legion of Bohemian cuirassiers, which became a match for the janissaries and the most redoubtable body of troops in Europe. Yet all the bright creations of his genius went to ruin, through the incapacity of his successors; and, though Hungary stood one of the most aspiring powers at the close of the middle ages, she was the first state of the modern era that suddenly sank, through civil dissensions and foreign aggression, and presented a warning example of the instability of monarchies, which, however well they may be organized, are dependent on the chance-talent of a single family.

III. SOUTHERN EUROPE, BETWEEN 1300 AND 1492.

X. Kingdom of Portugal and Algarve.

573. Historical Remarks.—No European nation possesses a more brilliant history than the Portuguese during the latter period of the middle ages, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth. From their small devastated territory, between the rivers Minho and Douro, the Portuguese, under a succession of warlike and active kings, intelligent statesmen, and daring navigators, not only drove the Moors from the western shores of the Peninsula so early as A. D. 1250, and beating back the attacks of their proud Castilian neighbors, formed their independent and powerful monarchy; but they soon followed up their victorious career against the Arabs, by the successful invasion of the opposite shores of Africa. To the possession of Ceuta, Tangier, and a number of cities and fortresses on the African continent—*Algarb daquem do mar*—they boldly steered their course through the waves of the unknown Atlantic, and discovering and colonizing the beautiful islands of Madeira, the Azores, Porto Santo, and those of Cape Verd, they doubled the promontory of Good Hope, and, by the conquest of the East Indian coasts and islands, laid the foundation of that astonishing colonial empire which raised Portugal, within half a century, to the highest pitch of wealth, prosperity, and glory,—the wonder and admiration of all Europe.

574. Moorish Possessions in the Western Hispanic Peninsula, A. D. 1139.—While the Almoravid Princes of Spain (334) were still repelling the fanatic Almohad heretics in Morocco, and uniting all their forces against the Castilian and Aragonese kings in the north, they neglected their western provinces on the Douro and Tajo. Count

[276] "I never saw," says John Paget, "two countries of their extent (Wallachia and Moldavia) so rich in productions, so fruitful in resources; the land is of the richest quality; the greater part of it, an alluvial plain, with a climate the most favorable for production. Yet, with all these advantages, I never saw a country so thinly populated, nor a population so excessively poor and miserable! Years of monopoly, oppression, and insecurity, have completed the ruin of the Wallachs."—*Travels in Hungary and Transylvania.* London, 1839, vol. II., page 407.

[277] See for farther details, *the Ecclesiastical Geography*, by Reverend John Elieser Wiltsch, Berlin, 1846, vol. II., page 265, and the accompanying *Atlas Sacer*, a valuable guide for the thorough study of the Church History of the middle ages.

Henry (Henrique) of Portugal (316), had made Guimaraes, near the Douro, his capital, and, crossing that river, had occupied *Coimbra*, *Soure*, and *Miranda*, on the Mondego. His son, the brilliant Alfonso Henriquez—1128–1185—secured the advance of the Portuguese on the Tajo by the conquest of *Ourem*, *Almoural*, and the erection of the strong castles of *Leyria* and *Thomar*, when a revolution of the Spanish Moors in the southern provinces against the Lamtunite or Almoravid Emirs from Africa (334) facilitated the invasions of the Christian knights. The vast extent of territory south of the Tejo (Tagus), which at the present day is divided into the two provinces of Alem-Tejo and Algarve, formed, at the close of the eleventh century, the states of the powerful Beni Alaftas, emirs of Badajoz (334), who likewise ruled over parts of the Spanish Estremadura and Sevilla. The whole region was, on account of its position, called *Algarb*, or the Country towards Evening. On the conquest of the wild Chiefs of Lamtuna (the Almoravids, from Africa), about 1110, this populous and flourishing region was divided into three provinces, governed by African Walis.[278]

575. I. Al Faghar, in the south, bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, the Sierra de Monchique, and the river Guadiana, or the present province, Algarve, with the cities and castles: *Ibn Rasin* (Santa Maria de Faro), *Mirthola* (Mertola), on the Guadiana, *Chelb* (Silves), on the river Silves, in the interior, *Oksonoba* (Estoi), at its mouth, on the seashore, *Tabira* (Tavira), *Hisn-el-Kassr* (Villa Real), on the Guadiana, and *Kenisa-el-Gorab*, on the Cape of Saint Vincent. The northern slope of the ridge of Monchique was called Chenchir, with the celebrated city of *Orik* (Auriquium, Ourique), on the Corbes River, the scene of the great victory of Alfonso Henriquez, in 1139.

576. II. Al Kass'r-Ibn-Abu-Danis, north of the former, embracing the present Alemtejo, with the important cities and fortresses *Al-Kass'r* (Alcacer do Sal), on the east of Setuval, *Kanthara-el-Scyf* (Alcántara), on the Tejo, *Taborah* (Evora), *Marida* (Merida), *Kasseres* (Caceres), *Zalaca* (316), *Curia* (Coria), *Belch* (Yelves, Elvas), *Badsha* (Beja), *Bathalius* (Badajoz, the strong city of the Beni-Alaftars, on the Guadiana), and *Chericha* (Xeres de los Caballeros), south of Badajoz.

577. III. Belatha, north of the Tejo, with the populous and commercial *Ashbuna* (Lixbona, Lisboa, Lissabon), at the mouth of that river, *Kantarim* or *Chantareyn* (Santarem), in an almost impregnable position on the Upper Tagus, and *Zintiras* or *Chintra* (Cintra), in the beautiful Sierra de Cintra, north of Lisbon, all three considered as the bulwarks of the Saracen dominions in Portugal. The border districts, north of the Tejo, remained long a dreary wilderness and the battle-ground between the hostile nations, until they were, later, granted to the Knights' Templars, who, by their indefatigable exertions, soon peopled and cultivated that fertile region, under the protection of their castles of Soure, Leyria, and Thomar. These Moorish provinces had attained a high degree of prosperity by agriculture and commerce, when Count Alfonso Henriquez, at the head of his crusading army, boldly crossing the Tagus, in 1139, under frightful devastations, penetrated into Al-Kass'r, and, by his talents and heroic bravery, on the 25th of July, gained the brilliant battle, on the plains of Ourique, against the countless host of Africans, which secured the development and extension of the Portuguese monarchy. The victorious and enthusiastic army hailed their chief, King—*Rei de Portugal*—on the battle-field, and the national assembly, or *Cortes*, of Lamego, in 1143, not only confirmed the constitution of the new kingdom, but declared nobles—*Fidalgos*—all the warriors who had couched their lances on the field of Ourique.[279] *Santarem* (the Scalabis of the Romans, the sanctuary of Santa Irene), fell, by a nightly surprise, in 1145. Lisbon—*the Buckler of Islam*—had the same fate, in 1147, after an obstinate defence of five months; nor could Alfonso Henriquez have attempted so great an undertaking with the scanty means of Portugal, if he had not been powerfully assisted by a fleet of Flemish and Scandinavian crusaders, who had landed on the coast, while sailing to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land. Another northern crusading army stormed and took the important *Alcaser do Sal*, in 1158; *Beja* (Civitas Pace, Begia) was surprised four years later, and *Evora*, the capital of Alemtejo, in its strong and magnificent position on the mountains, was captured, in 1166, by an ingenious stratagem of the outlawed robber captain, Gerardo Giraldes, called *Sem-Pavor* (the Fearless), who was pardoned, and rewarded by the generous Alfonso with the defence of this important fortress. Thus, on the wings of victory, the Portuguese drove their implacable enemies toward the southern extremities of the Peninsula; King Sancho II. conquered *Moura*, *Serpa*, and *Jurumenha*, on the eastern bank of the Guadiana, in 1229, and, gallantly supported by the knights of the other orders, he successively took *Mertola*, in 1239, and *Ayamonte* and *Tavira*, in Algarve, in 1244; yet the glory of having entirely delivered the soil of Portugal from the Moslem invaders belonged to his brother, Alfonso III., who, in 1249–52, completed the conquest of Algarve, by the surrender of *Faro*, *Silves*, *Loulé*, *Aliacur*, and *Porches*, and maintained successfully his acquisitions on the Guadiana against the pretensions of the Kings of Castile.[280]

[278] See the interesting details in the *Historia de Portugal por Ippolito Herculano.* Lisboa, 1846, Vol. I.

[279] The early Portuguese chronicles are full of wonders, which have taken a strong hold on the imagination of that romantic and superstitious people. Alfonso, they relate, wearied with exertion, fell asleep, and beheld, in a dream, a venerable old man. In the morning, a hermit, like the form he had seen in the night, came to the Christian camp, and entreated the Count to visit him, on the following evening, in his cell. While the Count repaired thither, he beheld a shining figure, which appeared in the east, approached, and eclipsed the splendor of the starry heavens. "I am the Lord Jesus," said the apparition, "thy arms, Alfonso, are blessed. I set thee as a king over thy people. For sixteen generations my favor shall not depart from thy house; and, even further than this it shall descend." Alfonso, inflamed by the power of his imagination, infused his own confidence among his warriors, and rode boldly into the battle. From the death, or flight, of the five Moorish Kings (Emirs), Portugal placed the five azure shields on her escutcheon.

Aqui pinta no branco escudo ufano,
Que agora esta victoria certifica,
Cinco escudos azues esclarecidos,
Em signal destes cinco Reis vencidos.

See the splendid verses of Luis de Camoens, in his *Lusiad*, describing the battle of *Ourique*, Canto III., Estancias 42–54. The hermitage built near the spot was transformed into a church by King Sebastian.

[280] Alfonso X. el Sabio, King of Castile, claimed the sovereignty over Algarve and the border castles of the Guadiana, and required the Portuguese King both to pay a tribute and furnish fifty Portuguese knights—*lanças*—to join the Castilian banner. But, when Alfonso III. of Portugal, had married his daughter Britis (Beatrix), and the young Portuguese Infante Diniz, in 1267, went to his grandfather's court at Sevilla to be dubbed knight, the old Castilian King became so pleased with the talents and amiable qualities of his grandson, that he, in spite of the opposition of the proud Castilian nobility, resigned the full sovereignty of Algarve to his son-in-law, Alfonso III., who, in that year, took the title of King of Portugal and Algarve, and added the seven golden castles of Algarve to the five azure shields of Portugal in the royal escutcheon of that kingdom. See Henry Schäfer's *History of Portugal*, Hamburg, 1836, Vol. I., pp. 215–16, and Durham, Vol. III., page 166.

578. Constitution and Internal Government.—The northern provinces of Portugal had rapidly improved under the fostering care of Dom Sancho I.—*O Poplador*—and, after the expulsion of the Moors, peace and prosperity were extended to the still more fertile, but dreadfully devastated, region of Alemtejo and Algarve, under the active monarchs Dom Alfonso III.—*O Restaurador*—and his great son, Dom Diniz (Dionysius)—*O Juste*—who, by his solicitude for the happiness of his people, earned the noble cognomen of father of his country—*O Pai da Patria.* Diniz opposed with a strong hand the encroachments of the clergy, who, under his predecessors, so often had disturbed the public peace by the arrogant intercessions and excommunications of the Romish popes. His prudent policy had the most beneficent influence on Portuguese manufactures, commerce, agriculture, and navigation. Numberless towns and boroughs were built, and favored with privileges—*foraes*,—which placed their citizens by the side of the feudal nobility and the clergy, as the third estate of the realm. Diniz was indefatigable; he visited himself every district—*comarca*—of the country, and sat as judge in the tribunals. He founded the University of Lisbon, which afterwards was removed to Coimbra. He reopened, in 1290, the long neglected gold mines of Adiça, near Almada; protected the merchants by commercial laws in 1293, and built the first Portuguese fleet in the wharfs of Lisboa, the command of which was given to Manoel Pezagno, and other distinguished Genoese mariners. Splendid cathedrals and monasteries already rose in every part of the young kingdom, and the ancient warlike manners of the Portuguese began to wear off. The *Ricos Homens* formed the first class of the old nobility, the *Infançôes* the next; the third was composed of the *Cavalleiros* and *Escudeiros-Fidalgos*, knights and squires, who all rendered military service as the vassals of the king. Different from these, and not enjoying the rank of nobles, were the *Cavalleiros villâes*—Caballarii Vilani—or mounted and light-armed landholders, while the poorer farmers, peasants, and the mechanics of the cities—*Peões*—formed the infantry. Every borough—*villa*—was fortified or protected by a neighboring tower, and when the wardens—*Atalayas*—gave the signal, "*Mouros na terra: moradores ás armas!*" all the inhabitants, nobles and commoners, hurried from the fields to form their well-organized bands for the protection of their homes; nay, they were obliged to attend the gatherings—*appellidos*—forays—*fossados*—and even more distant expeditions with the king, for every Portuguese was a warrior during the infancy of the kingdom. The large and fortified manors—*Solares*—of the high nobility, and the feudal estates of the knights—*Coutas* and *Honras*—were exempted from all taxes and tributes, and enjoyed, like the vast possessions of the clergy, their own feudal jurisdiction. The king's lands—*paiz da coroa*—were therefore very circumscribed, principally in the northern provinces, which, during the first conquest, had been mostly distributed among the military companions of the Counts of Portugal. The royal governor—*O Alvasir*—resided in the government buildings—*Palacio*—opposite to which stood the city hall—*Concilium* or *Foral*—the centre of the popular assemblies and the court of justice; the officers of the palace were appointed by the king; those of the community and the tribunals were chosen by the commons themselves. From the times of Dom Pedro I. an improved system of administration was introduced; the powers of the royal officers—*Corregidores* and *Ouvidores*—and of the ecclesiastical judges were restricted, while those of the town judges—*Juizes ordenheiros*—and the municipal officials—*Almotaccls*—were enlarged, and a regular police attended to public order and the security of the roads.

579. Immense tracts in the southern provinces belonged likewise to the five military orders of Portugal, the Knights' Templars, their rivals the Knights' Hospitallers, and those of Aviz, Santiago, and the Wing of Saint Michael. The noble-minded Dom Diniz protected the unhappy Templars during the persecution which, in the years 1307–1314, destroyed their order in the other parts of Europe. The Portuguese king, convinced of the innocence of the calumniated knights, reorganized their order, under the name of that of Christ, and restored to them their confiscated estates. They held the castles of *Pombal*, *Ega*, *Redinha*, *Cardiga*, *Thomar*, *Soure*, *Nabâo*, *Idanha-Velha*, *Monsanto*, and *Zezere*, and had splendid order houses in Lisbon, Evora, and Santarem. The Order of Christ, like that of Santiago, elected their own Portuguese grandmaster, and the latter became thus released from their subjection to the order in Spain. The Hospitallers had their seat in *Leça*, near Porto, and possessed many estates and churches in the north. The castle of *Aviz* (Avys), in Alemtejo, was the residence of the order of that name, to whose care the fortresses on the Spanish border were intrusted. The Knights of Aviz obtained great celebrity for their valor; they followed the rule of the Cistercian monks, but were permitted to marry once, and to change their vow of chastity into that of conjugal fidelity. The extravagant concessions and privileges awarded to the nobility, elergy, and military orders caused continual disputes with the crown; yet all the attempts of the kings of the Burgundian dynasty to restrain the turbulence of the feudatories, and to reclaim the squandered estates, proved unsuccessful until Dom Joâo I.,[281] after the battle of *Aljubarrota*, mounted the throne, in 1385, and, strong by the affection of the nation and by his brilliant conquests in Africa, restored the royal dignity. Dom Joâo II., a prince alike prudent and courageous, ordered all who had received grants, whether of possessions or dignities, from his predecessors, to produce the necessary instruments, for the purpose of showing the tenure by which they were held, and wherever the title was defective the claim was at once dismissed. He subjected the feudal to the royal tribunals, and thus transferred his people from the jurisdiction of local tyrants to the magistrates dependent on the crown. This death-blow dealt at the independence of the nobility, caused that order to conspire against the throne, and to enter into treacherous connections with Castile. But the execution of the powerful Duke of Bragança, on the scaffold, at Evora, in 1483, the death of the Duke of Viseu by the hand of Joâo himself, and the exile of the rest, secured the internal tranquillity of Portugal; its aristocracy was broken for ever; the state of the commons rose, and the wealth streaming in from the East Indian commeree inspired the nation with that love of freedom and glory which carried its banner victoriously to its conquests and colonies in the four quarters of the world.

580. Provinces, Cities, and Historical Sites, about A. D. 1450.—A. O Reino de Portugal was divided into five provinces: I. Entre-Douro-e-Minho, with the cities *Guimarâes*, the ancient capital, *Porto* (Oporto) on the Minho, *Viana*, *Braga*, and *Barcellos*. II. Tras-os-Montes, east of the former, with *Bragança*, the principal seat of the dukes of that name. It was within its walls that Dom Pedro, the son of Dom Alfonso IV., in 1325, secretly married the beautiful Ignez de Castro. *Chaves*, on the Tamega, was already

[281] The Illegitimate Burgundian Dynasty of Portugal, 1385–1580. —Dom *Joâo I.*, Grandmaster of Aviz, son of Dom Pedro I. and Theresa Lourenço, King of Portugal, 1385–1433. *Duarte I.*, 1433–1438. *Alfonso V.* 1438–1481. *Joao II.*, 1481–1495. *Manoel the Great*, 1495–1521. *Joâo III.*, 1521–1557. *Sebastian*, 1557–1578. *Henrique*, 1578–1580.

celebrated for its mineral waters. *Miranda do Douro* and *Monforte* were fortresses against Galicia; while *Castello-Rodrigo*, *Pinhel*, and *Almeida*, in the district of Riba do Coa, protected the eastern provinces. III. Beira, extending from the Douro to the Mondego on the west, but reached, on the southeast, to the banks of the Tejo. *Viseu* and *Lamego* were ancient cities; in the latter assembled the Cortes in 1143 and 1181. *Montemor*, on the Mondego, was frequently the residence of the kings. *Coimbra*, upon a magnificent site on that river, became, in 1308, the seat of the only university in Portugal. It was there, in the convent of *Santa Clara*, where, in 1354, the innocent Ignez de Castro, by order of Dom Alfonso IV., was torn from the arms of her children, and fell beneath the daggers of the Marshal Alvaro Gonzales, Pedro Coelho, and other nobles, during the absence of her husband, Dom Pedro, who afterwards, as King of Portugal, inflicted the most horrible punishment on the murderers, which they had so well deserved.[282]

581. IV. Estremadura, extending along the sea coast from the Mondego, in the north, southward to the bay of *Odemira*, on the borders of Algarve. This was the most important and populous province of the realm. Lisboa had a Mohammedan population long after the conquest of Alfonso Henriquez, in 1147. In its delightful position at the mouth of the Tejo, it became the centre of Portuguese industry and commerce, and the permanent residence of the Court in the reign of King Fernando, *o Gentil*. In the royal palace Dom João, the grand-master of Aviz, stabbed the Count of Ourem, the unworthy favorite of Queen Leonor, in 1383, and opened his path to the throne. Historically important places in the environs of Lisbon were *Santarem*, on the Upper Tejo, an earlier residence of the Kings, *Almada*, opposite to Lisbon, *Torres Vedras* and *Torres Novas*, strong castles on the *Serra Estrelha*, protecting Lisbon and the valley of the Tejo, on the north. *Restello* (afterwards Bethlehem or Belem), at the mouth of that river, with a magnificent cathedral of our *Saviour*, whence Vasco de Gama departed, July 8th, 1597, to discover the sea passage to the East Indies.[283] *Alenquer*, *Ociras*, *Cintra*, and *Mafra*, were celebrated for their splendid monasteries, palaces, and the romantic scenery of Serra da Cintra. *Leyria*, on the Lis, one of the oldest and strongest, cities in Portugal, around whose walls the Moorish wars had raged for centuries. At the hamlet of *Aljubarrote*, southwest of Leyria, was fought the important battle, on July 29th, 1385, in which 2,500 Portuguese heroes, led on by Dom João, the grand-master of Aviz and the constable Nunho Alvares Pereira totally routed and defeated King Juan II. and his 30,000 Castilians. In commemoration of the battle, the most glorious in the annals of Portugal, João I. built the Dominican convent of *Batalha*, a noble Normano-Gothic pile, as a burial place for himself and his successors. At another splendid monastery, the Cistercian abbey of *Alcobaça*, west of Batalha, were the tombs of the princes of the earlier Burgundian dynasty. There, in the subterranean sepulchral vault, stood the sarcophagus of Dom Pedro I. and his fair and fond Ignez de Castro, who could not even find repose in the grave.[284]

Alverca, on the rivulet *Alfarrobeira*, near Lisbon, was the scene of the disgraceful battle, May 20th, 1449, in which the faithful bands of the Infante Dom Pedro, the victim of slander and envy, were attacked by King Alfonso V., and the innocent infante routed and slain with all his knights. South of the Tejo lay *Setuval*, on the coast, already a commercial town, and *Sinis*, the birthplace of Vasco de Gama. V. Entre Tejo-e-Guadiana, or *Alem-Tejo*, between Estremadura and the Spanish frontiers, was on the north, bounded by the Tejo, and south by the high ridge of Monchique, which separated it from Algarve. The principal cities were the above-mentioned *Alcacer do Sal*, *Evora*, *Beja*, *Ourique*, and *Crato*, of melancholy memory from the civil war of 1440. Important border castles were, *Albuquerque*, *Alegrete*, *Yelves*, and on the east of the Guadiana, *Olivenza*, *Mello*, *Maurão* and *Serpa*, often bravely defended by the Portuguese.

582. B, O Reino do Algarve comprised not only the southern province of that name, but the entire conquered territory in Africa, beyond the strait of Gibraltar, and was, therefore, divided into I., Algarve d'alem mar, or *this side of the Sea*, and II., Algarve aquem mar, or *beyond the Sea*. In the former lay the cities *Lagos*, *Silves*, *Tavira*, *Faro*, and *Loulé*, the last possessions of the Moors in Portugal. *Alcoutim*, *Castro-Marim*, and *Villa-Real*, were border castles on the Guadiana, which there formed the frontier line toward Andalusia, in Spain. *Sagres*, on Cape Saint Vincent (the ancient *Promontorium Sacrum*), became the residence of the Infante Dom Henrique—*O Navegador*—where, in full view of the boundless Atlantic, that learned and enterprising prince built his villa, *Terça-Nabal* (or Tercena-Naval, afterwards called *Villa do Infante*), and directed all the maritime expeditions of the Portuguese for the exploration of the coast of Africa, and the colonization of the western islands of *Porto Santo*, *Madeira* and the *Azores*, which, by his exertions were then discovered in the ocean. Algarve, in its sunny position, between the *Serra de Monchique* and the sea, was the most fertile and beautiful province of the realm; its climate and productions were African; its ports crowded with ships, and its cities with nobles and youthful warriors, who there mustered and prepared for the crusading expeditions to the African coast. The inhabitants were long a mixture of Christians, Moors, and Jews, living peaceably together, until the ruthless hand of the inquisition, in the sixteenth century, transformed that happy region into a wilderness. *Algarve beyond the Sea* extended from the cape of *Ceuta* (the ancient Abyla), on the east, westward to that of *Espartel*, and ran along the shores of the Atlantic for the distance of twenty-five Spanish leagues, or one degree of longitude, to the large Moorish city, *Alcazar-al-Kebir*, which, however, remained in the possession of the Moors. In the interior, the Portuguese territory crossed the western ridge of *Djebal Habat* (Atlas Minor), embracing the Moorish provinces of *Habat* and *Azgar*, with the cities and castles of *Ceuta*, *Almina*, *Alcazar-es-Seghir*, *Tangier*, and *Arzilla*.[285]

[282] The charming banks of the Mondego were for years the scene of the domestic happiness of Ignez and Dom Pedro, who, in this quiet retreat, far away from the turmoil and intrigues of the court, lived only for their affection and their children, so beautifully described in those noble verses of Camoens, which we cannot omit here to recall to the memory of the reader:

> "Estavas, linda Ignez, posta em socego,
> De teus annos colhendo doce fruto;
> Naquelle engano da alma, ledo, e cego,
> Que a fortuna, nao deixa durar muto," &c.
>
> —Lusiadas, Can. iv.

[283] "Partimo-nos assi do sancto Templo
Que nas praias do mar está assentado
Que o nome tem a terra, para exemplo
Donde Deos foi em carne ao mundo dado."

—Lusiadas, Can. iv., 87.

[284] The marauding French soldiery, which, in 1811, burned the convent, dragged her body from its resting-place, and so skilfully had it been embalmed, that the beautiful face of the Queen, to the astonishment of the robbers, was still in perfect preservation; nay, her hair had even grown remarkably since her interment.

[285] In the mediæval maps of Kruse and Anzart too great an extension has been given to the Portuguese conquests in Africa toward the close of the fifteenth century. They never possessed *Tetuan* and *Terga*, east of Ceuta, and it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth cen-

583. The African conquests of the Portuguese began in 1415 (the year of the battle of Agincourt), with the surprise and capture of Ceuta, and they terminated, after a long period of heroism and glory, with the death of King Sebastian, and the total defeat of his Portuguese army, on the battle field of Alcazar-el-Kebir, in 1578. *Ceuta* (123, 214), on its low, sandy promontory, was, at the time of the conquest, a well built, populous, and wealthy city, under the sway of the Emir Zalá Ben Zalá, a tributary of the King of Morocco. It was the great emporium of Mauritanian commerce, with splendid bazaars and manufactures of iron, silk, and leather, in active communication not only with the Moors of Granada, but with the Italian ports and the Mamluke Sultans of Egypt. In the possession of the Portuguese, it became the stronghold and great military depôt of their armies during the following centuries, and its garrison repelled gallantly all the attacks of the Kings of Morocco and Fez. Before *Tangier* (65, 123) the Portuguese suffered the melancholy defeat of 1438, in which the pious Infante Dom Ferdinando—*O Principe Constante*—was surrendered as hostage to the Moors for the restitution of Ceuta. This city, however, was not restored, and the prince died in captivity. *Alcazar-es-Seghir* fell in 1460, and when Dom Alfonso V.,—*O Africano*—in 1471, after the bloody conquest of Arzilla and Tangier, occupied the whole northern territory, he took the proud title of *Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves daquem e d'alem mar en Africa.*

584. Nobility.—The most powerful feudatories in Portugal were the Dukes of Bragança and Coimbra; the former family possessed the greater part of the northern provinces, with Bragança Viseu, Villa-Viçosa in Alemtejo, Odemira in Estremadura, and Taro in Algarve; fifty cities and castles, with their territories, forests and pastures, obeyed the proud dukes, who rode to war at the head of 3000 lances and 10,000 archers.[286] Other influential families north of the Tejo were the *Menezes* of Viana, Barcellos, Tarouca, and Villa-Real on the Douro, the county of Ericeira in Estremadura, and Loulé in Algarve; the *Castros* from Castile, brothers of Ignez de Castro, who held large possessions in Tras-os-Montes, the counties of Monsanto, Arayolos, and Cascaes, on the promontory, near Lisbon; the *Pereiras* on the Minho and in Alemtejo; the *Silvas*, *Coutinhos*, *Sousas*, *Acunhas*, *Mellos*, *Noronhos*, *Ataydes*, *Vasconcellos*, *Almaydas*, *Azevedos*, and others, mostly situated north of the Tejo.

585. The Ecclesiastical Division of Portugal.—I. Provincia Olysiponensis, with the Archiepiscopal See in Lisbon, erected in 1390 or 1409, and the suffragans of *Guarda* and *Portalegre*. To the Patriarchate of Lisbon belonged *Leyria* and *Lamego*, *Ceuta* in Africa, *Angra* of Terceira, and *Funchal* of Madeira.

II. Provincia Braccharensis, with the See in Bracara (Braga), and the suffragans of *Porto Miranda*, *Viseu*, and *Coimbra*, and III. Provincia Eborensis, with the See in Evora, and the suffragan bishoprics of *Elvas* and *Faro* (the earlier ones of Beja, Lagos, and Silves having been suppressed).

586. Portuguese Discoveries and Colonies in the Atlantic.—The brilliant career of the Portuguese in navigation and commerce began with the accidental discovery of Porto Santo, in 1418, by the Cavaliers Gonsalez Zarco, and Tristão Vaz Texeira, whom a storm had driven off the African coast. *Madeira* was colonized in 1420 by Perestrello, who built *Funchal*, and the extraordinary fertility of that beautiful island, where Don Henrique cultivated the sugar-cane from Sicily and the vine from Cyprus, encouraged the Prince to new undertakings. While the Spaniards occupied the Canaries, the Portuguese held the *Cape Verde Islands*, in 1446, and the *Açores* in 1451. They settled on the coast of *Guinea* in 1463, ten years later in *Congo*, and the bold Bartholomeo Dias discovered the southern promontory, *Cabo Tormentoso*, for which name Dom João II., full of hope, substituted that of *Boa Esperança*. Yet it was not until 1497, after the discovery of the Western Continent by Columbus, that the great Vasco de Gama boldly steered his course through the Indian Ocean to the shores of *Malabar*, and thus opened the path for that Portuguese heroism and glory in the East which form one of the most astonishing pages in Modern History.

XI.—Kingdom of Castile and Leon.

587. Conquests from the Moors and Internal Relations.—The long period of Spanish history from A. D. 1200 to 1479, embraces the almost incessant wars on the Peninsula, between the Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms, or the civil feuds within these states themselves. The supremacy of the Christian arms was decided in 1212, in the plains of *Tolosa;* there the Almohad dynasty was defeated and lost its fairest provinces. Castile and Leon, having become united for the last time under the sceptre of Don Fernando III., *El Santo*, in 1230 (316), rose in power and extent. One conquest followed another. *Ubeda* fell in 1234; the populous *Cordova*, with its glittering mosques and Saracen magnificence, in 1236; *Murcia* bowed to the Christian sway in 1243, and the warlike Aragonese princes were thus cut off from farther extension on the Peninsula. *Arjona*, *Jaen*, *Carmona*, and the important *Sevilla*, opened their gates to the sainted Fernando, whose son, Alfonso X., *El Sabio*, reduced *Huelva*, *Xéres de la Frontera*, *Cadiz*, *Medina-Sidonia*, and *Niebla* at the mouth of the Guadalquiver. This was the last possession of the Almohad princes; they fled to Africa in 1256, and the greater part of Andalusia became incorporated in the Castilian Kingdom. Only *Granada*, protected by its natural position, and strengthened by the myriads of fleeing Saracens, who from every conquered province sought refuge within its mountains, still withstood the shock and maintained its independence, under the energetic and enlightened government of the *Alhamarid* dynasty for more than two centuries, until its final overthrow in 1492.

Alfonso X. did not prosecute the war; he turned his attention to the internal affairs of the realm. Spain was still *far behind* the other European countries in civilization; her institutions developed themselves but slowly under the clash of arms; nay, they were even stopped by the fierce civil dissensions which at that period broke out between the kings and their proud nobility, who, being in part allied to the royal family, continued to increase in influence and pretensions. These disturbances were principally produced by the Princes of *La Cerda*, who being excluded from the throne, found support in Aragon and among the nobles of the north, and returned sword in hand. Yet still more desolating was the civil war between Don Pedro *El Cruel* and his brother Don Henrique of Trastamara, about the middle of the four-

tury that they occupied *Anafa*, *Azamor*, *Mazayan*, *Asafi*, *Azadir*, and some other straggling cities on the southern coast, which, therefore, belong to the maps of modern Historical Geography.

[286] The ancestor of this distinguished family was Alfonso, the son of Dom João I. and Doña Ignez Pires, who having been declared legitimate in 1401, obtained the Duchy of Bragança, and the highest rank among the Portuguese nobles. After the most astonishing vicissitudes, the Dukes of Bragança mounted the throne of Portugal in 1640, and the late queen, Doña Maria da Gloria, was a direct descendant of that dynasty.

teenth century, because it brought armies of French and English adventurers into the heart of Castile. Nor did brighter days begin to dawn on the accession of the Trastamara dynasty in 1368. The royal authority was undermined by the frequent regencies during the minority of the Kings, and by the pernicious influence of worthless favorites, when they at last came of age.[287] The reigns of Juan II. and Henrique IV. were turbulent, and it was only the auspicious union of Fernando and Isabella, in 1469, which saved Castile from anarchy, and restored the Spanish monarchy.[288]

588. Division of Provinces; Court, and Government.—The kingdoms of Castile and Leon were, according to the decree of the Cortes held at Alcalá de Henáres in 1349, divided into—I. The Kingdom of Leon, with *Galicia* and the capital cities of *Leon*, *Toro*, *Zamora*, and *Salamanca*. The western Sierra de Guadarrama and the river Pisuerga formed the border line. II. The Kingdom of Castile—*Castilla la Vieja*—with the principality of the *Asturias*, the duchies of *Viscaya*, *Guipuscoa*, *Alava*, and the province of *Rioja*, on the Ebro, running along the Tajo and the Sierra de Guadarrama, and embracing *Siguenza* and the county of *Medina de la Cerda*, on the frontiers of Aragon. The principal cities were *Burgos*, *Soria*, *Segovia*, *Avila*, and *Valladolid*. III. The Kingdom of Toledo—afterwards *Casilla Nueva*—extending south of the Tajo to the Sierra Morena, and embracing the southern part of *Estremadura*, *La Mancha*, and the county of *Molina*, on the frontiers of Aragon, with the capitals, *Toledo*, *Madrid*, *Guadalajara*, *Alcalá de Henáres*, *Cuenza*, *Badajoz*, and *Merida*. IV. The Kingdom of Andalusia—*Andalucia*—south of the Sierra Morena, extending to the Straits of Gibraltar and the Sierra de Granada, comprised the kingdoms of *Sevilla*, *Cordova*, *Jaen*, and *Murcia*, with the duchies of *Medina Sidonia* and *Arjona*, the counties of *Niebla*, *Osuna*, *Bacna* and *Arcos*, and the marquisates of *Cadiz* and *Ayamonte*.

589. Burgos and Toledo were the usual residences of the Castilian Kings so long as Leon formed a separate state. After the final consolidation of the two kingdoms, the capital of the monarchy was Sevilla; though *Toledo*, *Madrid*, *Valladolid*, and other places, were frequently honored by the abode of royalty. The Castilian Court—*curia* or *cohorte*—preserved long the simplicity of Visigoth manners. Its chief officer was still the *major domus* (118); the *armiger*, or shield-bearer, held the next rank; then followed the *œconomicus*, or steward, the *capellani*, or chaplains; the *notarii*, or secretaries, the *cubicularii*, or chamberlains, and the *cellarii*, or victuallers. The courtiers were the *comites*—condes—to whom the government of the provinces was assigned. Within their respective jurisdictions the counts were termed *ilustrissimos*; they held courts like their liege lord, the king; they appointed magistrates in the subordinate towns, and in war they commanded the troops, raised in their province. After the conquest of Andalusia, the governors of the provinces were termed *adelantados*, while those of the cities were known as *alcaldes*, those of the fortresses as *castellanos*, and those of the boroughs as *villicos*. The *alferez mayor* bore the high sword of justice, and led on the troops during the absence of the King. Don Juan I. created the *condestabile*, or constable, as general in chief of the army, while the *almirantes*, or admirals, having their residence in Sevilla, held the command of the fleet and the naval establishments. The great body of the nobles was divided into two classes: to the first belonged the *ricos hombres*, or *proceres*, who held seignorial jurisdictions or high offices, and from the time of Don Juan II., were called *grandes*, or grandees of Castile,—and the *condes*, or counts, likewise great feudatories of the crown, who exercised a local jurisdiction. During the fourteenth century, the honorary titles of marquis and duke were introduced, such as the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Duke of Infantado. The second class consisted of the *caballeros*, or knights, military vassals of noble birth, who served on horseback, while the minor proprietors—*pecheros*—were not considered as nobles, and formed the mass of the infantry, like the *cavalleiros villãos* in Portugal (578). The warfare with the Moors required light-armed troops, and we find them in the Spanish *ginetes*, or light-horse, who rode in short stirrups in the Saracen manner, and the *almugavares*, or border wardens (258), an efficient light infantry, fighting with spear, cutlass, and mace, in the incessant forays—*almugaverias*—on the Moorish frontiers. The commanders and guides of these troops, called *almocadenes* and *adalides*, enjoyed distinction on account of their important service; they were always officers of trust, as the safety of the Castilian army depended on their vigilance and integrity.

590. National Diets and Distinguished Families.—In the national assemblies—*cortes*—the third estate, or the commons, formed a constituent part, as early as 1169. They exercised an important influence; their assent was indispensable to taxation, and they had a controlling power over the expenditure. At the convocation of the states at Burgos, in 1188, deputies were present from the following forty-three places:—*Toledo*, *Cuenza*, *Huete*, *Guadalajara*, *Coca*, *Cuellar*, *Portillo*, *Pedraza*, *Hita*, *Salamanca*, *Uzeda*, *Buitrago*, *Madrid*, *Escalona*, *Maqueda*, *Talavera*, *Plasencia*, *Trujillo*, *Avila*, *Segovia*, *Arevalo*, *Sahagun*, *Cea*, *Fuente-Dueña*, *Sepulveda*, *Ayllon*, *Maderuelo*, *San Estevan*, *Osma*, *Corcena*, *Atienza*, *Siguenza*, *Medina del Campo*, *Olmedo*, *Palencia*, *Logroño*, *Calahorra*, *Arnedo*, *Tordesillas*, *Simancas*, *Torrelobaton*, *Montalegre*, *Fuente-Segura*, *Medinaceli*, *Berlanga*, *Almazan*, *Soria*, and *Valladolid*—some of which were simple boroughs or villages, while several towns, and even large cities, were omitted. During the disorders of the civil wars, in 1315, one hundred cities associated in a Holy Brotherhood—*Santa Hermandad*—for mutual protection. They increased in strength and wealth; their privileges—*fueros*—were enlarged by Don Henrique of Trastamara, and they attained the height of municipal liberty and glory toward the close of the fourteenth century. But Castile had no *general* and definitive constitution; no *regularity* in the representation of the cities, which, moreover, like the republics of Italy, were distracted by rivalry and petty contentions. Their influence soon began to decline. In the cortes of *Ocaña*, held in 1422, *twelve* cities only were represented, and later, the privilege of being summoned to send deputies to the cortes was confined to the following eighteen towns: *Burgos*, *Toledo*, *Leon*, *Sevilla*, *Cordova*, *Murcia*, *Jaen*, *Zamora*, *Segovia*, *Avila*, *Salamanca*, *Cuenza*, *Toro*, *Valladolid*, *Soria*, *Madrid*, *Guadalajara*, and *Granada*.[289]

[287] From A. D. 1158 to 1406, six regencies held the reins of government, which mainly contributed to strengthen the influence of the leading families; the nobility obtained dangerous privileges; not only the exemption from all taxes and contributions, but the nobles arrogated to themselves the right of renouncing their allegiance to the King—*des naturalizarse*—and of calling another to the throne. The insecurity of the open country, continually exposed to the incursions of the Arabs, forced the cultivators to place themselves under the protection of the barons, and thus arose the *Behetrias* or townships under patronage, which suffered severely from the encroachments of their patrons until this institution was abolished in 1454.

[288] See the interesting introduction to Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella.*

[289] See the dissertation on the mediæval laws and institutions of the Spanish states, and the history of the progress and decline of the Cas-

The most influential families during this period were the *Castros*, in Galicia; the *Haros*, powerful and turbulent feudatories, in Viscaya; the *Zuñigas*, *Osorios*, *Almanzas*, and *Pimenteles*, in Leon; the *Enriqueces*, *Toledos*, *Pachecos de Acuña*, *Velascos*, *Mendozas*, and principally the *Laras*, in Old Castile; the *Albuquerques de la Cueva*, *Portocarreros*, and *Silvas*, in New Castile; the valiant *Guzmanes*, (later Dukes of Medina-Sidonia), and their rivals, the *Ponces de Leon*, in the kingdom of Sevilla; the *Aquilares*, in Cordova; and the *Fajardos* in Murcia. Of these the Laras, possessing the whole territory between the Asturian mountains and the Sierra de Oca, near Burgos, were frequently in arms against their sovereign, while the Castros sought every opportunity to renounce their allegiance, and unite their arms with the Moorish Kings of Granada.

591. Cities and Historical Sites.—In Andalusia: Cordova, the capital of the Caliphs, the terror and admiration of Europe from 755 to 1234, when it was conquered by Don Fernando the Saint, and its 300,000 inhabitants dispersed. Its splendid libraries, bazaars, and mosques were destroyed by the crusading Christians, and of all the Asiatic grandeur of that civilized empire, there was only left the great mosque of Abderraman, the masterwork of Saracenic architecture. Yet even this incomparable monument was partly defaced by its transformation into a Christian cathedral, when hundreds of its elegant columns were broken down, in order to give place to some chapels of saints. Cordova was then also celebrated for its manufactures of *cordoban*, or cordwain leather, which, since the expulsion of the Arabs, has constituted one of their principal export articles from Morocco. Sevilla (*Hispalis*, Arabic, Ishbilîâ), in its fertile plain on the banks of the Guadalquivir, was then a magnificent capital, adorned with all the charms of nature, and the embellishments of Saracenic architecture, and became later the frequent residence of the Castilian Kings. In its Moorish palace—*alcazar*—took place, in 1358, the awful assassination of Don Fadrique, the grand master of Calatrava, by order of his unnatural brother, Don Pedro the Cruel, of Castile. In *Xeres de la Frontera*, on the Guadalete, the tyrant imprisoned his lovely and innocent queen, Blanche of Bourbon; and, abandoned there to the brutal governor, Juan Perez de Robledo, the unhappy princess perished by poison or steel in 1361;—one of the most horrible events in Spanish history! *Salvatierra*, *Xeres de Badajoz*, and *Aracena* were important fortresses on the western frontiers, towards the Guadiana. *Palos*, a small port in the principality of Niebla, became celebrated as the point of departure of Christopher Columbus, August 3d, 1492, for the discovery of the New World. At *Alacab*, on the plains north of Tolosa—*las navas de Tolosa*—on the southern slope of the Sierra Morena, was fought the most sanguinary battle of mediæval Spain, July 16th, 1212, in which Mohammed Abn Abdallah, of Morocco, was defeated by Alfonso IX. of Castile, and Pedro II. of Aragon, with the slaughter of 160,000 Arabs, who perished on the battle-field. Yet the final conquest of Western Andalusia was not secured until 1340, when Alfonso XI. of Castile, and Alfonso IV. of Portugal, with their united armies, vanquished the King of Granada, and his myriads of African auxiliaries, on the river *Salado* (Wady-Celito), west of Tarifa, and after the important conquest of Algeziras, in 1342, confined the Mohammedans within the narrow boundaries of the kingdom of Granada. *Algeziras* (Al-Dshesira, that is, the Island), situated on a hill, in a strong and advantageous position, on the coast of the Strait, was then one of the most important cities of the Moors; but it suffered terribly during its prolonged siege, and the plough passed over its splendid streets.[290] *Tarifa*, on the southernmost cape of Spain, and the still stronger *Djebal-Tarik* (Gibraltar) became celebrated by the heroical defence of the Guzmans.

592. In the two Castiles, *Palencia* was the earliest seat of learning; its university, established by Fernando *el Santo*, in 1239, was, in 1404, removed to Salamanca. *Valladolid*, the frequent residence of the Castilian Kings, received another university, richly endowed by Alfonso XI., in 1346. *Dueñas*, on the Pisuerga, south of Palencia, was the usual residence of Queen Isabella, who was born at *Madrigal*, April 22d, 1451. Burgos, the gloomy old capital of the Counts of Castile (256), became, in 1361, the scene of the revolting cruelties of Don Pedro I., and of the execution of the ambitious Alvaro de Luna, in 1453. On the plain between *Najera* and *Navarrete*, in the Rioja, near the Ebro, was fought the bloody battle between the hostile brothers, in which Don Enrique de Trastamara and his French cavaliers were routed by the superior tactics of the Black Prince, and the impetuous valor of Don Pedro the Cruel, on the 3d of April, 1366. The whole Castilian army was cut to pieces, Bertrand du Guesclin and his Frenchmen were made prisoners, and Don Pedro returned triumphantly at the head of his English auxiliaries. But his atrocious cruelties soon prepared his fall. At *Montiel*, a strong fortress on the northern slope of Sierra Morena, overlooking the dreary plains of La Mancha, the great contest between the brothers was decided, in 1368. So astonishing was the course of events, that the fate of the Castilian kingdom was here intrusted to Moorish and French auxiliaries. Don Pedro, with his 36,000 Arabs, was defeated by Enrique de Trastamara and his 600 French lances. The tyrant fled to the fortress of Montiel, but, attempting secretly to escape during night, he was taken prisoner, and fell beneath the dagger of his brother, in the tent of Bertrand de Guesclin. This fratricide raised the Trastamara dynasty on the Castilian throne. *Toro*, *Tordesillas*, and *Zamora*, on the Duero, *Ataquines*, *Baltañas*, *Olmedo*, *Los Toros de Guisando*, *Algorrabilas*, on the Tajo, and *Albuera* and *Valverde*, on the Guadiana, were all places of historical interest during the intestine troubles of the fifteenth century, and the early reign of Fernando and Isabella.

593. The Ecclesiastical Division of Leon and Castile.—The Castilian Church was divided into five provinces, which pertained to the Archbishop of Toledo, as the Primate of Spain.[291] I. Provincia Toletana, extending from the northern shores of the Biscay Sea, south, through the centre of Spain, to the Mediterranean. The see of the primate was

tilian cities, in Dunham's History of Spain and Portugal, Vol. IV., pages 48–152, of the New-York edition.

[290] At the siege of *Algeziras*, the Arabs from Morocco employed gunpowder and cannon, which their historians call *naphta* and *thunder tubes*, and they describe with exaggeration the effect of the balls. The earliest appearance of artillery in Europe was at the siege of Alicante, in 1331, where, according to the Aragonian chronicler, Zurita, the Saracens terrified the Christian garrison of the city by the *pelotas de hierro que se lanzaban con fuego*. *Annales de la corona de Aragon*—Lib. VII., cap. 15. Edward III. brought up four small cannon at the battle of Crecy, in 1346, which spread fright and disorder among the French cavalry.

[291] The primateship of the see of Toledo over all the provinces of the Spanish Peninsula was confirmed by the Pope Honorius III. in his three celebrated letters, from 1216–1227, though the Bishop of Bracara; in Portugal, those of Compostela and Burgos, and, later, that of Sevilla, obstinately refused to recognize the supremacy, and caused great troubles in the church. Yet, at the Council of Peñafiel, in 1302, the Toletan Archbishop for the first time appears as the *Primas Hispaniarum ac Regni Castellæ Cancellarius*, a dignity which was confirmed in the later councils of 1324, 1355, and 1478. See *Wiltsch*, Vol. II., page 185.

in ancient Toledo, on the Tajo, and the suffragan bishoprics were: *Cordova*, *Jaen*, *Murcia*, *Concha* (Cuenza), *Segovia*, *Siguenza* (Segontia), *Osma* (Oxsima), *Valladolid* (Valle Oletum), *Leon*, and *Oviedo*. II. Provincia Compostellana, embracing Galicia and Estremadura, on the frontiers of Portugal, had its patriarchial see in Sancti Jacobi de Compostella (255, 377), and the suffragans *Mondonedo*, *Lugo*, *Tuy*, *Orense*, *Astorga*, *Zamora*, *Salamanca*, *Ciudad Rodrigo*, *Avila*, *Placencia*, *Coria*, *Badajoz*, and *Idanha-Velha*, in the kingdom of Portugal. III. Provincia Burgensis, comprised the ancient county of Burgos (256), the Asturian coastlands, the Vascongadas, and the Kingdom of Navarra. Burgos, on a branch of the Pisuerga, was the metropolitan see, under which ranged the suffragans of *Palencia*, *Sancti Andreæ* (Santander), *Calahorra* for Biscaya and Rioja, and *Pampiluna* for Navarra. IV. Provincia Sevillana was established by Fernando el Santo, after his brilliant conquest of Andalucia. Sevilla was already an archiepiscopal see, in 1267, and received, later, the bishoprics of *Cadiz*, *Algeziras*, and *Malaga;* and, lastly, V. Provincia Granadensis, erected by Fernando and Isabella, in 1492, after the final expulsion of the Moors, with *Illiberi* (Granada) for its see, and the annexed bishoprics of *Guadix* and *Almeria*.

XII. Kingdom of Aragon.

594. Conquests and Other Acquisitions.—Aragon and Catalonia had, by their union in 1150, become a powerful kingdom (318), which, though of narrow limits, when compared with Castile, distinguished itself among all the contemporaneous states of Europe by its well-balanced constitution, by the energy and prudent moderation of its kings, and the dauntless bravery and commercial activity of its citizens, who vied with the maritime republics of Italy in the traffic and navigation of the Mediterranean. The crown of Aragon had obtained the counties of *Roussillon* and *Pallars* (479), in 1172, and Don Jayme I. conquered the *Balearic* islands and the kingdom of *Valencia*, from the Moors, in 1229–45. Yet the feudal possessions of Aragon in France (318) became alienated during this period of constant warfare against the Mohammedans in the south, and Jayme renounced, in the treaty of *Corbeil*, in 1258, his pretensions to Razez, Carcassonne, and some smaller territories north of the Pyrenees, in lieu of the entire independence of the Catalonian provinces from the feudal supremacy of France (184, 229). *Roussillon*, *Omelas*, *Carlat*, and *Montpellier*, remained, however, still attached to Aragon.[292] The political relations to Castile rendered it likewise necessary, in the treaty of *Campillo*, 1305, to cede to that power the conquests of Northern Murcia, Alicante, Orihuela, and Elche; yet Aragon had already been brilliantly indemnified by the acquisition of the kingdom of *Sicily*, in 1282 (423), the conquest of the isles of *Gerbes* and *Karchis*, on the eastern coast of Tunis, and the still more important islands of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, which, after many hard-fought naval battles, were wrested from the republics of Pisa and Genoa, in the course of the fourteenth century. Even the duchy of *Athens*, in Greece, became, in 1311, an appanage of the House of Aragon, whose kings thenceforth retained the title of Dukes of Athens and Neopatras.[293] To this long series of conquests was added that of the kingdom of *Naples*, by Don Alonso V., in 1442, and, last of all, the union with *Castile*, in 1479.

595. Constitution and Government.—The political institutions of Aragon, though bearing a general resemblance to those of the other states in the Spanish Peninsula, differed, however, in many essential points, having developed themselves under peculiar circumstances, which gave them an original character. In the Asturian mountains of Leon and Oviedo, the Christians had never entirely lost their independence (255, 256), and the ancient Visigothic constitution remained there, as well as later in Castile, the basis for the internal organization of the slowly extending Christian kingdoms; while, on the contrary, in the eastern regions of the Pyrenees, the last remnant of the Visigothic sway had disappeared during the invasion of the Arabs across those mountains into the heart of France, and a new order of things had later begun with the Frankish dominion of Charlemagne (184, 229). The mountaineers of Aragon and Catalonia, on throwing off their allegiance to the sinking Carlovingian empire, found themselves attacked by the powerful Mohammedan dynasties of Zaragoza and Valencia, and it was only by the most faithful union of the nobility and commons, and the most austere observance of feudal allegiance, that those small and weak states, under able and liberal princes could reconquer their territories, and, by incessant warfare, build up the Aragonian empire, which, among all the states of the middle ages, was the only one realizing the idea of a well organized realm.[294] The royal power was, in all important matters of administration and politics, circumscribed by the *Cortes* of the realm, in their four chambers—*brazos*—consisting of the clergy, the high nobility—*los ricos hombres*—the knights—*los infanzones* and *caballeros*—and the cities and communes—*las universidades*. Catalonia and Valencia had government and laws distinct from Aragon, and their Cortes consisted only of three estates—prelates, nobles, and commons,—all no less tenacious of their privileges than those of Aragon. The cities, fortified in strong positions, and defended by an industrious and warlike population, rose earlier to independence and municipal government than in Germany or France, on account of their importance as bulwarks against the Arabs. Their extensive immunities were more clearly defined and better protected than in Castile, and they enjoyed a higher consideration from their kings.[295] The number of deputies sent to the Cortes from the cities is not exactly known: Zaragoza, the capital, was sometimes represented by fifteen members, and the Cortes assembled at *Lerida*, in 1214, were attended by ten deputies from every principal city and borough in the realm, such as *Huesca*, *Jaca*, *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, *Tarrazona*, on the Castilian frontiers, and others.

[292] See the adjoined Map, No. 5, *Europe during the Crusades*, and for details, Sismondi's *History of the French*, Bruxelles edition, 1836, Vol. V., page 235.

[293] The army of Catalan and Aragonese adventurers in the Levant having defeated and slain Walter de Brienne, the Duke of Athens, in the battle on the Cephissus, in Bœotia (355), occupied the country, and offered their allegiance to their native sovereign, the King of Aragon. Athens remained for nearly a century—1311–1386—under the dominion of Aragonese princes or their bailiffs. See the eloquent and interesting work, *Espedicion de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Griegos y Turcos*, por Don Juan de Moncada, Barcelona, 1620, cap. LXX.

[294] See the full exposition of this interesting subject in the *History of Aragon during the Middle Ages*, by Dr. Ernst A. Smith, Leipzig, 1828, pages 379–453. The sources for the constitutional history of Aragon flow more abundantly than those of Castile or Portugal. Smith numbers more than sixty original works on Aragon during this period.

[295] Alonso IV. having granted estates to foreign cavaliers after his marriage with Eleanor of Castile, and otherwise infringed the privileges of the estates, the citizens of Valencia rose in arms against him, in 1332, and besieged the palace. And when their leader, Guillen de Vinatea, at the head of the magistrates and *jurados*, spoke in a menacing tone to the king and queen, in the presence of the court, Eleanor in her rage exclaimed: "My brother, the King of Castile, instead of yielding, would have cut off the head of every one of those rebels who dared to speak thus." But Alonso answered her with dignity: "Queen, you have to learn that our people is free, and not subject like that of Castile; our vassals esteem us as their lord, and we them as loyal

596. An important officer of state was the great justiciar —*el justicia*—whose authority was supreme in judicial matters, and who pronounced on the validity of all royal edicts and ordinances. Suits against the crown and the officials of government were likewise brought before his tribunal. The *justicia* placed in this delicate position, keeping the king in constant surveillance, was uniformly supported by the states, and was thus enabled to carry the original design of that institution into effect—to check the usurpations of the throne, as well as to control the arrogance of the nobles, and the turbulence of the people. Under a constitution so admirably adapted to the stern and practical sense of the nation, Aragon became a flourishing kingdom; it excelled in various manufactures; a brisk navigation was carried on upon the Ebro, and the export of woollen and cotton stuffs enriched the abstemious Aragonese, while the bold and enterprising Catalan traded in Syria, Egypt, Greece, Barbary, France, and England. The Catalan fleets swept the Mediterranean, and the inventive genius and daring valor of a Roger de Loria and other admirals inspired the nation with a heroism which secured them their vast maritime possessions.[296]

All the Aragonese kings distinguished themselves by chivalrous acquirements and military talents—some by their poetical genius, and others by the liberal support and encouragement they awarded to the Limosin and Catalan troubadours and other literary characters, who flocked to their court. Peter Rogiers, Mosen Jordi, Jayme Roig, Febrer, and Ausias March sang in praise of the dark-eyed ladies of Aragon and the gallant deeds of the Catalans on sea and land; nay, the accomplished and unhappy Prince Carlos de Viana wrote valuable chronicles of his times. Thus poetry and literature softened the warlike manners of the nobles, while the splendor of the royal court and the influence and wealth of the Barcelonese citizens presented a pleasant picture of the mediæval prosperity of the Aragonese empire.

597. Provinces, Cities, and Historical Sites.—I. The kingdom of Aragon, with the duchies of *Albarracin* (a fief of the powerful Laras in Castile), the county of *Ribagorza* in the Pyrenees, and the baronies of *Castro*, *Ayerbe*, *Urrea*, *Luna*, *Hijar*, and others. Zaragoza, on the Ebro, the loyal city whose citizens enjoyed the rank of Hidalgos, was the residence of the court. *Jaca*, *Huesca*, and *Albarracin*, retained long a mixed population of Saracens and Christians, who vied with one another in manufactures and industrious enterprises. *Teruel*, *Daroca*, *Monreal*, *Torellas*, and *Salvatierra*, as strong and well-guarded fortresses, protected the borders towards Castile and Navarra. At *Monzon*, on the river Cinca, *Fraga*, and *Calatayud*, were held important diets, securing the liberties of the land, and extending the power of the justiciary of the realm. Near *Epila*, west of Zaragoza, was fought the battle between Don Pedro IV. and the confederate nobles in 1348, in which the latter were routed and obliged to renounce the dangerous privilege of *armed* opposition to the crown.

II. The principality of Cathalunya (Cataluña), with the duchy of *Girona*, the counties of *Urgel*, *Pallars*, *Besalú*, *Ampurdan*, *Barcelona*, *Llery*, the viscounties of *Cardona* and *Castelbo*, and the baronies of *Moncada*, *Prades*, *Aytona*, *Osona*, and others. Barcelona, in its picturesque and strong position on the sea, and defended by its towering castle of *Monjuich*, became the centre of the Catalonian trade and industry, and the first among the commercial cities of the Mediterranean, which obtained a written code of maritime laws—*el consulado del mar*—that formed the basis for the mercantile jurisprudence of Europe during the Middle Ages. The precipitous *Monserrat* (the peaked or serrated mountain), with its splendid Benedictine Convent, was early the peaceful abode of numerous hermits. *Tortosa*, on the Ebro, became celebrated by the heroical defence of its women, who, arming and relieving their exhausted husbands, repelled the Moorish invaders in 1149. At *Lerida*, on the Segre, Don Juan II. treacherously imprisoned his son, the innocent Carlos de Viana, who in 1461 perished, the victim of a malignant stepmother. *El Col de Panizars*, *Girona*, *Ostalrich*, and *Figueras*, in the Pyrenees, became in 1285 the scene of the heroical resistance of Don Pedro III. and his Almugavares against the immense invading army of Philippe III. of France, while Roger de Loria, with his Catalan galleys, on the promontory of *Rosas*, captured and destroyed his proud armada.

598. III. The kingdom of Valencia, extending along the sea coast, and embracing part of Murcia, contained the duchies of *Exerica* (Jerica), *Segorbe*, and *Gandia*, with the flourishing cities of *Valencia*, *Castellon*, *Denia*, *Alicante*, *Alcobillas*, *Elche*, and *Orihuela*, all celebrated battle-fields in the Moorish wars. *Nuestra Señora de Montesa*, west, on the frontiers of Murcia, became in 1317 the endowment of a new order of military monks, which rose in Aragon on the ruins of that of the Knights Templars, after their condemnation at the council in Vienna, and desperate but vain resistance in their castles in Aragon. The commanders and brothers of the Castilian Order of Calatrava obtained all their rich estates, and became thenceforth the border-wardens against the Moors of Granada.

IV. The kingdom of Mallorca (Mayorca), comprising the *Balearic* islands, the counties of *Roussillon*, *Cerdaña*, *Colibre*, and *Conflans*, in the Pyrenees, together with the lordships of *Valespir* and *Montpellier*, formed during the thirteenth century a separate state, under a lateral line of the Aragonian dynasty.[297] At the diet of Barcelona, August 21, 1262, Don Jayme I. gave the Balearic islands and the French fiefs in Languedoc and Provence to his younger son, Don Jayme, whose successors, after a reign of fifty-two years, were expelled by Don Pedro IV. of Aragon, in 1344. Jayme II., the last king of Mallorca, attempting in vain the defence of Roussillon, fled to Avignon, where he sold to Philippe VI. his only remaining possessions in Provence, *Montpellier*, and *Lattes*, for 120,000 dollars. Having gathered an army in 1349, he landed on Mallorca, but he fell in battle against the Aragonese, and the islands remained united with the crown of Aragon. *Palma*, the capital, became the principal mart for the Eastern commerce of the Catalans. In its beautiful cathedral is still seen the sepulchral monument of Don Jayme I. of Mallorca. Cities on the

liegemen and companions." In the Limosin dialect:—"*El nostre pople es franch e no es axi subjugat com es lo poble de Castilla. Car els tenen a nos com a senyor, e nos a els com a bons vassals e companyons.*"

[296] When the Count of Foix, in 1285, endeavored to persuade the Catalan admiral, Roger de Loria, to consent to a truce, and attempted to intimidate him by saying, "that France could arm three hundred galleys:" "Let her do it," exclaimed Loria; "I will sweep the sea with my hundred, and no ship without leave from the King of Aragon shall pass; no, nor shall a fish dare to raise its head above the water, unless I can see that it bears the arms of Aragon on its tail!" The Catalans had Consuls in Alexandria, Tunis, Constantinople, and Damascus, so early as the thirteenth century, and they supplied the Low Countries and the North with the rich products of the Levant.

[297] Don Jayme I., el Conquistador, King of Aragon † 1276.

Don *Pedro* III., King of Aragon, 1276–1285. Married to Constance, of Hohenstaufen.	Jayme I., King of Mallorca, 1262–1302.
	Sancho, King 1302–1325.
	Jayme II. 1325–1349. Married to Constance of Aragon.

smaller island of Minorca were *Ciudadela* and *Mahon* (Mago), with one of the finest ports on the Mediterranean.

599. V. The kingdom of Sicily or *Trinacria.*—The Sicilians had thrown off the yoke of Charles of Anjou and Naples on the Sicilian Vespers (423). They gave the crown of Trinacria, for they resumed the ancient name of the island, to the able and successful Don Fadrique II., who maintained his independence of Naples.[298] After the most devastating wars with the Angevin Kings of Naples, and civil feuds between the Catalan and Chiaramontese (Sicilian) parties, the island was united with the Aragonese crown in 1412. During this period it became divided into I. *Val di Demona*, east, with the margraviate of *Randazzo*, the counties of *Adrani*, *Aydone*, *Mistretta*, *Minco* (the latter four belonging to noble Catalan families), *Monforte*, *Gerace*, *Augusta*, and others, with the cities of *Catania*, *Syracusa*, *Messina*, *Patti*, *Naso*, *Zampullo*, and *Cefalù*, all celebrated by the military events of those times. II. *Val di Mazzara*, west, with the counties of *Palizzi* and *Ciacomo* (of the Chiaramontesi), and the cities *Palermo*, the capital, *Castellamare*, *Trapani*, *Mazzara*, *Salemi*, and *Sciacca*. III. Val d'Agrigento southwest, with the counties of *Camarata*, *Calatabellota*, and *Siculiana*, and the cities of *Agrigento* and *Castro-janni;* and IV., *Val di Noto* southeast, embracing the possessions of the turbulent *Chiaramontesi*, and the principality of *Butera*, belonging to the Catalan nobles of Alagona, with the towns *Noto*, *Modica*, and *Alicata*. To the kingdom of Trinacria belonged the islands of *Malta*, *Gozzo*, and *Pantalaria*. On the eastern coast of *Tunis*, the Catalans had occupied the important islands of *Carchis* (Kerkeri) and *Gerbes* (Zerbi), with the castles of Zadaïca, Cantara, and Agirra, and the fortresses of *Alcoll* and *Temolum*, on the mainland of Africa, which were bravely defended by Aragonese garrisons, and were useful dépôts for the commerce on the shores of Barbary, and ports of refuge for the Catalan fleets. But, during the internal disturbances in Sicily, and those in Valencia, against Alonso IV., the Saracen inhabitants of Gerbes rebelled; they obtained aid from the Tunese and the Neapolitans, and, driving off the Sicilians, Carchis and the other possessions were lost in 1336.

VI. The island of Sardinia, divided into its four jurisdictions (323), the judges of which sometimes would take the royal title, was a bone of contention between the rival republics, Genoa and Pisa. The noble house of *Oria*, and the Margraves of *Malaspina*, held with Genoa, while the judge of *Arborea*, and the Counts of *Bas* and *Donoratico*, raised the banner of Pisa. The prudent Don Jayme I. gained the good will of all parties, and, landing with a powerful fleet, in 1323, the Aragonese were received with open arms. Nobles and commoners pressed around the old hero of thirty battles; the Pisans were defeated near Cagliari, and after the surrender of its strong fortress, that fertile and beautiful island was, by the treaty of 1326, united to the Aragonese empire.

600. Ecclesiastical Division of Aragon.—I., Provincia Tarraconensis, with the archiepiscopal see in Tarragona, the suffragan churches of *Barcinona*, *Gerunda* (Girona), *Bisuldunum* (Besalú), *Ausona*, *Urgellis*, *Solsona*, and *Ilerda* (Lerida). II. Provincia Cæsaraugustana was erected by Pope John XXII., in 1318, from the western portion of the province of Tarragona; it had the see in Zaragoza, on the Ebro, with gorgeous cathedral and convents, and embraced six suffragans, those of *Jaca*, *Osca* (Huesca), *Balastro*, *Tirazona*. *Albarracin*, and *Teruel*. III., Provincia Valentina, comprising the southern part of Valencia, and the Balearic islands. Valencia was the archiepiscopal throne, with three suffragans, *Segorbe*, *Orihuela*, and *Palma*, on Mayorca. Aragon had four universities: those of *Lerida* (from 1245), *Huesca* (1354), *Barcelona* (1430), and *Valencia* (1410), which latter had six chairs for the Latin, and two for the Greek language and literature.[299]

XIII. Kingdom of Navarra.

601. Extent and Government.—This small and historically unimportant state embraced the upper valleys of the western Pyrenees, and bordered north on France, west on Biscay; on the south, the *Ebro* separated it from Castile, and the river *Aragon* from the kingdom of that name on the east. The royal dynasty of Don Garcias VI., Ramirez (318), became extinct with Sancho VI., in 1234, and the Count Thiebault I. of Champagne, inherited the throne. On the decease of Henry I., the last scion of this house, in 1274, the queen married her daughter, Juanna, to King Philipp le Bel, and Navarra became thus united to France during fifty-five years. But Philipp VI. of Valois, in 1328, was anxious to rid himself of one of his most dangerous competitors for the throne of France, by surrendering the kingdom of Navarra to Philipp, Count of Evreux (306, 393), married to Jeanne, daughter of Louis X. This separation from France was hailed with joy by the Navarrese, and those wild mountaineers celebrated the festival of their independence with the horrible slaughter of ten thousand Jews, who were settled among them, and had enjoyed the protection of the French kings, whose bankers they were.[300] Charles the Bad took a pernicious part in the struggles of France, without any benefit to Navarra. There, the hostile factions of the *Beaumonts* and *Agramonts* involved the country in the fiercest civil wars, which only terminated with the destruction of the unhappy Prince Carlos de Viana, in 1462. Navarra was always exposed to the conflicting influences of France and Aragon, and could never gather its strength. Its states enjoyed great privileges which were preserved by the frequent changes of the dynasties. The Kings of Navarra were surrounded by a council of twelve members, chosen from the high nobility. The *Cortes* were composed of the three estates: nobility, clergy, and the deputies of twenty-five cities, which had early obtained their different statutes—*foros*. The Navarrese had a high school in *Tudela*, on the Ebro, but most of their youths went to finish their studies either in Lerida, Toulouse, or Montpellier; and general education made only slow progress in a country where commerce and industry were neglected.

602. Division, Cities, and Historical Places—The small state was divided into six provinces—*merindades*—

[298] Trinacrian Kings until the permanent union with Aragon: Pedro III. of Aragon, 1282–1285. Jayme II., 1285–1291. Fadrique (Frederic) II., 1291–1337. Pedro II., 1337–1342. Louis, 1342–1355. Fadrique III., *el Tonto*, 1355–1377. Martin the Younger, 1377–1409. Martin the Elder (succeeds his son), 1409–1410. Fernando I. of Aragon and Sicily, 1412–1416. Sicily remains thenceforth united with the Spanish monarchy until the general peace of Utrecht, in 1713.

[299] Garcias, the ambassador of King Alonso V., a native Catalan, delivered so elegant an oration in the Latin language, before Pope Sixtus IV., that the Italian pedants present looked at one another in astonishment, and the celebrated Pomponius Lætus exclaimed, full of admiration: "*Who is the Barbarian that speaks with such eloquence?*" A Navarrese Prince translated some of the works of Aristotle, from the Latin into Spanish.

[300] Kings of the Evereux dynasty were: Philipp, 1328–1343. Charles I., *le Mauvais*, 1343–1387. Charles II., *le Genereux*, 1387–1425. Juan II. of Aragon, 1425–1479. The unhappy Blanche of Aragon was forced to renounce the throne, and perished, poisoned by her sister, Eleanor of Foix, who inherited Navarra, but died three weeks after her father, Juan II., in 1479. Francis the Handsome (Phöbus), of Béarn, 1479–1483. Jean d'Albret, 1483–1516, last King of Navarra: the country was then conquered by Fernando, *el Catolico*, and united with Spain.

five of which lay in the south of the Pyrenees, and one on the north, called *Merindad de ultra puertos.* Pamplona, on the Arga, was the capital. *Aybar* and *Sanguesa*, on the river Aragon, *Estrella*, *Olite*, and the gloomy castle of *Orthez*, in the Béarn, were all the scenes of melancholy events in the history of Carlos de Viana and his no less unhappy sister Blanche de Navarra.[301] Navarra formed the bishopric of *Pampiluna*, belonging to the ecclesiastical province of Burgos (593).

XIV. The Mohammedan Kingdom of Granada.

603. Extent, Government, and Civil Feuds.—After the defeat of the African Moors at Tolosa (587), and the subsequent downfall of the Almohad dynasty in Spain, the province of Granada became the centre of a limited, but powerful kingdom. The active and generous Wali Mohammed Ebn Alhamar was raised to the throne in 1232, and secured the tranquillity in the interior by the encouragement he awarded to commerce, industry, and agriculture, and peace abroad by rendering nominal homage to the King of Castile. Though Granada, in the subsequent century, lost all the fertile lands on the Lower Guadalquivir, *Xeres*, *Tarifa*, *Algeziras*,and *Gibraltar*, it still contained within the circuit of one hundred and eighty leagues, all the physical resources of a strong empire, which, by the valor of its Alhamarid monarchs, the enthusiasm of its dense population, and the strength of its rock-bound frontiers, for more than two centuries—1232–1492—resisted the united forces of the Spanish monarchies. The influx of Saracen exiles from the provinces lately conquered by the Christian arms, rapidly increased the number of its defenders, while the internal disturbances in Castile during the reign of Don Pedro el Cruel and the weak kings of the Trastamara dynasty, left the Granadians periods of comparative tranquillity for the development of a higher civilization in commerce, science and arts. Agriculture, too, was held in respect, and carried to a high degree of excellence.[302] Their manufactures of woollen cloths, cotton, and flax, were important objects of export, and the sword blades, armor, and dyed leather (cordwain), of Granada, were, during that period, the best in Europe. Their commerce extended to Egypt and India. Thus an immense wealth and all the enjoyments and comforts of life were concentred in this delightful region, so bountifully blessed by nature. Refined manners, a chivalrous affection for the fair sex, and, in consequence, an honorable position of woman in society, brilliant valor, love for poetry, music, and rural occupations, blended with the wildest passions of party spirit, revenge, and deadly feuds, characterized the hot-blooded and generous Granadian cavaliers. Supported by their African allies, the Alhamarids attempted to throw off the forced allegiance to the Castilian Kings. Within Granada itself contending parties arose among the nobles, whose influence decided the succession of the throne, and the direction of the government. One king armed against the other, fearful revolutions shook the throne ;[303] nay, the hostile parties called the Castilian enemy to their support. Yet, while the wars raged on the frontiers, and one border castle fell into the power of the Christians after the other, the Granadians still continued to shed their blood in civil contests, and it was at last, the rebellion of Abdallah *el Zaquir* (the Drunkard) against his uncle, Abdallah *el Zagal* (the Dauntless)—which, after the most determined resistance of the Granadians, opened the gates of the splendid capital to the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella, on the 2d of January, 1492, and put an end to the Mohammedan dominion in the Peninsula.

604. Division—Cities and Historical Sites.—After the loss of Algeziras and Gibraltar in 1344, the western frontier of the kingdom ran through the deep valley of *Wady-Ara*, along the northern declivity of the *Sierra de Antequera*, and was protected by the strongly-situated cities of *Ronda*, *Loja*, *Antequera*, *Alhama*, and the numerous border-castles, crowning every hill in the northern districts of *Kalaat Jahasseb*, *El Fandak*, and *Bordshila-el-Baljul*, opposite to the Castilian provinces of Cordova and Jaen. On the northeast, the fertile region of *Kastaluna* was defended by the towering *Djebal Samantan* (now Monte Cazorta), which separated Granada from Murcia, while the eastern declivity of *Sierra Nevada* presented a formidable frontier line of deep, rocky defiles, and the mountain-forts of *Valad-al-Albiad* (Velez-el-Blanco), *Valad-al-Ahmar* (Velez-el-Rubio), and *Burchana ;* and *Almeria* on the sea-coast. The city of Granada (Arabic, *Garnatha*, or Garb-Naath), the capital of the empire, was situated on the northern declivity of *Djebal Kais* (Sierra Nevada), in the plain of the river *Xenil*, sufficiently protected on the east by the fortresses of *Wady-Aseh* (Guadix) and *Basâtha* (Baza), on the south by the snow-capped range of the mountains, and on the west by *Alhâma* and the other above-mentioned cities. Only in the north the valley of the Xenil opened on the plain of the Guadalquivir, and the city was therefore often exposed to the sudden incursions of the Castilian chivalry ; there, too, Isabella fixed her camp, and built her threatening town of *Santa-Fe.* It was to the Almohad and Alhamarid dynasties that Granada owed the Alhambra with its wonders, the splendid mosques—*aljamas*—caravanserais, bazaars, aqueducts, bridges, hospitals, public baths, and all the other liberal institutions of Mohammedan piety. What Cordova had been in the ninth century, Granada became in the fifteenth. It contained then four hundred thousand inhabitants, and occupied a circumference of three leagues, which was defended by ranges of walls with more than a thousand towers. Yet the Moorish capital was as celebrated for the industry of its citizens, the learning of its *Alimans* and *Alchatibs*, as for the magnificence of its royalty and the valor of its knights,—and it is with a feeling of sorrow and regret that we read in Don Hurtado de Mendoza, the misery and ruin which the narrow-minded politics of the Spanish monarchs, and the terrors of the Inquisition, brought on this happy country, when the cross was planted on the Alhambra, and Granada sank with the nation that preferred exile and death to despotism and bigotry.[304] *Al-Hamam* (Alhama), situated in the upper range of the mountains of Antequera, eight leagues southwest of Granada was the frequent retreat of the Moorish kings, who in those elevated regions enjoyed the delicious thermal springs, that gave the town its Arabic name. Being surrounded by fearful precipices and walls considered impregnable, Alhama became the principal dépôt of the royal revenues. But in 1481 it was surprised and taken

[301] See Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella,* vol. I., cap. 2, and for the ultimate catastrophe of Navarra, in 1516, vol. III., cap. 23.

[302] Christian Spain was indebted to the Moslem Granadians for the introduction of her most exquisite fruits and horticultural products, for the sugar cane, cotton, silk, the skilful culture of the mulberry tree, and the ingenious mode of irrigation, and thus, by the distribution of the waters transforming the desert into a Paradise.

[303] From the accession of Mohammed I. Ebn Alhamar, in 1232, to the last King, Abdallah el Zaguir, by the Spaniards called Boabdeli, or *el Rey Chico* (the Pigmy King), in 1492, twenty-three kings had occupied the glittering throne of the Alhambra, and tasted the bitter cup of human greatness.

[304] Only one branch of the ancient Granadian industry, that of the Albaycin cloth manufactures by Moorish refugees from Baeza, is still carried on, but it stands in the same proportion to those of old as the gloomy convents and unfinished churches and palaces of Charles V. do to the fairy halls of the Alhambra.

by Don Roderigo Ponce de Leon and a band of daring knights, who held it gloriously in spite of all the desperate attempts of the old king, Muley Abul Hassan, to recover it. Southwest, on the coast, lay the splendid city *Malakka* (Malaga), and more inland, the strong *Balesh* (Velez-Malaga), which were both taken by King Fernando in 1487, after the bravest defence of their high-minded and wealthy citizens. *Al-Mankeb* (Almuñecar), east of Malaga, on the rocky coast, was the strong castle in which the Moorish kings used to imprison their rebellious relatives and hoard their treasures. At *Loja*, west, on the *Wady-al-Jora*, and in the defiles of *Alxarquia*, south of Antequera, the Spaniards suffered severe defeats in 1483. *Almeria*, on the coast, and the border castles *Zahara*, *Madroño*, *Moclin*, *Alcoy*, *Orez*, *Albox*, and many others, became celebrated during the border warfare of the times. *Padul*, the summit of Mount Alpujarras, south of Granada, was the spot (still called *El ultimo sospiro del Moro*), where the unhappy Abdallah (Boabdil) took the last look at his capital, on his departure after the surrender in 1492, and his mother, the masculine Ayxa, upbraided him his tears with saying, "Well doest thou to weep like a woman for a city thou wouldst not defend like a man!"

605. Such was the state of the Hispanic Peninsula about the middle of the fifteenth century. Granada, in civilization and arts, wealth and comfort, stood high above the Christian states. Portugal had opened its brilliant career on the Atlantic Ocean; Aragon, strong by its excellent constitution and its maritime possessions, extended its influence over Italy; Navarra, with its outward tincture of French gayety and glitter, remained savage and poor, while Castile, passing through the alembic of her civil wars, recovered her strength and her virtue in the energetic reign of Fernando and Isabel.[305]

[305] A very unfavorable, but no doubt faithful, description of the desolate and demoralized condition of Castile, during the civil war in 1466, written by intelligent contemporaneous travellers, was last year published in Germany. This curious book, in the quaint old German of the fifteenth century, carries the reader through Germany, Burgundy (the Netherlands), England, France, Spain, Italy, and Hungary. The authors were Schassek and Tetzel, the former a Bohemian, the latter a Nürnberger Doctor, both acting as secretaries to several Bohemian (Hussite) noblemen, who in that year—1466—undertook a grand tour through Europe. From England the travellers arrived in Castile, which is described as an uncultivated country, a dreary wilderness covered with box and rosemary, where the travellers were continually exposed to the attacks of prowling robbers or pilfering gypsies. The Castilian people appeared to them as a proud, irascible, jealous, inhospitable, shabby, and cruel race, reckless alike of the lives of others and their own, ever and anon insulting the foreign cavaliers, and throwing stones at them. In every town they beheld permanent gibbet-trees hanging *full of ghastly fruits;* they saw culprits chained to iron bars between lighted piles of wood, by which their flesh was roasted alive, and nothing but charred skeletons left. The Spanish prelates they describe as turbulent and luxurious; the priests as ignorant and venal. The knights were dressed in the flowing drapery of the East, in imitation of the Arabs, and galloping along on light *jenets* or barbs, they considered them unable to withstand the shock of the French or English chivalry. The Spanish ladies, too, wore Oriental dresses; they covered their faces with veils, and smeared their eye-brows and chins with black and purple ointments. "In a word," says the honest Tetzel, the secretary, "the Spanish people are so mixed up with Jews and Saracens, as to be worse than either, and more Heathen than Christian!" The whole Peninsula was torn by party feuds, every one hating his neighbor, and thinking only of selfish interests. Though Aragon was in a much better condition than Castile, yet it was only after a hundred hairbreadth escapes from the kidnapping *land-rats* (Almugavars) of Aragon and the *water-rats* (pirates) of Catalonia, that our jaded travellers could escape across the Tuscan sea to Italy. (See London Quarterly Review for April, 1852.)

XV. The Italian Principalities and Republics, A. D. 1450.

606. Historical Remarks.—During the two centuries which followed the Lombard League — 1250–1450 — the political and geographical aspect of Northern Italy has undergone a total change. The warlike and tumultuous republican cities, and the principalities of the powerful families which succeeded them, have nearly all disappeared. Venice has occupied the cities and districts situated in the eastern moiety of Northern Italy, between the Adda, the Oglio, and the Adriatic Gulf; she has dispossessed all the petty princes of their territories, and confined the Patriarch of *Aquileja* to some insignificant tracts on the coast. Next in power stands Milan, which, under the sway of the families of Della Torre and the Visconti (414), has become an independent sovereignty, only nominally recognizing the supremacy of the German emperor. In the west, Savoy (413, III.) has extended its dominion north of the Alps into Lesser Burgundy, and subjugated the smaller territories between the mountains and the Gulf of Genoa. The principality of Asti (411) belongs to the Princes of Orléans in France. The Marquis of Montferrat is an independent sovereign. Mantua is hereditary in the family of Gonzaga. Carpi, Correggio, and Mirandola, south of the Po, form small principalities. The house of Este, descending from the Italian Guelfs, has enlarged its dominion by Papal fiefs. Tuscany is now divided between the two republics, Florence and Siena; only Lucca has preserved its doubtful independence in the corner of Mount Apennine. The German kings had made frequent but unsuccessful attempts to restore the influence of the ancient empire in Italy; Henry VII., honest and brave, fell by poison; Louis of Bavaria, alike treacherous to friend and foe — to Ghibelline and Guelf — fled, detested by both. King John of Bohemia came and went like a Quixotic knight-errant. His son, Charles IV., appeared as a trim but penniless courtier, a harmless candidate for the Roman crown, without army or treasure, and selling the last remaining imperial fiefs to the highest bidder, in order to pay his passage back to Germany. Thus, in the fifteenth century, we find fair Italy left entirely to herself, and if it was not to her a period of peace and unclouded serenity, the cause lay in her political position, and in the character of her inhabitants. Yet she had at least expelled her foreign masters, and if her own princes, into whose arms she had thrown herself, still quarrelled and fought, they were now moved by their own Italian ambition and politics. The German and English mercenaries, the Werners and Hawkwoods, had perished, and Italy beheld with a certain national pride, a new school of warriors, the offspring of her soil, the Carmagnolas, the Braccios, and the Sforzas, who, by a higher and more humane organization of their armies, fought out the disputes of the Italian States among themselves; and while these *native condottieri* tilted with their lances and ransomed their prisoners in all politeness and etiquette, the larger republics and principalities, Venice, Florence, Milan, and Naples, formed confederacies for a *political balance of power*, which secured a certain tranquillity and independence to all. The Pope himself was, about A. D. 1450, at the head of such an *Italian Alliance*, and later, the admirable Lorenzo de Medici placed Italy beyond the hazard of foreign invasion. It was not until after the death of that great statesman, in 1492, at the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the Modern Era, that the gathering storms broke loose at once over that prosperous country. Italy stood then at the head of European civilization, in commerce, science, and art; the fourteenth century was the era of Genius—of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace; the fifteenth that of classical learning

and research. This general burst of mental activity ennobled the sentiments of the Italian nation; their extensive commerce and multifarious industry refined the manners, and thus we discover, amidst petty wars of envy and ambition, an extraordinary progress towards a higher development in Italy during the period between Dante, the stern Ghibeline partisan, and Lorenzo, the princely preserver of peace.

607. States of Northern Italy.—I. The Republic of Saint Mark.—The great event which formed a period in the history of the Venetian constitution and politics was the noiseless victory of the wealthy aristocratical families, which, by the closing of the grand council—*la serratura del maggior consiglio*—in 1297, brought the entire government into their hands. Venice thus became a close and selfish oligarchy; she straitened her constitution in 1311 by the creation of the Council of the Ten Signors of the Black Robe—*i neri*—who, with the Doge as their president, gave a new direction to her government—a fearful despotism at home and continental conquests abroad.

In 1450, the dominion of the Republic of Saint Mark embraced the territories of *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Verona*, and *Vicenza*, conquered from the family of Della Scala; *Feltre*, *Roveredo*, *Belluno*, *Cadore*, *Friuli*, *Treviso*, and *Padua*, the latter two treacherously wrested from the unhappy princes of Carrara in 1406. Within the territory of the Duchy of Milan, Venice possessed the city of *Crema*, and south of the Po she had conquered the important *Ravenna* and *Bagno-cavallo* in 1441; nay, she extended her grasping hand as far as the coasts of Naples, where she at a later period held the ports of *Trani*, *Brindisi*, *Gallipoli*, *Pugliano*, and *Otranto*.

During this period of her highest power, her Eastern Empire consisted of—1, the *Istrian* Peninsula, with the duchies *Zara* and *Sebenico*, on the mainland, and the *Dalmatian* Islands; 2, *Scutari* and *Durazzo* in Upper Albania; 3, the *Ionian* Islands, with *Buthrinto*, *Parga*, *Prevesa*, and *Arta*, in Epirus, *Vostizza* and *Anatolico* in Acarnania, and *Naupactus* (Lepanto) in Ætolia; 4, in the Morea, *Patrasso*, *Chiarenza* (Glarenza, 358), *Modon*, *Coron*, *Monembasia*, part of *Lacedæmonia* and *Argos;* and 5, the Grecian Islands (359), with *Negroponte*, *Candia*, and, in 1473, the fertile and beautiful *Cyprus*.[306]

608. Venice had become a splendid city, and the finest monuments of the celebrated Place of Saint Mark date from this era of conquest, wealth, and prosperity. Yet her most gigantic undertaking was the Long Walls—*i murazzi*—running for twenty-five miles from *Torcello*, on the north, along the narrow eastern coast southward by *Malamocco* and *Palestrina* to *Chiozza*, to protect the lagoons and the proud Bride of Saint Mark herself from the irruption of the Adriatic. The *Murazzi* became, in 1379–81, the scene of the fearful attack of the victorious Genoese, which brought Venice to the brink of destruction; but by the timely arrival of Carlo Zeno and the Levantine fleet, terminated with the celebrated siege of Chiozza, on the south of the Lagoons, the battle of *Brondolo*, and the defeat and surrender of the entire fleet and army of the Genoese on the 21st of June, 1381. On the shores of the lake of Garda took place, in 1439, that highly remarkable campaign between Francesco Sforza, the general of the united republics of Venice and Florence, and Piccinino, the lieutenant of the Duke of Milan, the two greatest condottieri of the age, during which the Venetians, with extraordinary exertions, transported an entire fleet of galleys and armed barks across the rugged mountains of Bassano into the lake, and defeating Piccinino at *Tenna* and *Saló*, relieved Brescia, and recaptured Verona, by military skill, bravery, and the boldest stratagems. But Venice had not preserved her ancient Italian virtues, and we turn with disgust from the relation of the frightful political crimes and treacheries by which she succeeded for the time to unite and consolidate her mighty empire on sea and land.

609. II. The Duchy of Milan, under the sway of the family of Visconti from 1284 to 1447, embraced the ancient archbishopric (407), the county of *Pavia*, *Cremona*, *Parma*, *Piacenza*, *Bobbio*, *Tortona*, *Alessandria*, *Novara*, the territory of *Rusca*, situated between the lakes of Como, Lugano, and Maggiore, and in the north, the *Val di Sesia*, *Duomo d'Ossola*, *Val Levantina*, and *Valtellina*, where the dukes encountered the Swiss mountaineers in many a hard-fought battle. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, built in 1386 the magnificent cathedral—*il Duomo*—and in 1396 the Carthusian Convent—*la Certosa*—near Pavia, where his gorgeous mausoleum gives testimony to the wealth and artistic skill of the time. *Pavia* and *Piacenza* possessed flourishing universities. *Arbedo*, in the Val Levantina, *Macalò*, on the Oglio, and the city of *Brescia*, became in 1422–1427 the scene of the victories of the celebrated Condottiere Francesco Carmagnola, who, as general of the Venetians, was treacherously decoyed to Venice, and most unjustly put to the torture, and beheaded in 1432. At *Caravaggio*, in the swamps of the Adda, Francesco Sforza defeated and captured the entire Venetian army in 1448; but, suddenly entering into an alliance with that republic, the perfidious Condottiere marched his army against Milan, and was proclaimed Duke in 1450. Sforza was, however, a great statesman; he secured the tranquillity of Italy, and after a brilliant reign, left his throne to his son Galeazzo, on his death, in 1466.

610. III. The Republic of Genoa, the most turbulent of all the Italian democracies, possessed—I. The *Ligurian* coastland, from *Monaco*, on the west, eastward to *Lerici*, on the frontiers of the territory of the Counts of Malaspina with the capital of *Genova La Superba*, *Savona*, *Albenga*, *Oneglia*, *Ventimiglia*, the excellent harbor of *Spezzia*, and numerous castles on Mount Apennine, which belonged to the noble families of the Doria, Fieschi, Spinola, Grimaldi, Boccanera, Giustiniani, and others. II. The island of *Corsica*, which was permanently occupied by the Genoese in 1284, after the disastrous defeat of the Pisan fleet off the island of Mellorca (417). The republic did not, however, obtain a quiet possession of that island; it was for a long time the apple of discord between the rival Catalans (596) and Genoese, and the latter, though often driven out, obtained ultimately the upper hand. Corsica was divided into *Terra Commune*, north of the mountains, and *Terra di Cinarca*, on the south. *Bastia*, *Calvi*, *Ajaccio*, *San Bonifacio*, *Aleria*, and *Cinarca*, were the most important towns. The fierce Corsican mountaineers were governed with an iron rod, and their frequent insurrections gave much trouble to Genoa. III. The Grecian Islands, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Nicaria*, *Psara*, *Metelino* (Lesbos), *Stalimene* (Lemnos), *Imbros*, *Tenedos*, *Thasos*, *Samothraki*, and the strongly fortified city and port of *Famagusta*, on the eastern coast of Cyprus. IV. *Pera* and *Galatá*, on the Golden Horn, opposite to Constantinople, was the great emporium of eastern commerce, which the Genoese lost after the conquest of the Greek capital by Sultan Mohammed II. in 1453. V. The important colonies in the *Taurid* Peninsula (Crimea), and on the adjacent coast of the Sea of *Azof*.

[306] The narrow space left us does not permit us to go into any detail.

Caffa (Feodosia), on the eastern shore of the Crimea, was a splendid city, with 36,000 houses within the walls, and 8000 in the extensive suburbs, inferior only to Genoa herself, and proudly called the *Lesser Constantinople*. Smaller cities were *Soldaja*, *Chersoneso*, *Katolimne*, and *Pondicó*, on the straits; *San Giorgio*, *Pallastra*, and *Tana* (Azof), on the mainland. These possessions, with their rich bazaars and dépôts of eastern commerce, were swept away by the invasion of Mohammed II. in 1475. Ruinous cities and castles now cover the site of Genoese power and glory.

611. IV. The Duchy of Savoy (413) acquired under its first duke, Amadeus VIII., *Vercelli* in 1427. Several of its southern territories, such as *Chierasco*, *Savigliano*, *Cuneo*, and *Mondovi*, were still in the possession of the Provençals. Duke Louis—1439–1465—married Anna of Lusignan, with the hope of obtaining the island of *Cyprus*, but Venetian intrigue despoiled him of all his rights, and he gained nothing but the empty title of *King of Cyprus*.

V. The Marquisate of Montferrat, with the cities *Alba*, *Nizza*, *Acqui*, *Casali*, *Chiavasso*, the margraviate of *Carretto*, and the southern territory of the *Langhe*, which remained fiefs of the German empire,

VI. Asti (411), with its territory, belonged to the Duke Louis of Orléans as dower of his wife, Valentina Visconti. The pretensions of Louis XII., as Duke of Orléans, caused the second invasion of Italy by the French in 1499.

VII. The smaller sovereignities of the Malaspina, Palavicino, Gonzaga, Correggio, Pio di Carpi, Pico di Mirandola, and the ancient marquisate of Este.

612. States of Central Italy.—I. The Republic of Florence (416) had preserved its admirable constitution during the storms of the fourteenth century, and enjoyed the highest development of its commercial and literary activity in the fifteenth, under the sway of her distinguished citizens, Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medici. *Pisa*, with *Livorno* (Legborn) and part of the *Máremme*, *Arezzo*, and *Cortona*, had been incorporated in her territory, which now extended eastward across Mount Apennine, and south to the lake of *Perugia*.

II. The Republic of Siena preserved likewise her liberty under continual contentions between the nobles and commoners. She remained the faithful ally of the Medici, and extended her territory throughout the ancient palatinate of *Tuscia* and the islands *Elba*, *Pianosa*, and *Giglio*.

III. The Republic of Lucca had taken an active part in all the movements of the fourteenth century. After the death of her illustrious captain, Castruccio Castracani, she was conquered by the Florentines, but she soon threw off the yoke, and recovered her liberty and popular government. Lucca took no part in the movements of the time, and sank, later back, into profound obscurity. Her territory reached to the *Garfagnana* in Mount Apenniue, whose defiles were protected by the important fortress of *Pietrà Santa*.

XVI.—The Papal State.

613. Acquisitions of Territory.—The downfall of the Souabian house, and the troubles in Germany (394, 511) had given the Popes free hand in Italy; yet, instead of contributing to the work of peace, their ambition and thirst of dominion rose to the highest pitch. They involved themselves in endless wars with their neighbors, and found their most inveterate opponents in the noble families of the *Colonna*, *Orsini*, *Savelli*, *Conti*, and others in the environs of Rome herself.[307] The humiliation of Pope Boniface VIII., the long residence of his successors in Avignon—1305–1378—and the great schism that followed, brought confusion into the administration of the church, and undermined the authority of the Popes. Yet during that period of disorder, they artfully extended their dominion over *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, and the whole of *Romagna*, where the Spanish Cardinal Albornoz, in 1354–1358, with more ability in intrigue than military talent, succeeded in setting the petty tyrants at variance one with the other, and in deposing and subduing them all. These princes were the *Malatesti*, seignors of Rimini, Pesaro, and Fano, the *Montefeltri* of Urbino, the *Varani* of Camerino, the *Ordelafi* of Forlí and Cesena, the *Manfredi* of Faenza, the *Alidosi* of Imola, and the *Gabrielli* of Gubbio in Mount Apennine. Thus the Papal State in the fifteenth century was bounded on the north by the river Po, and on the south by the Kingdom of Naples. It embraced—I. The ancient *Patrimony* of Saint Peter with *Rome*, the *Campagna*, *Maritima*, and *Sabina*. II. *Umbria*, with *Spoleto*, *Fuligno*, and *Perugia*. III. The March of Ancona, with the celebrated sanctuary *San Loretto*. IV. Romagna. V. Ferrara, Rovigo, and other fiefs of the family of Este. VI. Bologna and its territory. That rich and tumultuous republic soon threw off the yoke. VII. Benevento and Ponte Corvo in the Kingdom of Naples. VIII. The counties of Avignon and Venaissin in France (502). The city of *Avignon*, on the banks of the Rhone, between the rivers Sorgues and Durance, became in the fourteenth century the centre of all the ecclesiastical and political interests of Europe during the long residence of the Popes. Many ruinous Gothic palaces, churches, and convents, still remind the traveller of those times. In the charming valley of *Vaucluse* (the shut valley) Petrarch sought in vain a solitary retreat to forget his passion for Laura de Sade. Her paternal castle of *Saumane* lies high on the mountain, northeast of the valley. There, in the grotto of the Sorgues, the young Tuscan poet composed those pure and exalted effusions of the heart, which remain the most beautiful lyrical poetry of any modern tongue.

XVII.—The Kingdom of Naples.

614. The Angevin and Aragonian Dynasties.—Naples had seen her happiest days during the reign of the Souabian House (423). From a first rate power controlling the destiny of Italy, that rich and brilliant sovereignty sank into insignificance. Naples, under the Angevin princes, after the massacres of Sicily, the defeat and capture of Prince Charles the Lame in 1284, and the death of his father, King Charles I., the following year, lost entirely her influence in the political balance. Oppressed by a foreign dynasty, which at once abolished the beneficent constitution of Frederic II., without patriotism and virtue, the distracted Neapolitan people offered no resistance to the invader, and the most beautiful provinces of Europe became now for centuries the battle-field on which ambitious princes, French, Hungarian, and Aragonese adventurers, or mercenary Italian condottieri, sword in hand, disputed with one another the spoils of a defenceless nation.

[307] See the remarkable passage in Machiavelli: I cieli fecero crescere in Roma due potentissime famiglie, *Colonnesi* ed *Orsini*, acciocchè il papa quando mancasse degli ostacoli oltramontani non potesse nè fermare nè godere la potenza sua. Ondechè papa Bonifacio, si volse a volere spegnere i Colonnesi, ed oltre allo avergli scomunicati, bandì loro la crociata contra. Il chè sebbene offese alquanto loro, offese più la Chiesa perchè quelle armi le quali per carità della fede aveva virtuosamente adoperate, come si volse per propria ambizione ai Cristiani, cominciarono a non tagliare. E così il troppo desiderio di sfogare il loro appetito, faceva che i pontefici appoco appoco si disarmavano. *Le Istorie Fiorentine*, Libro I.

Under the auspices of a brilliant French court and chivalric army, an absolute goverment was introduced: only the larger cities *Bari*, *Brindisi*, *Taranto*, and *Naples*, retained their municipal institutions. To some, written statutes were granted. The barons obtained extensive privileges in order to secure their military service in the wars with Sicily and Lombardy; while all the estates of the partisans of Manfred and Conradino were sequestrated and granted to the numerous French nobles, the *Artois*, *Cantelmas*, *Clermont*, *de l'Etandart*, *Joinville*, *Marsiac*, *Montfort*, *Ponsic*, and others who had followed the Angevin banner. Naples became the royal residence, and was adorned with magnificent buildings. The strong Castello Nuovo arose. The University of Frederic II. was enlarged and endowed, and the supreme tribunal—*Gran Corte*—transported to Naples. One religious fête, tournament, or courtly pageantry, followed the other, and kept the Neapolitan public in a whirl of excitement, while the provinces were plundered, and French corruption bid defiance to every feeling of morality and virtue. The licentious reign of Queen Giovanna I., the murder of her husband, Andreas of Hungary, the subsequent invasion of King Louis with his Hungarian hordes, and all the frightful disasters of the contending parties of Anjou and Durazzo, together with the treachery of the Italian Condottieri, Sforza Attendolo, Braccio da Montone, and Caldora, in the times of Queen Giovanna II., brought the Neapolitan people into the deepest despair, and it was, therefore, with enthusiasm, and the liveliest hopes of better days, that they at last, in 1442, opened their gates to Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, who by the union of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily—*il regno delle due Sicilie di quà e di là del Faro*—with Aragon, rendered himself worthy of the affection of his people, and secured his throne to his successors at his death, in 1458.

615. Cities and Historical Sites.—*Anversa*, near Capua, where King Andrew was ruthlessly murdered, August 20, 1345, with the connivance of Queen Giovanna I., who fled to Provence after the defeat of her general, Niccolò degli Acciajuoli, at Capua, by the Hungarians, in 1348. At the Castle of *Muro*, in the mountains of Basilicata, the old guilty queen was smothered by the Hungarian avengers, May 22, 1382. *Pescara*, on the sea-coast, where the celebrated Sforza Attendolo, while crossing the ford of the river with his heavy armed cavalry, sank with his horse and perished, in 1424. *Aquila*, in the Abruzzi, became, in the same year, the battle-field between the greatest Condottieri of the time, in which the chivalric Braccio da Montone perished, and Queen Giovanna II. reoccupied the tottering throne of Naples. Near the island of *Ponza*, opposite to Gaeta, (the scene of the magnanimous conduct of King Alfonso V.,) that enterprising prince was vanquished, in 1435, in the singular naval combat in which the Genoese, by skilful manœuvres, destroyed the entire Catalan fleet, and carried the Aragonese monarch with all his knights prisoners to Genoa.

616. The Ecclesiastical Division of Italy.—The Italian Peninsula, with the adjacent islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, consisted, towards the close of the Middle Ages, of thirty-eight Ecclesiastical Provinces, with about two hundred suffragan Bishoprics. The largest of these, the Roman Province, or *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*, embraced the greater part of the Papal State, and extended from the Po along the Adriatic, and across Mount Apennine to the river Garigliano (Liris) in the Kingdom of Naples. Rome was the Patriarchal See, with the following *suburbicarian* or immediate suffragans: The Bishops of *Porto di San Ippolito*, and *Ostia*, at the mouth of the Tiber, *Magliano*, *Frascati*, *Tivoli*, *Palestrina*, *Albano*, *Segni*, and *Veletri*. Mediate or non-exempt suffragans within the frontiers of the Patrimony were the Bishops of *Terracina*, *Castro*, *Sutri*, *Falera* (Falisci), *Orta*, *Viterbo*, *Bagnarea*, *Anagni*, *Ferentino*, *Aletri*, *Orvieto*, *Nocera*, *Narni*, *Rieti*, *Terni*, *Amelia*, *Spoleto*, *Todi*, *Foligno*, *Camerino*, *Assisi* (422), *Perugia*, *Cagli*, *Montefeltro*, *Pesaro*, *Fano*, *Fossombrone*, *Sinigaglia*, *Jesi*, *Ancona*, *Osimo*, *Recanati*, and *Macerata*. The Bishopries beyond the frontiers of the Patrimony, but belonging as suffragans to the Roman Metropolis, were those of *Civita-Ducale*, *Teramo*, *Aquila*, *Civita di Penna*, *Civita di Chieti*, *Valva*, *Sulmona*, and *Sora*—all situated in the kingdom of Naples.

617. Ravenna, Urbino, Fermo, and Teate, on the Adriatic coast, formed separate Archiepiscopacies. The other Provinces were those of Milan, Aquileja, Grado (with the Metropolitan See in Venice), Bologna, Genoa, embracing the northern part of Corsica, Pisa, with the south of that island, Turin, Florence, Siena, nineteen Neapolitan Sees, among which those of Naples, Capua, Benevento, Amalfi, Salerno, and Acerenza (Acheruntia), were the largest. Sicily had four, those of Syracuse, Messina, Montreale, and Palermo, and Sardinia three, Cagliari, Arborea, and Sassari.

XVIII.—The Frankish Principalities in Greece.

618. Historical Remarks.—The rapid conquests of the Ottoman Turks since the permanent settlement of the sultans in Adrianople, in 1361, had changed all the relations in the East. The Greek Empire was in 1450 nearly confined to the environs of the Capital, and some distant possessions in the Morea, while the weak and disunited Latin principalities on the mainland already paid tribute to the terrible Sultan. After the final conquest of Constantinople, in 1453, those small states were all swept away by the scimitar, and only George Castriota (Iskanderbeï), the hero of Albania, the Knights of Rhodes, and the Dukes of the Archipelago, under the protection of the Republic of Saint Mark, yet for a time offered a gallant resistance to the victorious arms of Mohammed II.

619. These Frankish or *Latin* principalities, the relics of the Crusading Colonies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (336), were: I. The Duchy of *Athens* and *Bœotia*; II., the Duchy of *Leucas* and *Acarnania*; III., the Principality of *Achaia*; IV., the Duchy of the *Archipelago*; V., the *Genoese* Lordships of the Gatelusii and Giustininiani, on the Ægean islands; and, VI., the Military Order of *Saint John*, on Rhodes; to which may be added, VII., the Principality of *Albania*, under Georgios Castriota.

620. I. The Duchy of Athens (355) had, after the defeat and death of Walter de Brienne in the battle on the Cephissus in Bœotia, in 1311, been divided among the victorious Catalan and Aragonese freebooters. These wild warriors, taking possession of the castles and property of the French barons slain in the action, and marrying their wives and daughters, constituted their government with the title of "*The Sovereign Army of the Franks in Romania*," and elected the French knight, Roger Deslau, as their chief.[308] Yet, in order to keep peace at home among themselves, they prudently waged continual wars with the neighboring princes of Epirus and Thessaly, and the barons of the Morea. When in 1326, at the

[308] Ducange, in his *History of the Byzantine Empire* (vol. ii., p. 197), tells us that he had seen a curious document, dated Thebes, in April, 1314, with this inscription: *Nos universitas fidelis Francorum exercitus in partibus Romaniæ existentis.*

death of Sir Roger Deslau, they remained without a leader, and symptoms of ambition and jealousy began to threaten the internal tranquillity of their military republic, they offered the sovereignty of Athens to King Fadrique of Sicily, who conferred the duchy on his son, Don Manfredo of Aragon. The princes of that house, however, did not take actual possession of the duchy; they governed it by their bailiffs, and retained only the title of *Dukes of Athens and Neopatras* (594).[309] The military commonwealth of the Catalans being recruited by new bands of adventurers from the Spanish Peninsula, remained in hostile relations to the princes of Anjou in the Morea, and took an active part in the desperate naval battles between the Venetians and Genoese on the Hellespont and Bosphorus, in 1354. But, in the contest which arose in 1386, between these warriors and Nerio Acciajuoli, the governor of Corinth, and guardian of the principality of Achaia, concerning the marriage of the wealthy heiress of Soula (Salona), the former were defeated and dispersed, and the duchy of Athens thus passed by conquest to that noble Florentine family.[310] Antonio Acciajuoli, the son of Nerio, took possession of Athens, and extended his dominion over Bœotia and the Isthmus of Corinth. He was an amiable and distinguished prince; under his mild and equitable government Athens enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity for years, while the more northern provinces were desolated by the fearful invasions of the Ottomans. But this prosperity did not last, and it was the Athenians themselves, who, disgusted with the oppression and the crimes of Franco Acciajuoli, the last duke, called in the Sultan Mohammed II. Thus a Turkish army took possession of the city and Acropolis in 1456, and Attica became thenceforth a part of the Ottoman Empire.

621. II. The Duchy of Leucas—*Leukadia*—(Santa Maura) embraced the island of that name, the palatinate of *Cephalonia*, *Ithaka*, *Zante*, the city of *Glarenza* in Elis, and the despotat of *Acarnania*, at that time consisting of the ancient Acarnania, the west of *Ætolia*, and the southern part of *Epirus*, with *Arta* for its capital. The duchy was in the possession of the Tocchi, a noble family from Benevento, in the kingdom of Naples (360).

III. The Principality of Achaia, or *Morea*, had, after the death of William of Villehardoin, in 1277 (358), with the hand of his daughter Isabella, passed to the house of Anjou, and was mostly governed by bailiffs appointed by the kings of Naples. The Byzantine despots of Misithra, however, incessantly attacked the Frank barons, and wrested one castle and district from them after another, in spite of their desperate valor, and the brilliant victories of John of Katavas and his chivalry over the Byzantine mercenaries at *Prinitza* and on Mount *Makryploghi*, in Arcadia, in 1264 and 1268. The Catalans made inroads from Attica; the Venetians possessed *Coron*, *Modon*, *Argos*, and *Monembasía*; the Pope held *Patras* and *Nauplia*; thus the Frankish dominion in the Morea, formerly so powerful, was in the beginning of the fifteenth century reduced to *Elis*, western *Arcadia*, and the coastland of *Achaia*. The last Frank sovereign who assumed the title of Prince of Achaia was Azan Zachariah Centurione, Count of Chalandritza. Having, in 1430, surrendered that fortress and all his other territorial possessions to the Despot Thomas Palæologus, for a life-rent of his baronies, the Frank Principality became extinct after an existence of two hundred and twenty-five years, and the whole peninsula, with the exception of the five maritime fortresses held by the Venetians, was once more reunited to the Byzantine Empire.

622. IV. The Duchy of Naxos (361), under the third dynasty (that of the Crispi), enjoyed during the fifteenth century a comparative tranquillity, though the coasts of those beautiful and highly-cultivated islands were often exposed to the sudden landings of Turkish pirates from Asia Minor, and the industrious islanders suffered still more from their subjection to the commercial monopolies of their protectress, the republic of Venice. These pernicious restrictions on commerce and industry, and the enormous taxes imposed by the indolent and luxurious dukes, depressed and ruined the native Greek population, which began to decline so rapidly that *Albanian* colonies had to be called in from the mainland to repeople the islands of Ios, Andros, Keos, and Kythnos (Thermia). After the fall of Rhodes, in 1522, the terrible Haireddin Barbarossa, the Turkish Capudan Pasha, appeared before Naxos; the capital was sacked in the most barbarous manner, and the whole island overrun by the Turks. The unhappy Duke Giovanni V. Crispo became a tributary to the Sultan. His son Giacomo IV. was imprisoned in Constantinople; the Turks took possession of the islands, and Selim II. conferred the government of Naxos on his banker, the Jew John Michez, who, not daring to visit his exasperated Greek subjects, sent the noble Spaniard, Francis Coronello, as his deputy, to collect the tributes and overlook the public administration of the island. Such was the final fate of the duchy of the Archipelago, the *last* great fief of the Latin empire of Romania; it fell in 1566, after having been ruled by twenty-one Catholic princes for three hundred and fifty-nine years.[311]

V. The Genoese Lordships in the Ægean belonged to families of *Nobili*, who stood nearly in the same relations to their metropolis as the Dukes of Naxos to Venice. The Dorias possessed the city of *Ainos*, on the gulf of that name, opposite to the mouth of the river Maritza (Hebrus), in Thrace, and the islands of *Thasos*, *Samotraki*, and *Imbros*. The Gatelusii resided on *Stalimne* (Lemnos), *Hagio Strati* (Nea), and *Metelino* (Lesbos), the fertile and beautiful island, with its strongly fortified city, opposite the coast of Asia Minor,

[309] The titular Dukes of Athens and Neopatras, of the House of Aragon, were: *Manfred*, Prince of Sicily, 1326–1330; *William*, his brother, 1330–1338; *Jayme*, second brother, regent of Sicily, 1338–1348; *Fadrique*, Marquis of Randazzo, son of Don Jayme, 1348–1355; *Fadrique III.*, King of Sicily, 1355–1377; *Maria*, his daughter, married to Don Martin, King of Aragon (599).

[310] The Acciajuoli, like the Medici, were originally Florentine merchants, who by their manufacturing interests and banking business rose to the possession of wealth and princely estates. Nicholas Acciajuoli, the head of that family, about 1334, was an able statesman and keen political intriguer, and both he and his descendants in Greece gave early examples of the superior position which in the fourteenth century, the *purse* of the moneyed citizen began to assume over the *sword* of the feudal baron, and the *learning* of the political churchman. The Dukes of Athens of the House of Acciajuoli were: *Nerio I.*, 1386–1394; *Antonio*, his son, 1394–1435; *Nerio II.*, 1435–1453; the infant son of the former, with his mother as regent, 1453–1455; *Franco*, nephew of Nerio II., last duke, deposed and beheaded by Sultan Mohammed II., 1455–1456. See for the history of Athens during this period the above cited work of Colonel George Finlay, p. 182–201, which contains, moreover, admirable sketches of the social condition of Greece in the fifteenth century.

[311] At Naxos the traveller still beholds the ruins of the ducal palace transformed into a Capuchin convent, crowning the hill above the city. The armorial escutcheons of the ancient Venetian families adorn the portals of the houses, whose inmates, descendants of the Giraldi, Grimaldi, Marini, Venieri, Coronelli, or Delendi, figure as petty consuls of France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, while a fair-haired little boy, who a few years ago received his food in the Convent of the Lazarists for pulling the church bell, was considered as the last scion of the proud dynasty of the Dukes of Naxos.

where the castle of ancient Phokæa had a Genoese garrison. The Giustiniani, one of the most influential families of Genoa, held the islands of *Chios* (Scio), *Psara*, *Nicaria*, and the mountainous and easily-defended *Samos*. After the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, and the occupation of the Genoese suburbs, *Pera* and *Galatà*, by the Turks, those islands became the refuge of thousands of Greek fugitives; but the terrified Genoese lords soon surrendered their possessions to the victorious arms of Mohammed II.—1455–1462—and with the destruction of *Caffa* and the flourishing Genoese cities on the Crimea, in 1475, the republic lost her last colony and emporium in the Levant. Samos having likewise suffered from Turkish depredations, was granted by Sultan Selim to Kilidj Ali Pasha, who brought new settlers into the island.

623. VI. The Order of St. John, firmly established on Rhodes and the adjacent group of smaller islands in 1310, maintained its high renown as the bulwark of Christianity against the infidels (362). The city of *Rhodes*, on the north of the island, had two harbors, the Galley Port and the *Porto di Mandracchio*, which were protected by strong and beautiful towers, and closed by enormous iron chains drawn across the entrance. The Upper Town—*la haute ville*—with the huge Gothic palace of the grand masters, the cathedral of Saint John, and the beautiful street of the knights—*la rue des Chevaliers*—was separated from the Lower Town—*la ville basse*—by a transverse wall with many towers and some gates. In this lower quarter lived the Greek subjects, the Jews, all the married citizens and retainers of the order, and those numerous and beautiful Rhodian courtesans whose rich and elegant dress in the fifteenth century became the fashion of all European ladies. The order was earlier divided into seven tongues, those of *France*, *Germany*, *Auvergne*, *Aragon*, *England*, *Provence*, and *Italy*; but during the dissensions in the order in 1462, the eighth tongue, *Castile-Portugal*, was created. The knights of every tongue had their position on the towers, walls, and outworks assigned for the defence of the city. Near the Mount *Phileremos* (the ancient Ialysos) was the swamp where the young knight Deodat de Gozon, from Provence, in 1342, in a dangerous combat, killed the huge serpent or crocodile which for a long time had been the terror of the inhabitants and flocks of the environs. On the mountain stood the celebrated Church of Our Lady of Phileremos, to whose shrine pilgrimages were made by Greeks and Latins. Other cities in the island were *Lindos* on the east, and *Trianda*, *Neokastron*, and *Kandura*, on the west. Sultan Mohammed II. sent, in 1480, Misih-Pashá with a hundred thousand Turks to besiege the city of Rhodes, but they were repelled with tremendous loss by the gallant Grand Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, and forced to depart from the island.

624. VII. The Principality or Kingdom of Albania, under George Castriota, 1453–1466. This mountainous region embraced *Upper Albania*, the northern part of the mediæval despotat of *Epirus* (372), extending from the lake of Labeatis or Scodra (35), and the Monte Negro on the north, south to the river *Aous* (now Voïoussa), and the high range of the Acroceraunian promontory, which separated it from Epirus Proper. The precipitous mountains of Albania ascending in several offsets toward Mount Pindus in the interior, are intersected by the deep and fertile valleys of the *Apsos*, *Genussos*, and the *Black* and *White Drin*. The latter river, flowing from the large lake of *Achris* or Ochrida (the ancient Lychnidus), in a northwestern direction, discharges itself into the Adriatic Gulf, near Alessio, south of Scodra. The country was divided into: I. Zenta, on the north of the Drin, with the cities of *Scodra* (Scutari), *Antivari* and *Dulcigno*, on the coast. It was inhabited by the fierce Albanian race of the *Guegues* or Red Skypetars. II. Dibra, in the interior, on the Upper Drin, and *Aemathia* (Mathis), on the coast, with the celebrated mountain fortress of *Croja*, the birthplace and paternal inheritance of George Castriota; *Lissus* (Alessio), at the mouth of the Drin, occupied by the Venetians; *Durazzo* (Dyrrhachium), *Petrula*, *Albanon*, *Dibra*, *Stellusa*, *Stanon*, and other places, the scenes of the extraordinary deeds of the Albanian hero. This central region was inhabited by the brave and civilized Albanian tribe of the *Mirdites* (Mirdi), the countrymen of George Castriota. They were Catholics, and enjoyed their independence under their own chiefs or *Prinks*. III. Musaki, *Timoritza*, and *Desnitza*, the southern region of Albania, extending from the Lake of Achris, westward to the Adriatic, and south to the river Voioussa. Its inhabitants were the warlike and treacherous *Toxides*, who later became Mohammedans. *Berat* (Beligrad, White City), on the Apsos, was their principal town. *Petra Alba*, *Skrepari*, and *Moschopolis*, became celebrated in the wars with the Turks. Wallachian shepherds were settled in the mountains with their flocks. In the fourteenth century the power of these Albanian tribes was so far increased that, throwing off their allegiance to the distant and weakened Byzantine emperors, they began to descend from their strongholds, and attempt conquests toward the north and east. But they could not retain their acquisitions. Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and Lissus, were taken by the Venetians, and the Albanians soon felt the heavy sword of Amurath II. It was then, in 1443, that the young Mirdid chief, Georgios Castriota, by the Turks called *Iskandér-Beï* (Skanderbég, or Sir Alexander), fled from the service of Sultan Amurath, and occupying Croja, Dibra, Petrula, Petra Alba, Stellusa, and Sfetigrod, drove the Turks out of the country. The Albanians of all the different tribes flocked to his banner, and proclaimed him Prince of Albania. With extraordinary bravery and talent, he, for twenty years, defeated and destroyed the immense armies which Mohammed II. marched against him, and maintained the liberty of his native country until his death, Jan. 17, 1467, in Lissus, where he was buried.[312] The Turks immediately penetrated into the mountains, and entered Joannina triumphantly in 1478, yet they never succeeded in establishing their dominion among the warlike and liberty-loving tribes of Albania.

XIX.—The Byzantine Empire in 1450.

625. Decline and Fall of Constantinople.—Neither the talents of Michael VIII. Palæologus, nor the victories of the Catalan adventurers in Asia Minor, under his son Andronicus II., in 1304–1307, could stop the advance of the Ottoman hordes. The civil wars between Joannis Cantakuzenos and the young emperor Joannis V.—1341–1346—the internal decay and misery, the defeats of the foreign auxiliaries at Nicopolis, in 1396, and at Varna, in 1444, and the virulence of the theological contest of the Latin and Greek Churches, brought the ancient empire, in 1450, to the brink of the precipice. Its still remaining territories at the time consisted of: I. The city of Constantinople with its 160,000 inhabitants, and the environs as far as the ruinous walls of Anastasius. Beyond *Silivri* and *Apollonia* the country swarmed with Turkish Spahis. II. The Chalcidian penin-

[312] See the history of the great Albanian chief in Sismondi's *Italian Republics*, Vol. V., pages 297–335, and in *Life of George Castriot, Scanderbeg, King of Albania*, republished from Knolle's History of the Turks by Doctor Clement C. Moore. New-York, 1850. A modern Greek translation of Marinus Barletius' *Life of Scanderbeg* appeared some years ago in Venice.

sula in Macedonia, with the city of *Saloniki*, *Cassandria*, and the promontory of *Athos*, inhabited by monks. III. Peloponnesus, divided into the two despotats of *Misithra* (Sparta) and *Patras*, at the time belonging to the two hostile brothers, Demetrius and Thomas Palæologi. The virtues of the last emperor, Constantine XI., could no longer uphold the perishing state. Constantinople sank beneath the scimitar of Mohammed II., on May 29, 1453, and the peninsula was incorporated into the Turkish Empire in 1460.

XX.—The Grand Comnenian Empire of Trebizond.

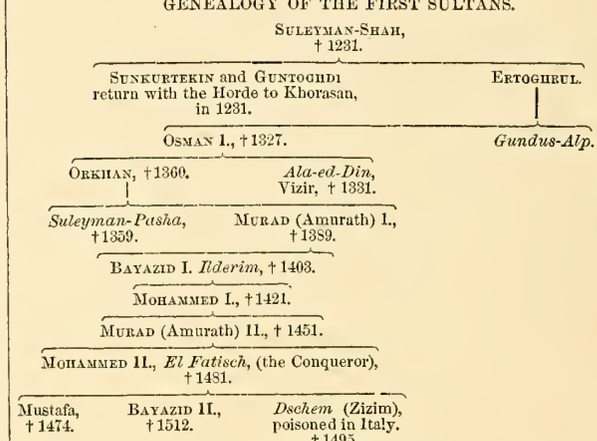
626. Decline and Fall.—This small and feeble state, on the shores of the Euxine Sea (374), had by the prudent conduct of its Grand Comnenian princes, and the continual feuds between the Mongols and Turks in the interior of Asia Minor, withstood all the storms of the times. It still extended in the beginning of the fifteenth century from the mouth of *Kizil-Irmak* (the Halys of the ancients) eastward, along the ridge of Mount Paryades, which secured it from the incursions of the White Horde—*Ak-Koinlu*—of Turkomans on the Euphrates, to *Bathys* in Lazica, on the frontiers of Georgia. On the west, the empire was protected by its alliance with the Genoese, who held possession of the strong and important maritime cities of *Amastra* and *Amisos*, and with the Emirs of *Kastemuni* (the ancient Paphlagonia); and on the east by the fine, warlike race of the Lazi, who served in the army of the Comnenian emperors. The Emperor Alexius IV. and his son Kalojoannis had bravely beaten off the first invasions of the Turkoman Sheiks and Ottoman Sultans, but the idle pomp, the bigotry and ceremonious pedantry of the Byzantine court, found their way to Trebizond, which appeared as the very caricature of its prototype—the same despotism and religious intolerance; the Lazian mountaineers were treated like serfs by the arrogant Trebizontine nobles; the Greek population were oppressed by tributes and taxes, and by the encroachments of the Genoese Shylocks, who held all wealth and commerce in their hands. The time had arrived when the moral degradation of the Comnenian princes, the avarice and selfishness of the archons and clergy, became so offensive to the mass of the people, that they every where considered the conquest of their country by the Turks as an event preferable to the continuance of their actual miseries. After the overthrow of Constantinople, David Comnenus still for eight years, under continual anxiety, bought his peace with Sultan Mohammed II.; but, in 1461, the conqueror suddenly appeared in Asia Minor, at the head of a most formidable fleet and army. Despair took possession of the Greek prince; Trebizond surrendered; the emperor with his family was transported to *Mavron-Oros*, near Serres, where he soon fell a sacrifice to the suspicious jealousy of the perfidious Sultan. The beautiful city of *Trebizond*, its fortifications, palaces, churches, and other monuments of the taste and skill of the Byzantine artists, went to ruin; its fertile plains were abandoned, and exhibit, at the present day, the same squalid picture of social and intellectual degradation as every other part of the Ottoman dominion.

XXI.—The Ottoman Empire.

627. Historical Remarks.—The obscure origin and rapid progress of the Turkish empire is one of the most astonishing phenomena in history.[313] It owed its rapid growth to leaders of high-toned character and inventive genius, who at the very outset gave it institutions and laws adapted to the religious fanaticism and warlike spirit of the nation; nay, of such vast superiority to those of the adjacent states, both in Asia Minor and in Europe, as to render the Osmanli Turks the superiors of those nations both in the field and the cabinet. Thus, then, it can be understood how a band of some few hundred Tartar horsemen within little more than one century—from 1327 to 1453—organized the best drilled and bravest regular infantry—the *Janissaries*—the most impetuous and efficient cavalry—the *Sipahis* and *Silihdars*—and an artillery more formidable than any in civilized Europe at that time.[314] Every branch of the administration, the regulation of the tributes, the division of the conquered lands into hereditary fiefs—*siamets*—with military tenure—*timar*—the institution of the *pashas* (commanders), of the *tchauchs* (messengers), and even of the *imaums*, *dervishes*, and numerous military and civil officials, answered wonderfully to the development of an active and enthusiastic nation, continually swelling by new tribes from the east.

[313] Mahan, in Western Khorasan, south of Khowaresm (212), was the home of the *Oghusian Tartars*. Suleyman-Shah-Ben-Kaial, with his tribe of 50,000 souls, fleeing at the approach of Dshingis-Khan, in 1224, sought refuge at Khelat (338), in the Armenian mountains, and on the solitary banks of the Lake of Wan. When the Mongol storm had passed over, in 1231, the older sons of Suleyman led the Oghusian tribes back to Khorasan; but the youngest son, Ertoghrul (the Straight), with only 400 families, took service with the Seldjuk Sultan of Rum, in Asia Minor. He fought victoriously the battles of his liege lord, and received in reward, as a *timar* or fief, the fertile plains between the Sangarius and Mount Olympus in Bithynia, on the frontiers of the Greek Empire. There, at *Eski-Schehr*, the ancient Dorylæum (327), Othman (Osman, that is, *Bonebreaker*), the son of Ertoghrul, by the conquest of *Melangeia* (Karadja-Hiss'r)—1288—*Yar-Hiss'r*, many other Greek fortresses, and the rich and delightful *Brusa* (264, IV.), laid, in 1326, the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

GENEALOGY OF THE FIRST SULTANS.



[314] The force of the *Ortas* or regiments into which the Janissaries were divided, was composed of Christian youths, who, as adopted children of the Sultan, were trained and drilled in military schools for the service of the prophet. Their commander-in-chief was the *Chor-badgi* (soupmaker); the colonel was called *Ashdshi-badgi* (head-cook); the symbol of their union, the *soup-kettle*, as indicative of plentiful provisions. In the beginning these young Christians were mostly prisoners of war or orphans who would have been left to perish in the general desolation of the country, had Sultan Orkhan not converted them into a powerful instrument for the creation of the Ottoman Empire. Soon, however, a fixed tribute of *children* was imposed on every Christian town and village that fell into the power of the Osmanlis. Without relatives or a home, entirely dependent on his energies and talents, the young *Janissary* had his career before him, and could attain the highest dignities of the state. Soon Christians from every country flocked to the crescent-banner of the prophet. As renegades they frequently commanded the armies and became the early creators of the Turkish navy. The Greek historian, Chalkokondylas, describes the admirable discipline of the Janissaries, the precision and velocity of their movements, the perfect order of their camp, the excellent regulations for the commissariat, and the constant supply of provisions and regular monthly pay which distinguished the Turkish armies from those of Western Europe at that time.

Orkhan, the son of Osman, was the great legislator of the Turks; by his efficient institutions the more energetic portions of the Greek race became absorbed into that of the Tartar nomades, and the ablest Christians found, in the camp of the Sultans, an open career for their talents as warriors and as statesmen. Thus the Ottomans, on their first establishment in Europe, in 1356, subdued the warlike Sclavonian tribes on the Danube, swept away all the Latin principalities in Greece, the relics of the crusades, and on the ruins of the millennial Byzantine empire founded that SUBLIME PORTE, whose frontiers toward the middle of the sixteenth century extended from the Adriatic Gulf and the Carpathian Mountains, across the Black Sea and Mount Caucasus, to the Tigris, the Persian Gulf, Egypt, and lost itself in the distant deserts of Africa.

628. EXTENT, PROVINCES, AND HISTORICAL CITIES.—I. IN ASIA.—A. ANADOLI, in the western parts of Asia Minor, comprising the following provinces: I. OSMAN (the ancient Bithynia and Phrygia Epictetus), was the home of the Ottoman Turks.[315] The earliest settlement of the Oghusian-Tartars was, as we have said, in the plain of *Eski-Schehr* (Dorylæum), and this territory, sacred to the Ottomans by so many memorials of their forefathers, is still called SULTAN-OENI—*the Front of the Sultan.* Thence the Tartar horsemen, under the purple crescent banner, began, in 1299, their conquests, which, after defeating the Byzantine Greeks in many battles, they extended westward to the Propontis and the Bosphorus, and eastward across the river Ssakarija (Sangarius) to the shores of the Black Sea near *Erekli* (Herakleia). This conquered territory became divided into: 1, *Khodavend Kiar* (Victor and Lord), on the Gulf of Mudania, with the cities of *Brusa* and *Nicæa;* and, 2, *Kodja-Ili* (Mesothinia), with *Nicomedia* and *Scutari*, opposite to Constantinople. ESKI-SCHEHR (Old-town), on the banks of the *Pursak*, the ancient Thymbres (327), was the early capital of Osman, from 1299 to 1326, and every mosque, sepulchral tyrbé, or castle, in the environs, is dear to the Turks as the cradle of the nation. Such interesting places were *Bosöni*, *Inöni*, and *Akbuk* (White Moustache); *Karadsha-Hiss'r* (Melangeia), and *Biledshik* (Belokome), west of Dorylæum, the first conquest of the Ottomans from the Greeks in 1299. *Itburni* (Dog's Snout), a village near Dorylæum, the residence of the venerable Edebali, father-in-law of Osman, where the young hero, after faithfully wooing his beloved Malahatun for many years, at last married the beautiful ancestress of the Turkish Sultans. BRUSA, their second capital, at the foot of the snow-topped Mount Olympus, on the banks of the river *Nilufar*, is not less celebrated by its gorgeous monuments of Turkish architecture, than by the industry of its inhabitants, the salubrity of its climate, and the therapeutic power of its hot springs. *Olou-Djami* (the great mosque), the mosque of Sultan Orkhan, and that of Sultan Bayazid Ilderim, are unsurpassed masterpieces of Saraceno-Turkish taste and magnificence; schools and hospitals surrounded by shady gardens are attached to every mosque. *Isnik* (the celebrated Nicæa) was conquered in 1329 by Sultan Orkhan-Osmanoglou (son of Osman. *Ghemlik*, on the bay of Mudania, the Kibotos of the Crusaders (327). *Isnikmid* (Nicomedia) fell in 1338, after the great defeat of the Emperor Andronicus the Younger at *Philokrene*. *Yeni-Schehr* (New Town, Neapolis), *Yarhissar*, *Ainegöl* (Mirror-Sea), and *Gebise* (Lubissa), are all places of interesting events in early Turkish history.

629. II. KARASI extended along the Hellespont south to the river Lycus, thus embracing the ancient Mysia, with the cities *Bergama* (Pergamos), *Lampsaki*, *Abydos*, *Bigha*, *Burnabadshi* (Troy), and *Aidindschik* (Cyzicus), on the peninsula of Proconnesus, where the Condottiere Roger de Flor, with his mercenary army of Catalans and Aragonese, vanquished the Turks in brilliant battles in 1307–9, and drove them back across Mount Taurus. The city was, however, surprised and taken by the Turks under Suleyman, the son of Sultan Orkhan, in 1356, and there they assembled their *first fleet*, with which they landed in Thrace and occupied *Kallipolis* in the same year. The petty princes of Karasi were allies of the Osmanlies, and began early their piratical expeditions on the Ægean with the devastation of Chios in 1307.

III. SSARUKHAN (the ancient Æolis and Northern Lydia), south of Karasi, with the cities of *Magnesia*, *Akhissar* (Thyatira), and *Adala.*

IV. AIDIN (the ancient Ionia and Western Lydia), with *Smyrna*, *Tchesme* (Kissos), on the coast opposite to Chios; *Ajasuk* (Ephesus), *Ala-Schehr* (Philadelphia), reconquered by the Catalans in 1306, but worse treated by the ferocious and debauched mercenaries than by the Mohammedans themselves, and soon lost again.

V. MENTESCHE (the ancient Doris in Caria), with *Muglah* (Hylarima), *Milet*, *Eskihissar* (Alabanda), and *Chorsun* (Cibyra). The strongly-fortified peninsula of Halicarnassus, with the castles of *Petronion* and *Budrun* (362), belonged to the Knights of Rhodes, who with their splendid and invincible galley fleets protected the islands.

VI. TEKIEH or *Tekké* (ancient Lycia and Pamphylia), on the southern coast, with *Antalia* (Satalia), *Sidischehr* (Side), *Makri*, *Kastellorizzo*, *Myra*, and *Fineka.*

VII. KERMIAN (ancient Phrygia Pacatiana), with *Ladik* (Laodicea) and *Tripolis*, on the Mendéré (Mæander), *Kutahija* (Cotyæum) in the north, the capital of a Seldjukian Emir, *Eski-Karahissar* (Old Black Tower, or Synnada), and *Sandukli*—all places celebrated in the history of the Crusades. At *Akschai*, in the south, Sultan Bayazid Ilderim, in 1392, took the faithless Karamanian Prince, Alah-ed-Din, prisoner, together with his sons, and after their execution incorporated all the southeastern part of Asia Minor with the Ottoman Empire.

VIII. HAMID (Pisidia and Phrygia Kekaumena), the land of lakes, with *Isparta*, and *Ak-Schehr*, where the imprisoned Bayazid Thunderbolt died in his *kaphes* or grated litter, on the 8th of March, 1403; he was buried in Kutahija.

630. IX. KARAMAN, the largest Emirate, which for nearly a century remained independent of the Turkish Sultans—1299–1390—embraced the Rocky Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, with the cities *Konijah* (Iconium, Rum), *Karaman*, *Karabunar*, and the extensive salt lake *Tuz-Tchölli.* In the

[315] Ten Seldjukid princes, who called themselves *the Kings of the Nations—Muluki Tawaif*—had escaped the sword of the Mongols, which about the years 1273–1295 dismembered and destroyed the celebrated Sultanat of Ikonium (Rum), of Kilidj Arslan (327). These chiefs divided among themselves the western provinces to which they, singularly enough, gave their own names, still preserved in the *Liwas* or *Sandjacs* of the Porte. Emir *Karasi* settled in Mysia; *Ssaru-Chan* and *Aidin*, in Ionia, Caria, and Lydia; *Mentesche*, in Caria; *Tekkich*, in Lycia; *Hamid*, in Pisidia, and Phrygia; *Karaman*, in the larger districts of Isauria, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, where, driving out the Mongols, he occupied *Iconium* (Konijah), and made it his capital. *Alischir* was the only Seldjukid Emir who did not give his name to his territory, but called it *Kermian*, after the capital. *Ghasi-Tchelebi* took Kastemuni, in Paphlagonia, and Eastern Bithynia, and *Osman* had already obtained the border lands at the base of Mount Olympus. When we find these Turkish chiefs give their names to the states of which they were the founders, why should we reject as fable in the manner of some modern antiquarians the ancient *Hellenic* traditions, which make the *Hellenes* (Greeks) take their name from Hellen, the *Ions* from Ion, and many other tribes from the names of their early leaders, who founded the primitive states of Hellas.

northern part of Karaman lay the battle-field of *Angora*, on the Sangarius, where, on the 19th of July, 1402, the superior tactics of the Mongol, Timur Khan (Tamerlane), maintained the bloody day against Sultan Bayazid Ilderim. After the most frightful struggle between nearly half a million of savage warriors, the Ottoman Janissaries, abandoned by their Spahis (cavalry), were surrounded by myriads of Tartar horsemen, and cut down to a man. The Sultan, with a host of Turkish officers and other dignitaries, fell into the hands of the Mongol Emperor, who soon retired into Upper Asia, and thus saved the Ottoman Empire. The last Karamanian prince, Kasim Bei, died in 1483.

X. Kastemuni (the ancient Paphlagonia), on the shores of the Black Sea, between the Sangarius and the *Kizil-Irmak* (Halys), remained long hostile to the Turks, and the Emirs of *Szinup* (Sinope) and *Kastemuni* (Castamone) were not subdued until after the conquest of Constantinople, when Mohammed II. moved all his forces against Trebizond, in 1461. It was the last of the Seldjukian principalities in Asia Minor, which, by its alliance with Christian states, had maintained its independence of the Ottoman Empire.

631. B. The Sultanate of Ssiwas, extending from the frontiers of Trebizond along the eastern banks of the Kizil-Irmak, southward to Mount Taurus or *Bolghar-Dagh* (266), and eastward to *Malatia* and the valley of the Euphrates. Celebrated commercial cities were *Amasia* on the Jeschil-Irmak (Iris), *Tokat* (Comana Pontica), *Kaisarieh* (Mazaca, Caesarea) at the base of the snow-capped *Erdisch-Dagh* (Mount Argæus), and *Ssiwas* (Sebaste) on the Upper Halys. The valley of the Euphrates, the western slope of the Armenian mountains, and northern *Al Dschesira* (Mesopotamia), were inhabited by two powerful Turkoman tribes from the Caspian. The horde of the White Sheep—*Ak-Koinlü*—occupied the table-lands between Ssiwas and Erzerum, and the horde of the Black Sheep—*Kara-Koinlü—Ssamsat* (Samosata), *Amida*, and the plain country toward *Harran* and *Nisbin* (Nisibis), and eastward the highlands of *Khelat* to the shores of the lake *Wan* in Persarmenia. Their attachment to a wandering life led several of their hordes into the plains of Asia Minor, where, by the support they rendered the Seldjukian Emirs and the Emperors of Trebizond, they soon got into war with the Ottoman Turks.[316] Isoun Hassan, the celebrated Chan of the White Horde, formed a powerful empire in Armenia and Mesopotamia by his victory over the Black Sheep. Hassan opposed a barrier to the Ottomans in the East, and though he was defeated by Mohammed II. in person, near Terdshan, in 1473, the Sultan did not dare to cross the Euphrates. The great Turkoman chief died in 1478; the disputes among his nephews weakened the state and on its ruins rose the new Persian Empire, which was founded in 1508 by that astonishing fanatic, Ismael Sophi, who under the mask of religious enthusiasm and divine inspiration raised himself from a hut to the throne of a great monarchy. Cities in Turkomania were *Erzerum*, on the Upper Euphrates, the great manufacturing town of Armenia, and later one of the bulwarks of the Ottoman Empire; *Erzendgin* (Arzinga), on the same river, where, in 1462, Mohammed II. and Hassan Bei, the two greatest men of their time, met to conclude the treaty which decided the fate of the Comnenian Empire; *Beiburt*, with *Malatia*, *Marasch*, and *Aintab*, all flourishing cities at the present day. Thus the Euphrates and the Cilician defiles formed the utmost eastern frontiers of the Turkish Empire at the close of the Middle Ages; during the sixteenth century they carried their victorious crescent-banner beyond the Tigris, to the Persian Gulf and the cataracts of the Nile in Egypt.

632. II. Ottoman Possessions in Europe.—C. Ejalet Rum-Ili (Romania), extending from the Bosphorus along *Djebal Balkan* (Mount Hæmus), westward across to the Adriatic Sea, and embracing the Byzantine provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Épirus, and Thessaly. It was divided into fifteen *Sandjacs* (banner provinces), and governed by Pashas of two or three *tughias* (horsetails); yet the limits of their jurisdiction were never accurately defined. The first Turks who crossed the Hellespont were some bands of light-horse—*Turcopoules*—who as mercenaries followed the standards of the Grand Company of Catalans and Aragonians, and contributed by their bravery to the victory at *Kypsellæ*, where 5000 Catalans defeated 50,000 Greeks in 1308. Yet the Turcopoules never returned into Asia; they perished, and all the later attempts of the Ottomans to obtain a firm footing on the Thracian shores of the Hellespont were frustrated by casual accidents rather than by the vigilance of the Greeks, until the year 1356, when the daring Suleyman, brother of Sultan Orkhan, on a dark night, crossed the straits with thirty-nine of his bravest companions—*delhides*—on two rafts, and by surprise took possession of the castle of *Dshemenlik* (Tzympe), opposite to Lampsakos. Thousands of their countrymen soon followed, and by the conquest of the important *Kallipolis* (Gallipoli), they defeated all the weak attempts of the dastardly Byzantines to drive them back into Asia. At *Bulair*, north of Kallipolis, stands the *tyrbé* or sepulchral monument of Suleyman, who there perished by a plunge of his horse in 1358. Castle *Konur*, *Panion*, *Rhodostos* (359), *Ypsella* (Kypsellæ), on the Maritza; *Chariopolis*, and *Tchorli* (Tzurulon), in the interior of Thrace, are places of historical interest in the Catalan and Turkish wars. *Dimotika* (Didymoteichos), on the Lower Maritza, became, in 1360, the residence of Sultan Murad I., who next entered *Edréné* (Adrianopolis) in triumph, and made that splendid and populous city the second capital of the rapidly-increasing Ottoman Empire. *Filibe* (Philippopolis), on the Upper Maritza, fell, and after the nocturnal surprise and defeat of King Louis I. of Hungary in the defiles of Mount Hæmus, in 1364, all Thrace and Macedonia, with the exception of Constantinople and the maritime cities, became an easy and permanent conquest of the Turks.

633. Istambul — *Konstantinupolis* — (Constantinople),[317] stormed, sacked, and partly desolated by Mohammed the

[316] The Turkomans still inhabit the large central plains of Asia Minor, where they graze their numerous herds of horses on the banks of the Halys and the Lake of Tatta in Karamania. They are a handsome people; their women spin wool and make excellent carpets; the men tend their flocks and smoke their tchibuks. Constantly on horseback, with the lance on their shoulder, a sabre by their side, and a brace of long pistols in their girdle, they make vigorous horsemen and hardy warriors. They made themselves so feared by the Ottomans that Sultan Mohammed I. agreed to purchase the neutrality of Chan Kara Youlouk (Black Leech) of the White Horde, by the payment of an annual tribute of one thousand saddles and other cavalry equipments. When, in 1459, the White Horde entered into alliance with the Emperor David Comnenus of Trebizend, and a Turkoman envoy appeared in Constantinople to demand of Mohammed II. the annual tribute left unpaid for sixty years, the proud Sultan heard the Turkoman patiently to the end, and replied calmly: "Depart in peace; I will presently come to Armenia, and discharge all my debts." We may hope that the myriads of fierce Turkomans now in arms on the frontiers of Russian Armenia will give a good account of themselves against Prince Woronsow and his Cossacks.

[317] The Turkish name is a corruption of the modern Greek: *'stimbolin* (εἰς τὴν πόλιν), similar to that of *Stanko*, 'stan Ko (εἰς τὰν Κῶ in the Dorian dialect), for the island of Cos, and *Stalimne* for Lemnos, and others. Still more absurd is the modern Greek perversion of Mount

Conqueror on the 29th of May, 1453, saw its glories perish one by one. The religion and nationality of the Greek race were saved and protected by a politic and wise Sultan, but hundreds of thousands of Asiatic families were transported to the smiling shores of the Bosphorus, and the Mohammedan mosques and sarais soon raised their soaring cupolas and minarets over the Christian churches and imperial palaces of the vanquished people. Istambul, the permanent residence and *third* capital of the Sultans, by its magnificent position, and gorgeous monuments of Osmanlic piety, pomp, and art, soon outshone all the cities of the Orient, and remains to this day, with its numerous suburbs in Europe and Asia, its 350 mosques, 900 other public buildings, and 900,000 inhabitants, the most wonderful and most picturesque city in the world.[318] The neighboring maritime towns on the *Kara-Denghiz* (Black Sea), *Kila* (Chelæ), *Midia* (Salmydessos), *Inada* (Thynias), *Akteboli* (Agathopolis), *Sizeboli* (Apollonia), *Burgas* (Debeltos), *Ahiali* (Anchialos), and *Missivri* (Mesembria), at the base of Mount Hœmus, were all easily reduced. Mohammed II. drove the Genoese from Galatá; they lost all their fortresses on the *Istambul Boghazi* (Bosphorus) and *Aenos* on the Ægean, and within twenty years the blood-red banner of the prophet waved triumphantly from the Danube and the Crimea, to the southernmost promontories of the Peloponnesus.

634. D. Eialet Dshesair (District of the Islands and the Coast) embraced in this early period the Sandjacs of *Livadia* (the duchy of Athens and Bœotia), and of the island of *Egribos* (Negroponte or Eubœa), conquered from the Venetians in 1470, with *Gallipoli*, in the Thracian peninsula. *Stines* (Athenai, Athens), after the fall of its unworthy duke, Franco Acciajuoli, in 1456, still continued to be an archiepiscopal see—a populous and a beautiful city, whose monuments excited the admiration of Sultan Mohammed II., on his visit in 1462. It was reconquered by the Venetian admiral, Victor Cappello, in 1466, and most barbarously plundered and desolated by Christian warriors! But the perfidious Venetians soon retired, and Athens remained henceforth in inglorious tranquillity, as a fief of the Harem, under the mild government of the *Kislár Agá*, the head eunuch of the imperial seraglio.

635. E. Eialet Morah (the Morea), after the expulsion of the Despots in 1461, became divided into the two Sandjacs of *Tripolitza* (Tegea), and *Mistra* (Sparta), and was colonized with numerous Albanian settlers, who likewise occupied the island of *Poros*, on the coast of Troezen, and those of *Hydra* and *Spetza*, in the Argolic gulf.

F. Eialet Bulgar-Ili, the former kingdom of Bulgaria (968), embraced the Sandjacs of *Silistria*, *Nicopolis*, *Widdin*, and *Sofiá*.

G. Eialet Bosna, with *Servia*, the westernmost province of the empire, bordered already on the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia and Croatia, and the Turkish Spahis spurred boldly through the gorges of the Julian Alps, and filled the beautiful plains of Friuli and Treviso with bloodshed and devastation. The fate of Servia had been decided on the battlefield of Kossowa in 1389 (566). The last king, Stephen Thomasewich, of Bosnia, was captured and beheaded in 1463, and the whole country occupied by the Turks. Yet the gallant Matthias Corvinus drove them once more beyond the mountains at the point of the sabre, and warlike Hungary maintained her conquest, until the battle of *Mohacz*, in 1525, brought the irresistible Janissaries before the walls of Buda and Vienna herself.

Bosnia having been colonized by a thickly settled Mohammedan population, soon became the northern bulwark of the Ottoman Empire. *Bosna-Serai*, *Trawnick*, *Vrandouk*, *Maglay*, *Banialuka*, and *Zwornick*, were fortified with impregnable fortresses; numerous *timars* or fiefs were distributed among the *Spahis*, and 78,000 Bosnian Janissaries secured the easily defended frontier lines on the Save and the Unna.

H. Arnaut-Ili, embracing the principality of Croja and Epirus Proper, both so bravely defended by Castriota (624), was invaded by the Ottomans after the death of that hero, in 1467. *Scodra* made a brilliant defence under the Venetian noble Antonio Loredano, in 1475, but *Croja*, *Lissos*, and *Durazzo*, fell in 1478, after the most heroical resistance, and with the conquest of *Joannina* and *Arta* terminated the bloody war, though the Sultans never succeeded entirely in subduing the wild and haughty race of the Albanians until they received them into pay as mercenary soldiers,—the dread alike of friend or foe.

I. The Transdanubian Voivodats of Wallachia and Moldavia belonged to the Ottoman Porte as tributary states, governed by their own native princes, and it was only after the conquest of Hungary and Transylvania in the sixteenth century that the Sultans were enabled to exert their pernicious influence over those beautiful and fertile provinces, the sovereignty of which is now the subject of contention between Russia and the Porte, supported by the Western Powers.

Such was the immense extent of the empire in A. D. 1481, on the death of the terrible Mohammed II., the Conqueror, who had even lived to enjoy the successful invasion of Italy by the capture of *Otranto*, and the frightful massacre of its inhabitants, August 11th, 1480. But under his successors the thunders of war again rolled back over the East, and gave terrified Europe some years of doubtful tranquillity to prepare for the still more formidable invasions of Sultan Suleyman II., the Magnificent.

XXII.—The Mongol Empire of Tamerlane.

636. Extent of the Mongol Conquests.—The nomadic nation of the Mongols (Kalmuks), from the table-lands of central Asia, have thrice appeared as conquerors on the stage of the world during the middle ages; in the fifth century as Huns, under Balamir and Attila—375–452; in the thirteenth united with the numerous Tartar tribes of the Caspian, under Dshingis Khan and his sons, who, between 1202 and 1250, formed the largest empire the world had seen; and, lastly, in the fifteenth century, under the still more terrible Timurlenk (Tamerlane), in 1363–1405, carrying death and desolation over the face of the earth, from the Ganges to the Mediterranean. Though none of those mighty empires, during the lifetime of their founders received a sufficient organization to hold together after his death, they nevertheless exercised the greatest influence on the future destiny of the conquered races, and changed the entire geographical divisions of Asia and of Eastern Europe. Only the Huns disappeared immediately after the death of Attila, leaving no traces behind

Hymettus, near Athens, which the ignorant Athenians heard pronounced *Monte Matto* by the Venetians, and translated into their modern jargon Trelo-Vuni, that is, the *Fools' Mountain*.

[318] Most of the Byzantine monuments have disappeared or else become incorporated in Turkish structures, which is the case with many of the churches and the Seven Towers. The most interesting relics from the middle ages still standing are the *Santa Sophia*, the Obelisk and Serpent on the *Atmeidan*, the column of Constantine, that of Theodosius in the gardens of the Seraglio, the subterranean cisterns, the aqueduct of Valens, the Genoese tower and fortifications in Galatá, and the splendid ruins of the triple Byzantine walls (χερσαῖα τείχη) between the Golden Horn and the Propontis, with the ruinous palaces of *Blachernæ* and *Hebdomon* (Tekiour Serai), between which is seen that hidden postern—the fatal *Kerkoporta* (Circusgate)—by which the Turkish cavalry, during the assault, unperceived by the defenders, penetrated into the city.

them, save the consolidation and more developed military spirit of the numerous Germanic and Sclavonian tribes who had broken their chains and divided the immense territories of their vanquished oppressors (109). The empire of Dshingis Khan embraced, at the close of the thirteenth century, five almost independent states. I. China (*Kathay* or Sina), under the dynasty of the Yüens, from 1294 to 1368, comprehending *China Proper*, *Corea*, *Thibet*, *Tunkin*, *Cochin-China*, Northern *India*, westward to the Ganges, and *Mongolia* (Mongolistan) north to Mount Altai and the lake of Baikal. Peking was the capital, and the Yüens, as descendants of Chan Kublai, considered themselves Great-Chans, enjoying the nominal sovereignty over the other Mongol states.

637. II. Tshagatai, comprising the ancient *Mawal-al-Nahr* (212, XXII.), *Khowarcsm*, *Turkestan*, *Kashgar*, extending from the sea of *Aral* on the west, to the dreary desert of *Kobi*, beyond Mount Muztag, and on the east and south, across Mount Himalaya to *Delhi*, on the Ganges. The capital was Samarkand; twenty-two chans held the sway from Tshagatai-Chan, the son of Dshingis, in 1241, to Timurlenk, in 1363, who was born May 7, 1336, in the castle *Schehr-Sebz*, near the city of *Kesch*, south of Samarkand, in the present Bukhara. III. Persia, or *Chanat of Iran*, reaching from the Indus, through *Beludshistan*, *Sedshistan*, *Kerman*, *Persia Proper*, and the countries west of the Euphrates and Mount Taurus, to the shores of the Mediterranean. This splendid empire was founded by the savage Hulagú, in 1258, on the ruins of the Abbasid Caliphate of Bagdad (274), the dynasties of the Assassins (364), the Athabeks (329), on the Euphrates, the Eyubids, in Syria, and the Seldjoukids (327), in Asia Minor. The Perso-Mongol princes resided in Bagdad, on the Tigris; they called themselves *Il-Chans*, that is vassals of the Cha-Chan, or Great Chan of Kathay. Hulagú was a chieftain of inhuman cruelty, but his descendants soon adopted the milder manners of the Persians; they abandoned their *Dalai Lama* for the Prophet and the Coran; they revelled in all the enjoyments of the paradise of *Schiraz* (277), and leaving the government in the hands of ambitious Emirs, the most frightful disorders, civil wars, fratricides, and awful crimes, opened the path for Tamerlane, who, bursting upon the distracted country in 1363, filled it with devastation and bloodshed. On the retreat of the Mongols, in 1410, the Turkomans of the *Black Sheep* occupied the eastern provinces on the Euphrates and Tigris, until they, in their turn, yielded to their brethren of the *White Sheep Banner*, and a modern Persian empire arose, as we have seen, under the hypocrite Sophi, in 1508.

638. IV. The Chanat of Kaptschak (385), north of the Caspian, between the Yaik and the Volga, was the scene of similar disorders and cruelties against the wretched Russian and other Sclavonian Nations, or among the princes of the *Golden Horde* themselves. During the civil war between Chan Urius and Mamai, in which the former took possession of the Golden Tent of *Saraï*, the news spread through Mount Caucasus of the rapid approach of Tamerlane and his myriads of Mongol cavalry. A sudden panic took possession of the guilty chiefs; they harnessed their *Kibitkas*, mounted their Tartar steeds, and hurried into the steppes beyond the Volga and the Uralsk. Terror came upon them in the night time; already they saw the Mongols, in imagination, and began, like the infidels in scripture, to slay one another. Hence family feuds arose, which demanded revenge of blood. Tuktamisch, a Kaptschak prince—*Aghlen*—fled to Tamerlane, and at the head of a Mongol division defeated his uncle Urus and his sons in 1377; but being himself afterwards vanquished by Tamerlane, on his march to Kaptschak, in 1395, he fled to Siberia, where he perished. The Golden Horde, attacked by the Russians, broke up; Hadji-Geray occupied the *Crimea*, and became the founder of the *Chanat of Tartars* in that peninsula, which, after continued wars with the Genoese, became tributary to the Ottoman Sultans in 1525. Other chiefs raised their banner in *Kasan* and *Astrachan*, but they were, in 1552, subdued by the czars, and their territories incorporated with the Russian Empire.

V. The Chanat of Ssibir (Turan), on the east of Mount Oural extended from the northern region *Ugria* (253, 453) along the river Ob to the sources of the Irtisch on Mount Altai. The capital of this vast but little known empire, in cold and dreary Siberia, was Ssibir (Iskir), near the present Tobolsk, on the Irtisch. It survived the downfall of the Golden Horde on the Volga, until it was invaded by the Cossacks, and bowed to the sceptre of Czar Iwan Wassiljewitch, in 1584.

639. Tamerlane combined the military talent of Attila with the affability and prudence of Dshingis Chan, and the ferocious cruelty of both. A zealous Mohammedan, he united the different Mongol and Tartar tribes of Central Asia into a powerful and well organized army; and on his march westward, in 1370, all the nations went down in ruin before him. The Turkomans galloped to the mountains; the hitherto invincible Mamlukes, after the defeats at *Baalbek* and *Damascus*, wheeled round, and fleeing to Egypt, left all Syria at the mercy of the invader. The Ottoman Turks then advanced from Asia Minor, but while the prudent Timur Chan (Tamerlane) secured all the means that could facilitate his victory, the proud Bayazid, the Thunderbolt, despising his enemy, and neglecting that precaution which had procured him the victories of Nicopolis and Semendria, ran into the snare of his wily adversary at *Angora*, where he lost his throne and his liberty. Tamerlane was as great a warrior as he was a statesman; his army was the first of modern times in which the different bodies of troops were distinguished by the colors of their uniforms; his artillery was more formidable than that of the Turks; and his Tartar cuirassiers, admirably mounted and armed, rode down with irresistible impetuosity the Spahis and Janissaries, then in the height of their glory. But we turn with disgust from the bloody pages of his history, and behold, with a shudder, in Damascus and Bagdad, the chapels built to commemorate the spots where he reared his horrible pyramids of human skulls to grace his triumph over slaughtered nations. On his sudden death, at *Otrar*, on the river *Sihun*, Sir (the ancient Jaxartes), the 18th February, 1405, his empire extended from Smyrna, on the Mediterranean, to Delhi and Patna, on the Ganges, and from the Don and Terek to the Nile and Indian Ocean. Samarkand and Kesch were his capitals, which he adorned with magnificent mosques and bazaars. The Great Chan himself, with all his court, lived encamped under tents, in the environs of these cities; the most extravagant luxury was introduced, and the splendor of dresses and furniture surpassed all belief. The celebrated armorers of Damascus and the silk weavers of India were transported to Samarkand, which rose as the centre of Asiatic commerce in communication with Russia, China, and the countries on the Mediterranean. Yet his numerous sons immediately divided his empire; they refused to recognize his nephew, Pir Mohammed Dschihangir, as their sovereign, and thus many smaller dynasties were formed. The Ottomans reconquered Asia Minor; the Turkomans, Persia; the Mamlukes returned from Egypt, while the Timurid Chiefs of Upper Asia were, by endless wars, circumscribed to Eastern Persia, Chorasan, and Kandahar, until they too, in their turn, sank before the

Affghans, the Usbeks, and other northern tribes from the Steppes, and only the *Great Mogul of Delhi*, in Hindoostan, retained yet for a length of time the title and the wealth, if not the talents and bloody laurels of his gigantic ancestor.

XXIII.—The Sultanate of the Circassian Mamlukes.

640. Extent, Conquests, and Dynasties.—The Mamluke Sultans (365) had enlarged their Egyptian empire from the ruins of the two Christian kingdoms in Syria, that of Jerusalem, in 1291, and that of Armenia (Cilicia), in 1371. It reached from the rugged coastland of *Isschilli* (the ancient Isauria), along Bulghar Dagh (Mount Taurus), to the Euphrates, and through the great Syrian desert and Idumæa, to the *Bahr Akabah* or the Aelanetic Gulf of the Red Sea, including Egypt and the western coastland as far as *Barca* (the ancient Cyrenaica) and the smaller *Syrtis*, where it bordered on the kingdom of Tunis. Among all the Oriental governments that had sprung up since the Crusades, the most lawless and barbarous was that of the Mamlukes. The Baharid dynasty took its name from *Bahr*, that is, the sea, because its wild Mamluke warriors were encamped at *Rudah*, in the Delta, on the sea-shore. After the reign of twenty-four Sultans, it was overturned, in 1382, by the Circassian Mamluke Barkok *el Thaher* (the Glorious), with whom begins the second dynasty of the twenty-one Circassian Sultans, who, under continual revolutions, assassinations, and monstrous cruelties, ruled those beautiful but unhappy countries until their conquest by the Ottoman Turks, in 1517.

641. The condition of Egypt was miserable in the highest degree; and its Mohammedan and Coptic Christian inhabitants were oppressed and ill-treated by this ruthless military government. Great riches, however, flowed together into Egypt during this period, on account of the brisk commerce of the Italian Republics, principally of Venice, with the East Indies, by way of Alexandria, the Nile, and the cities on the Red Sea. The Sultans protected this commerce, and sent their fleets to the states of *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Cranganor*, and others on the *Malabar* coast of India, whence they brought home the spices, ivory, jewelry, silks, and other rich productions of the East. Venice was therefore in a close alliance with the Mamluke Sultans, and attempted in vain with them to frustrate the bold designs of the Portuguese on the Indian coasts, after the discovery of the sea passage around the African Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco de Gama, in the year 1497. The commercial and political relations of the Egyptian Sultans and the Republic of Venice to the Portuguese navigators and the Indian princes are highly interesting, but they belong to the Colonial Geography of Modern History.

The Mohammedan Dynasties in Al-Magreb (Western Africa).

642. General Remarks.—Having finished our sketch of the geographical position of all the European and Western Asiatic states, from the period of the Crusades to that of the discovery of America, we think it proper not to close our work without mentioning the revolutions which during that time had taken place on the shores of Barbary. Though they did not exert any *direct* influence on the principal political events of Europe or Asia, they nevertheless had weight upon the relations of the Moslemin and Christians in Spain. The African dynasties were three in number; one of which still occupies the throne of *Morocco;* the other two, *Tunis* and *Tlemsen* (Algiers), became notorious as the states of those desperate Corsairs, who, in spite of all the exertions of the emperor, Charles V., continued for nearly three centuries to obstruct the commerce on the Mediterranean, and bring desolation and misery over the civilized nations inhabiting its shores.

XXIV.—The Kingdom of Tunis.

643. Extent and Dynasties.—Tunis, Kairouan, Mahadia, and Tripolis, together with the adjacent islands, Carchis and Gerbes, had, in 1147, been occupied by the Norman, King Roger I. of Sicily (333). Yet these possessions on the mainland of Africa were later abandoned by the Italian Normans during the decline of their power in 1160. Soon the Al-Muahedin (Almohads), in their enthusiastic advance through Africa and Spain, took possession of Tunis and the cities on the Syrtis. When, however, their principal efforts became directed against the Castilians of Spain, a young warrior, Abu-Hafs-Omar-Ben-Yahia, the son of one of their most distinguished generals, obtained the command in Tunis, and his great-grandson, Abu Zakaria I., extending his conquests beyond Tripolis, and southward through the desert to the Negro states, made himself independent, and took the title of *Sultan* or *Emir al Mumemín al Murtesí* (the Orthodox) in 1250. During the trouble of his son Abu-Abdallah-Mohammed-Mostanser with his uncles, Tunis was besieged by Saint Louis and his French crusading army in 1270. But the Arabs made a bold defence, and the French king, with many of his barons, perished by the plague on the promontory of Carthage. The dynasty of Abu-Halfs continued their sway during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under frequent internal revolutions and feuds with the western dynasties of the Zianids in Tlemsen, and the Merinids of Morocco, until Muley II. Hassan, a younger brother, by terrible cruelties against his relatives, attempted to secure the throne of Tunis—1500–1534. But his half-brother, Ar-Rashid, fled to Hairadin, the renegade chief of Algiers, and obtained a Turkish fleet for his support. The terrible corsair soon forced Muley Hassan to surrender: but instead of placing the Arab prince on the throne, according to his promise, Hairadin took himself possession of the fine city. This usurpation caused that brilliant campaign of 1535, in which Charles V. stormed the fortress of Goletta, delivered thousands of Christian slaves, and replaced the old unworthy Muley on the throne of Tunis. The kingdom of Tunis extended from *Milah* and *Constantina* on the west, along the territory of ancient Carthage to *Barca* on the east, with the cities of *Bona* (Hippo Regius), *Hamamet*, *Sfakes*, *Cabes*, *Tripolis*, and *Lebida*. Tunis, the capital, was then one of the largest cities in Africa; the fortress Goletta, Arabic *Halkolvad*, commanding the entrance of the bay, secured the Spanish influence over the greater part of the northern coast of Africa.

XXV.—The Kingdom of Tlemsen.

644. Extent and Revolutions.—More powerful than the Abu-Hafsids in Tunis were the Zianids in the western Magreb-al-Ausah or *Tlemsen*. Abu-Yahia-Yagmurassen-Ben-Zian, by descent a Fatimid (280), raised in 1240 the banner against the Almohads in Morocco (334), and took the proud title of caliph. He was a distinguished and victorious general in sixty-two battles, a friend and generous protector of Arabic poets and historians. His descendants, the Zianids, repelled the attacks of the Merinids of Morocco, and extended their dominions along the coast. Some were benevolent princes, but others, as usual, luxurious tyrants, and horrible crimes and civil feuds deluged their thrones with blood. The capital

was the strongly-fortified Tlemesen, in the interior. *Oran*, on the western coast, was taken by the Spaniards in 1448. *Al Dschezair* (Algiers), *Mahadia*, *Mascara*, and *Boudsha*, were likewise cities on the coast. Thousands of Spanish Mohammedans fleeing from Granada, after its conquest by Fernando and Isabella, settled in the African ports and began those daring piracies against the Christian vessels which, afterwards, under Hairadin (Chair-ed-Din) Barbarossa, the Corsair, from Lesbos, who occupied the throne of the Zianids in 1533, as Dey of Algiers, took the fearful character of a general piratical warfare against all Christian nations on the Mediterranean.

XXVI.—The Kingdom of Fez and Morocco.

645. Dynasties, Extent, and Provinces.—After the battle of Toloso, in Andalusia, in 1212, when the power of the Almohad kings had been shaken in Spain, the wealthy and talented chief of the Merinid family in Africa, Abd-al-Hak-Yahia, Ebn-Bekr, from Teza, in the province of Schaus, east of Fez, rose in arms against the ruling Almohad dynasty, and his son Abu-Bekr I. conquered the capital on the 20th of August, 1248. The Merinids rapidly obtained possession of the whole fertile and prosperous regions of Magreb-al-Aksa (214).

Abul-Hassan, the Merinid, raised his standard about A. D. 1350 over the whole Barbary coast; the eastern dynasties were forced to recognize the supremacy of the Merinids, yet the maritime expeditions of the Portuguese, and particularly their conquest of Ceuta in 1415, so much distracted the kings of Morocco, that many of their vassals again threw off their allegiance, and thus forwarded the ambitious designs of the Christians. In 1471, Emir Seid Oataz, of a lateral Merinid line, having been driven from his government of Arzilla, by the Portuguese (582), gathered an army in the interior, and took possession of Fez and Morocco at the head of eight thousand horse, and his successors, the Oatazids, maintained their dominion for eighty years. In 1550, however, Mohammed Sherif, of the ancient family of a sainted Marabut, himself a learned and flattering courtier, gained the favor of the king and army in the wars against the Portuguese, and ascending from one high situation to another, culminated by overturning the throne of the last Oatazid, and founding the present empire of the *Scherifs* in *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Tafilelt*, and *Sus*.

646. The kingdom extended from the river Moluya, on the borders of Tlemsen, westward along the coast to the city of Ceuta, which from the year 1415 was in the possession of the Portuguese, together with the whole western coastland, south as far as *Alcazar-al-Kebir*, at that time forming the Portuguese province of Algarb beyond the Sea (582, 583). The high range of Mount Atlas, by the Arabs called *Djebal Tedla* and *Adimmei*, formed the eastern frontier, and separated Morocco from the independent Moorish states of *Tafilelt*, *Sedjelmessa*, and *Darah*, on the outskirts of the great desert Sahara, in the interior. On the south the border ran along the river Wady Darah, which discharges itself into the Atlantic, south of *Cabo de Náo*, nearly opposite to the Canarian Islands. Miknasa (Mequines) was the ancient capital of the Saracen conquerors. Fez (Faz), in a beautiful valley surrounded by high mountains, near the river *Sebouch*, was founded in the year 807 by Edris-ben-Edris (214), whose father had raised Magreb-al-Aksa into the kingdom of Mequines, independent of the Caliph of Cordova in Andalos (Spain). His splendid mosque and sepulchre are still the objects of numerous pilgrimages from every part of the Mohammedan world. Fez was long the seat of Arabic learning and industry, and celebrated by its colleges, palaces, hospitals, sanctuaries, and other public edifices of Oriental piety and munificence.

Morocco (Merakash), south of Mequines, in the extensive and well-watered plain of *Eylana*, was still a small village at the first appearance of the Almoravids in 1050, but it became later, after the union of their empire by the conquest of Fez, the capital and residence of the *Nazar-ed-Din* of Morocco, and the most populous and commercial city in the kingdom. *Agadir*, *Mogador*, and *Asafy*, were thriving ports on the coast of the Atlantic. *Tinmal*, on an elevated site amid the wild mountains of Darah, on the south, was for years the refuge of the Almohad sectarians in the twelfth century. In the desert of *Lamtuna*, south of Darah, arose the austere religious sect of the Almoravids, whose conquests and government in Africa and in Spain constitute one of the brightest pages in the Arabian annals. On the plain near *Alcazar-al-Kebir* was fought the bloody battle between the old dying Mohammed Moluk and the young King Sebastian of Portugal, on August 4, 1578, in which the latter and nearly his entire army were cut to pieces. This great disaster, and the subsequent subjection of Portugal herself by King Philip II. of Spain, put an end to all the Portuguese designs of aggrandizement in Africa, and the evacuation of most of the maritime cities which they had conquered at such an enormous expense of blood and treasure during the fifteenth century, the period of their military glory.

The kingdom of Morocco did not yield to the Mohammedan states in Spain during the brilliant era of Arabian civilization. The great King Abd-el-Mumen, the Almohad, embellished his beloved Morocco with elegant aljamas (mosques), tanks, aqueducts, gardens, and colleges, where literature and science were taught to form able cadis, walis, and military officers. He assembled the sons of the most distinguished chiefs of the Berbers and Kabyles from the desert to the number of several thousands, and gave these young *Hafites* a complete literary and military education, being himself present at their exercises, like Charlemagne, and encouraging their exertions by presents and offices of confidence; and Morocco became thus the centre of the Mohammedan power, from which those myriads of warriors were launched on Spain, who for centuries retarded the progress of the Christian arms.

"Yet," to close with the words of Prescott, the great American historian, "the empire which once embraced more than half the ancient world has now shrunk within its original limits, and the Bedouin wanders over his native desert as free and almost as uncivilized as before the coming of his apostle. The language which was once spoken along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and the whole extent of the Indian Ocean, is broken up into a variety of discordant dialects. The elegant diction of the Koran is studied as a dead language, even in the birthplace of the Prophet, and darkness has again settled over those regions of Africa which were illumined by the light of learning."

ADDENDA.

§ 226. Professor F. Kruse in Saint Petersburg, gives in an interesting treatise, translated into the Annals of the Northern Antiquaries for 1844, a more detailed account of the origin of the WARÆGS, who, under the command of the Jutish Chief Ruric, in 852, laid the foundation of the Russian empire. The Warägs, according to his statement, formed part of the far-spreading Gothic nation. They inhabited the southeastern coast of Sweden, opposite to Finnland, then called ROSLAGEN, where they early obtained the name of Ross, or Russians. They were already known to the Greek geographers in Alexandria, and Ptolemy mentions them as a wild piratical nation, under the name of Φιραῖσοι—PHIRÆSI—*Varæsi*, or Warægs, from whom the Finnic gulf was called the sea of the Warægs. They likewise appear among the Gothic swarms during their first invasion of the Roman empire, in the second century of our era, and they begau already to take service in the Roman army of the Emperor Maximin, the Thracian, in 235, under the name of *Fœderati*, Varæsi. Having united with Ruric and his Jutes, they occupied northern Russia, and extended their relations southward to the Black Sea and Constantinople, where we find them again some centuries later, among the Scandinavian warriors, as *Varanghi*, the faithful body-guard surrounding the throne of the Byzantine emperors. The name of Russia, therefore, appears for the first time on the Lakes of Ladoga and Ilmen, toward the beginning of the tenth century.

§ 266. ANCIENT CAPPADOCIA, situated north of Mount Taurus, and west of its eastern branch, the Anti-Taurus was by the Romans divided into *Prima* and *Secunda* (26). During the reign of Justinian I., or later—says Constantine Porphyrogenitus—these provinces were formed into two military Themes, which, therefore, must take their place among the rest, though the Imperial Historian has omitted to give them their numbers.

XIII. THEMA CHARSIANUM—Θέμα Χαρσιανόν—embraced the northern part of Cappadocia, bordering on the Armenian and Bukellarian Themes; it obtained its name from a brave Byzantine general, Charsias, who had distinguished himself in the wars against the Persians. KAISAREIA, on the Melas, a tributary of the Halys, was the metropolis. Other cities mentioned by Constantine, were *Nyssa*, northeast of the former, *Therma* and *Regipodanos*.

XIV. THEMA CAPPADOCIÆ—Θέμα Καππαδοκίας—consisted of Lesser or Central Cappadocia, south of the Charsian Theme. It was separated from Cilicia by the high range of Mount Taurus, and bordered west on the Anatolian Theme and the extensive plains of ancient Lycaonia. It was traversed by the river Halys, and the large saltish lake of *Tatta* occupied its centre. Constantine relates that it had of late been organized as a Theme with its military commanders and border garrisons—TYANA, on the northern slope of Mount Taurus, was the metropolis; *Faustinopolis*, *Kybistra*, *Nanzianzos*, *Erysima*, *Parnassos*, on the Lake of Tatta, *Diokaisareia*, *Rodandos*, and several fortresses on Mount Taurus, are mentioned in the Byzantine historians. These two Themes will thus take their place among the *twenty-nine*, and the PRÆFECTURE OF CYPRUS (267), and the EPARCHY OF CRETE (268) will fall out as being still in the possession of the Saracens.

§ 439. The disputes between the Swedish Archbishops of Upsala, and the Danish Primates of Lund (293), who refused to recognize the independence of the former, and their right to take the *pallium* directly from Rome, continued during the greater part of the fourteenth century. The arrogant John Grand, the Archbishop of Lund—1289–1302—excommunicated his rival, while the no less violent John of Upsala returned the compliment, and sought himself redress in Rome. Yet the Popes in Avignon, though bribed by both parties with large sums of money, left the dispute undecided until the year 1367, when Pope Urban V. at last recognized the independence of the metropolitan see of Upsala of the Danish Primate of Lund. From that time until the Reformation in 1532, the Swedish Church formed a separate province—PROVINCIA UPSALIENSIS, with the six suffragans, the Bishops of *Linköping*, *Skara*, *Strengnäs*, *Wexiö*, *Westeraas*, and *Aabo*, in Finnland. Among the numerous convents were celebrated those of the Dominican and the Franciscan monks at *Skara*, in West Gothland, and *Sigtuna*, and the nunneries of *Santa Clara*, *Santa Maria*, the Sko-Kloster of Cistercian Nuns on the Mælarn, and the still more magnificent sanctuary of Saint Bridget, at *Wadstena*, on the banks of the lake Wenern, where the virtuous and unhappy Queen Philippa of Denmark, found a refuge from the insults of her unworthy husband, King Eric the Pomeranian.

§ 443. The ecclesiastical province of NORWAY—PROVINCIA NIDAROSIENSIS—had been erected by Pope Eugenius III., in the year 1151. Its metropolitan see was in the ancient city of TRONDHJEM, on *Nidaros* (223), and embraced the four Norwegian bishoprics of *Opslo*, *Stavanger*, *Bergen*, and *Hammer*, together with those of *Skalholt* and *Holum*, in Iceland, and that of the *Færöer*. The episcopal sees of the Shetland and Orkney Islands, which earlier had belonged as suffragans to Nidaros, were united to the Province of Saint Andrews in Scotland, on the cession of those islands to King James III., in 1469. A bishopric had, so early as 1126, been established at Gardar, in Greenland, where it remained flourishing for three centuries. Its last bishop, Endride Andreason, was ordained in Trondhjem, in 1406, and is known to have sailed for Greenland, where he officiated for several years. Soon, however, the navigation and commerce of those distant settlements was discontinued. The Icelandic colonies perished by war or pestilence, and it is only of late that interesting ruins, seals, and other antiquities of the mediæval churches, have been discovered at Gardar, on the Isthmus of Eid, at *Igaliko*, *Kakortok*, and many other places on the *Oest-Bygd*, or Eastern coast of Greenland.*

§ 449. THE CHURCH OF POLAND embraced three vast provinces with a great number of suffragan bishoprics. On the west, I., PROVINCIA GNEZNENSIS, with the metropolitan see in GNEZEN (250, 312), it extended eastward through *Mazovia*, northern *Lithuania*, and *Samogitia*, with the episcopal sees of *Plozko*, *Wilna*, and *Medniki*. North lay II., PROVINCIA

* See for details on the discovery of the Icelandic Settlements and the probable fate of the inhabitants, the *Expedition of Capt. W. A. Graah to the east coast of Greenland*, in the English translation by George Macdougall, Esq., London, 1837—pages 38–44, and the researches of Prof. Charles C. Rafn on his *Ancient Geography of Greenland*, Copenhagen, 1845.

Rigensis, with the see in Riga, and the suffragans of *Pomerania*, *Warmia*, *Samaitia*, *Courland*, *Œsel*, and *Dorpat. Esthland*, on the Finnic gulf, belonged to the Danish province of Lund in Skaane. III., Provincia Leopoliensis, with the archiepiscopal see in Lemberg, reached south through *Halicz* (Galicia) and *Bukowina*, to the frontiers of Moldavia and Hungary. The Granduchy of Russia, belonging to the Oriental Greek Church, consisted of two provinces, those of Moscow and Kiew.

§ 646. For the last twenty-five years, however, European civilization and progress have begun to dawn on the northern coastlands of Africa, in consequence of the occupation of Algiers and Constantina by the French, in 1830–1836. The successful conquests and extending colonization of that active and powerful nation in Barbary, exert already a beneficent influence on the political and social institutions of the neighboring Mohammedan States of Tunis, Tripolis, Morocco, and the Arabian nomadic tribes of Mount Atlas.

List of Authors *on the History and Geography of the Middle Ages, whose Works have been consulted in the composition of the present Manual.*

I. GEOGRAPHERS.

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Ansart (Felix)—*Précis de la Geographie Historique du Moyen Age—2de Edition.* Paris, 1838. 152 pages, 8vo., which we have followed in the main divisions, in the concise introductory chapter on the Roman Empire, and in its accurate and minute description of France.

Malte Brun's *System of Universal Geography.* Boston, 1834, 3 vols., 4to., has furnished us with several sketches of manners and institutions among the mediæval nations. The Dane, Malthe-Conrad Brun is the most distinguished writer on *Modern Geography.* His pertinent remarks on the earlier condition of the countries he describes, have enlivened and embellished his work, and secured its rank as the philosophical Geography of the age.

Mannert's and Uckert's Ancient Geographies have likewise been used for the earlier periods.

II. HISTORIANS.

I. General Histories of the Middle Ages.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* stands first in rank; yet more important for our purpose has been—

Rueh's(Friederich)—*Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters.* Berlin, 1816, 8vo. A profound and excellent work in nearly all its parts. The objection of others * to his employing the ethnographical instead of the synchronistic method, has rendered the book more precious to us.

Reihm's (Friederich)—*Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters.* Marburg, 1821, I.–II. vol., and Cassel, 1834, III.–VII. vol., became our guide for the chronology and the genealogical tables.

" " *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters.* Cassel, 1840, 8vo., is a useful abridgment of the former.

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THE END.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE and NORTHERN BARBARIANS in the IVTH CENTURY.

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EUROPE
IN THE TIMES OF
CHARLEMAGNE.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
KINGDOMS OF THE NORTHMEN
ANGLO SAXONS
EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE
KINGDOM OF ASTURIA
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
(of the Ommiades)
MEDITERRANEAN
KINGDOM OF MEKINES
(of the Edrissites)
KINGDOM OF KAIROUAN
(of the Aglabides)
Desert of Lamtuna
MOORS
Zuilah, Fazan

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Ogri
Syraenen
Permians
Tobol
Karelaland Careha
Korelli
Jemen (Jam)
Ladoga
Carelian Gulf
Woschani
Uschori
Wessi
Novogorod
Ilmen Sea
Slovenia
Esthland
Narpat
Warbola
Rostow
Susdal
Volga
Chremissi
Kama
Bolgar
Bulgaria
Bertas
Murom
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Mordwini
Meschzeri
Muroni
Oka
Polotschani
Kriwitschi
Tarow
Duina
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Ljetuwa
Smolensk
Slonensor
Radimitschi
Latwægen
Tschernigow
Sewerians
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Sarkel
Uzi, Cumans, Polowzi
Chwalisians
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Ural
Hibk. Jenibai
Khizildschis
Turga
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Korosten
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Kur
Alazon
Anacopia
Nicopsis
Soteriopolis
Phasis
Trapezus
Cerasus
Amisus
Sinope
Amnias
Halybes
Chaldia th.
Neocesarea
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Amorium
Dorylæum
Nicæa
Prusa
Olympus Th.
Opsikion Thema
Thrakesion Thema
Cibyrrhæotarum Thema
Anatolicum Thema
Armeniacum Thema
Paphlagon Thema
Cappadocia
Seleucia Th.
Germanicia
Iconium
Antiochia
Heraclea
Sagalassus
Cibyra
Perge
Selge
Attalia
Myra
Phaselis
Rhodus
Cyprus
Crete
Gortyna
Cydonia
Lindus
Pelagos Th.
Archipelagos Th.
Cibyrrhæotarum Thema
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Nicopolis
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Syria
Mesopotamia Th.
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Tephrice
Charsianum
Lycandus
Cocussus
Sozopetra
Amida
Samosata
Edessa
Bidlis
Mosul
Nisibin
Sindschar
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Hakka
Rora
Haleb
Kinnisrin
Hamath
Emesa
Palmyra
Tadmor
Rusafa
Rakkaba
Sergiopolis
Circesium
Hit
Anbar
Kerbela
Kufa
Dair al Akul
Wasit
Schamekin
Bagdad
Sermenraa
Tigris
Euphrates
Mesopotamia
Chaldæa
Babylonia
Assyria
Arabia
Kingdom of the Karinathians
Kingdom of the Halebkim of the Hamdanides
Kingdom of the Hamdanides
Kingdom of the Ikschidides
Kingdom of the Tulunides
Kingdom of the Fatimides
Kingdom of Syria
Kingdom of Egypt
Kingdom of Dilem
Kingdom of Persia
Kingdom of Khusistan
Kingdom of Taberistan
Kingdom of Great Armenia
Kingdom of Colonia
Kingdom of Chazaria
Kingdom of Bulgaria
Kingdom of Wolynia
Kingdom of Russia
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Kingdom of the Halebkim of the Hamdanides
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EUROPE

AT THE END OF THE

XIV CENTURY.

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